

سند رابطه پنهانی امریکا با نور محمد تره کی

زمانی که صدای طبل "اصلاحات" و "مبارزه با فساد" در افغانستان از طرف امریکا خیلی ها بلند نواخته می شد و مهره های بومی پسا استعمار کنونی برای یک بار دیگر باید روی صحنه سیاسی در افغانستان چیده می شدند، خانم هیلاری کلینتون وزیر پر صلاحیتِ براک اوباما در نوامبر ۲۰۰۹، به ظاهر به دلیل اشتراک در مراسم تحلیف حامد کرزی، سفری به افغانستان داشت. در جریان این سفر خانم کلینتون از آقایان فاروق وردک، عمر زاخیلوال، آصف رحیمی و امرالله صالح آشکارا حمایت کرده و با رمز و راز، خواهان ابقای این آقایان در پست های شان گردید. درست یک روز قبل از اعلان کابینه، آقای رابرت گیتس وزیر جنگ امریکا هم پشتیبانی اش را از آقایان عبدالرحیم وردک و حنیف اتمر اعلام کرد و ما هم شاهد نصب این همه آقایان در پست های کلیدی بودیم و هستیم. شاید هم استدلال شود که در یک کشور اشغال شده نمیتوان انتظار متفاوتتر و بهتر از این وضعیت را داشت؛ و نصب مهره ها هم جز مهم در فرهنگ قبول مداخله است. و شاید هم تتی چند از بیچاره گان قند بگیر و فند بگیر، انتصاب نصف کابینه از طرف یک قدرت خارجی را بخش از "پروسه جهانی شدن" بدانند. (۱)

فقط، جان مسئله در عدم درک درست ما از تاریخ معاصر کشورما، و تحلیل تاریخ در چارچوب گفتمان ابزاری قدرت حاکم نهفته است. اگر تاریخ تکامل استعمار غرب به دقت مطالعه شود، نسیان تاریخ همیشه هدف است؛ و در مقابل نفع از تصور ساخته شده از تاریخ، سیاست غیر قابل تغییر.

نگارنده این سطور باور دارم که درک درست ما از گذشته، میتواند منبع خوبی باشد برای فرآورد اندیشه و افکار قابل پسند و تاثیر گذار و آغاز یک بدیل مناسب بر حل مشکلات کنونی و آینده. تا زمانی که با پیروی از گفتمان های ساخته شده و ابزاری، تاریخ کشور ما را با پرده های ضخیم اسرار بیوشانیم و درک ما از کشور خود ما وابسته به تلقین های لوکس ولی کشنده ی پسا استعماری باشد، دریافت نقاط مشترک از حقایق مشترک غیر ممکن خواهد بود.

سندی (۲) را که از آرشیف ملی امریکا بدست آوردم، نشانه دیگریست از چگونه گی آغاز و شاید هم دوام بازی بخرنج کنونی که متاسفانه مردم مان قربانیان نخستین آن هستند. این سند ایرگرام محرمی است که به تاریخ ۲۰ مارچ ۱۹۶۵ از طرف سفارت امریکا در کابل به وزارت خارجه امریکا ارسال شده است. در این سند نور محمد ترکی درست مدتی بعد از تاسیس حزب نام نهاد دموکراتیک خلق به یک نماینده ارشد سفارت امریکا که به گمان غالب مسؤل بخش استخباراتی سفارت نیز بوده است، گزارش تاسیس حزب دموکراتیک خلق را داده است. در سند از نورمحمد ترکی زیر نام "منبع تحت الحمایه" یاد شده است. باید نوشته شود که در قاموس استخبارات، "منبع" برای کسانی که از اهمیت سیاسی، اجتماعی یا اقتصادی در یک جامعه برخوردار هستند و خیلی ها مهمتر از اجنت های معمولی عمل می کنند، گفته می شود. "تحت الحمایه" بودن ترکی هم اهمیت مهم ترکی را در نزد امریکا نشان داده است. در سند آمده است که آقای تره کی از یک کارمند خاص امریکایی به تاریخ ۱۴ مارچ ۱۹۶۵، قبل از اینکه این کارمند عالی رتبه امریکایی افغانستان را ترک بگوید، خواهان ملاقات شده است. در سند همچنان تذکر رفته که رابطه ای سفارت امریکا با ترکی بعد از دسمبر ۱۹۶۳، بنا بر ترس از تعقیب شدن توسط مامورین امنیتی افغانستان، و بخاطری که دولت افغانستان مشکوک نشود که تلاش ترکی برای تاسیس یک حزب از طرف امریکا حمایت و پشتیبانی می شود، برای مدتی قطع شده بود.

از گفته های مهم و مجهول آقای ترکی در این سند که تاریخ نویس و مبارز نستوه، میر غلام محمد غبار را به عدم نداشتن محبوبیت در میان نسل جوان در آن وقت، آن هم گویا به دلیل "گرفتن یک باب اپارتمان از دولت وقت" (۴) متهم ساخته، و حزب دموکراتیک خلق را یک جریان "چپ میانه" خوانده است، که بگذریم، مهمترین پیام این سند همانا ثبوت رابطه دوامدار نورمحمد ترکی با امریکا می باشد. همچنان این سند می تواند زمینه ساز تحقیق و پژوهش ژرفتر و متفاوتتر در رابطه به اصرار های مکرر آقای ترکی در زمان زمامداریش از شوروی سابق برای ارسال نیرو به افغانستان شود.

منابع:

- (۱) سرور کبریت. اصرار بر فروتنی، شکیبایی و منطق علمی. کابل پرس. ۱۴ جنوری ۲۰۱۰.
- (۲) بانک معلوماتی دانشگاه کالیفرنیا، برکلی: برگرفته شده از آرشیف ملی امریکا.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AIRGRAM

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A-329 CONFIDENTIAL
 NO. _____ HANDLING INDICATOR _____
 TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1965 MAR 24 AM 7 31
 RM/AN ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION BRANCH
 FROM : Amembassy KABUL DATE: March 20, 1965
 SUBJECT : Formation of Afghan Political Party Reported
 REF : A-275, February 6, 1965; A-269, December 7 and A-200, October 27, 1963
 NOFORN

SUMMARY

The general secretary of Afghanistan's "first political party" formed in recent years described the formation, composition, and platform of his party on March 14. Although the future of this party must be considered uncertain in view of the imprecision of the government concerning the scope of political activity to be permitted under the new constitution, it is probable that the new grouping will play a significant role.

Nur Mohammed TARAKI (protect source), the subject of earlier reporting (A-269 and A-200) and known to be active in the political arena, called at the home of the drafting officer March 14, 1965. Taraki explained that he wished to see the drafting officer before the latter left Kabul on March 19 at the completion of his tour. Contact with Taraki was broken in December, 1963 as a result of Taraki's fear of surveillance and the desire to be free of official suspicion that his attempt to found a political party was being supported by the American Embassy. (The conversation was disrupted by the most severe earthquake that Kabul has suffered in recent years (Embtel 511).

Formation of Political Party. Taraki said that he had been very busy during the intervening 15 months, and that his new political party was formed in Kabul about two months ago. The party is known as Khalq-e-Demokrasi, or People's Democratic Party. He was elected General Secretary

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and is the real leader of the party, he said.

Taraki said that sympathisers in 26 of the 29 provinces of Afghanistan selected representatives in December to attend a "jirga" in Kabul to organize the party. Each representative was chosen by local groups of from 5 to 10 people. The 42 jirga members then selected an executive committee of 15 people, and the latter selected Taraki as General Secretary (Munshir-e-Mumi).

Composition of Party. Taraki was most reluctant to identify the other members of the executive committee, but finally identified two as BADAKSHI, not otherwise known to the Embassy at this time, and BABRAK, a youth leader referred to in A-275. Asked if Ghulam Mohammed GHOBAR were associated with his party, Taraki replied that Mohammed Siddik FARHANG, Deputy Minister of Planning, had drawn GhoBAR (and his son in the Foreign Office) away from Taraki toward Farhang's group. Taraki doubted that GhoBAR would be active and implied that Farhang would use GhoBAR as Taraki had hoped to do, as a figurehead. In any case, GhoBAR had become discredited among the younger elements because he had accepted an apartment through the good offices of the government. Taraki's group, therefore, did not wish to work with GhoBAR. Taraki commented as he had on previous occasions that no government prominent official could be popular and Taraki's party, therefore, was careful to exclude them.

Taraki said that his party included elements drawn from the workers, the peasants, government clerks, the middle class and "good" (non-usurious) merchants and businessmen. The party has support from each of the ethnic and regional groups in Afghanistan, and includes mullahs, landlords and tribal leaders as well. Although it relies most heavily on the Pushtuns, Taraki reiterated that all ethnic groups must be represented in a political party if it is to play a national role.

Party Platform. Taraki said that his party is designed primarily to assist the middle class, to elevate the lower ranks of the population, and to obtain assistance from the wealthier element for this purpose. The party's platform would be slightly left of center, he said, in order to pre-empt "that bastard" DAUD who, Taraki said, continues to talk of his fondness for "socialism" and will play an important political role at the appropriate time in the future. Taraki said that his party will advocate land reforms; land reform is required in Farah Province where there are large landholdings, he maintained, but this is not an important problem elsewhere. He said that the party would advocate land reform as a vote-catching device.

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On foreign policy, Taraki said that his party would support the policy of neutralism and non-alignment. He indicated lack of sympathy for the firm U.S. stand in Viet Nam, and suggested that the U.S. should respond to Communist "ideology" there by pushing propagandists, infiltrators and troops north of the border as the north had done in the south. Support for "Pushtunistan", he said, would also be required. The members of the executive committee had discussed this question at some length, and their sources reported that the Pushtuns in the provinces evinced sufficient sympathy in this question to make it unwise to ignore the issue. Taraki commented that no political party in Afghanistan could afford to run the risk of alienating powerful Pushtun opinion. He implied, however, that the Pushtunistan issue would not be a burning issue for his political party.

Taraki said that his party would publish a weekly newspaper as soon as the draft press law (A-299, February 27, 1965), which he said has been amended in view of strong criticism, is published in the near future. Taraki said that the weekly would be converted to a daily newspaper as soon as possible. The newspaper will be registered by a private individual since political parties are not yet legal. His party, he said, will operate as a "society" until political parties become legal or in the event that they do not.

Other Political Activity. Taraki said that his was the only political party which had yet been formed. The attempt of Khalilullah KHALILI, Royal Press Advisor, to form a party on behalf of the King or government, he said, was drawing public laughter. He also discounted the possibility that the Communists, if any existed in Afghanistan, could play a political role.

Comment. Taraki displayed caution in discussing his new party, thus indicating that he continued to be apprehensive concerning his contact with an Embassy official. He emphasized, however, that he wished to enjoy discreet and occasional contact with the Embassy, and in particular to be invited to the July Fourth celebration.

Taraki displayed considerable optimism concerning his new party. On several occasions he referred half-seriously to himself as "a future Prime Minister." It is difficult to estimate how viable the new party will be, in part because the government and King apparently

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have not decided how permissive the new electoral and political party laws will be, and because other groups politically motivated have either adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude or have not yet revealed the scope of present activities. It is probable, however, given Taraki's experience and persistence, that his new party will play a significant role.

For the Ambassador:

Howard J. Ashford, Jr.
Howard J. Ashford, Jr.
Counselor of Embassy
for Political Affairs

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