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AUG 17 1983

832578

PAGE D01

ID: 158637 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET  
 INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830815 RECEIVED DATE 830817  
 (PREFIX) (FIRST) (LAST) (SUFFIX)  
 THE HONORABLE ARTHUR E. FOSSLAND  
 TITLE: MAYOR

158637  
 H-2

ORGANIZATION: VILLAGE OF WINTHROP HARBOR

STREET: 830 SHERIDAN ROAD

CITY: WINTHROP HARBOR

STATE: IL ZIP: 60096

COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES LETTER TO THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING  
 COMPANIES REGARDING U. S. NEWS EDITORIAL  
 CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN MASS MURDERS

AGY/OFF	ACTION CODE	TRACKING DATE	
HOWL	ORG	830817	C 830822

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN  
 COMMENTS:

MEDIA: L OPID: LW TYPE: IBA

MODES: REPORT IA INDIV: 2500

USER:

✓ RE: DO STATE

LD 830822

A83/09/12



UNCLASSIFIED  
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8325781

Date SEP 13 1983

For: Mr. William P. Clark  
National Security Council  
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Mayor Arthur Fossland

Date: August 15, 1983 Subject: Afghanistan Mass Murders

WH Referral Dated: August 24, 1983 NSC ID# 158637  
(if any)

       The attached item was sent directly to the  
Department of State.

Action Taken:

       A draft reply is attached.

       A draft reply will be forwarded.

       A translation is attached.

  X   An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

       We believe no response is necessary for the reason  
cited below.

       The Department of State has no objection to the  
proposed travel.

       Other.

Remarks:

*Margery Sembler*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED  
(Classification)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

SEP 12 1983

Dear Mayor Fossland,

The President has asked me to reply to your letter to him of August 8, 1983, in which you enclosed a copy of the letter you have sent to various American media leaders calling for more coverage of the Afghanistan tragedy. I fully agree with your general thesis that the current situation in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan must be constantly kept before the world conscience. As was stated in the "U.S. News and World Report" editorial that you enclosed, the Department of State has consistently condemned the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and has stated that we cannot stand silently by as the Soviet aggression continues. A strong public response criticizing the efforts of the Soviets to suppress the Afghan people is essential in order to send a clear message to the Soviet Union: that their brutal behavior is unacceptable to the United States and the world community.

Last year as a means of demonstrating the concern of the people of the United States for the freedom loving people of Afghanistan and Poland, the President asked our nation to commemorate Afghanistan and Solidarity Days.

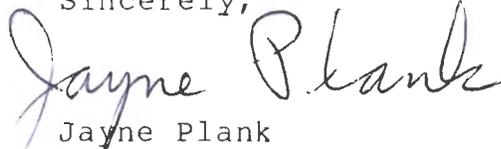
Model resolutions were sent from my office to the Governors, County Officials and to Mayors of cities over 100,000 in population. I also sent the information to the County and Municipal Associations and requested that they notify their membership. I am enclosing some of this material.

You might want to contact your Executive Director and ask him to notify you of such actions in the future.

The Honorable Arthur E. Fossland  
Mayor of Winthrop Harbor  
830 Sheridan Road  
Winthrop Harbor, Illinois 60096

As a former Mayor myself, I appreciate your concern for, and endeavors on behalf of, a free Afghanistan. They clearly contribute to the continuing effort to focus world attention on Soviet actions in that country. Your support assists the American goal of the achievement of a negotiated political settlement to end the agony of the Afghan people and to get the Soviets out.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jayne Plank". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Jayne Plank  
Director, Intergovernmental Affairs  
Office of Legislative and  
Intergovernmental Affairs

Enclosure:

As stated.

## THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

## REFERRAL

AUGUST 24, 1983

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

## DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 158637

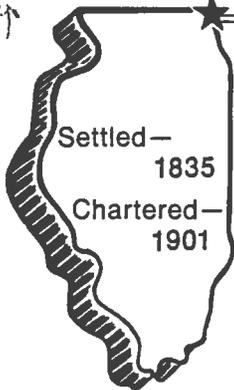
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED AUGUST 15, 1983

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: THE HONORABLE ARTHUR E. FOSSLAND  
MAYOR OF WINTHROP HARBOR  
830 SHERIDAN ROAD  
WINTHROP HARBOR IL 60096SUBJECT: ENCLOSURE LETTER TO THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING  
COMPANIES REGARDING U. S. NEWS EDITORIAL  
CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN MASS MURDERSPROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN  
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE  
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE  
(OR DRAFT) TO:  
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSESALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE*Received in 45-1  
8/24/83-1930-18*

# Village of Winthrop Harbor - Illinois

Offices: 830 Sheridan Road / 312-872-3846 / Zip Code 60096



August 15, 1983

President Ronald Reagan  
White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I sent letters similar to the one attached to:

William S. Paley, Chrmn., CBS Inc.  
Grant Tinker, Chrmn. & Chief Exec. Officer, NBC Inc.  
Katharine Graham, Chrmn. & Chief Exec. Officer, Washington Post Co.  
Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Chrmn., New York Times Co.  
Tom Johnson, Publisher & Chief Exec. Officer, Los Angeles Times  
Charles T. Brumbach, President, Chicago Tribune Co.  
Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., Chrmn. & Chief Exec. Officer, St. Louis Post  
Lee Hills, Publisher, Miami Herald

I would strongly suspect that their real reason is because most of the persons who make the ultimate decisions as to what will be highlighted by their news media are quite "liberal". They would much rather cover Central America in an effort to put a question in the public's mind about the wisdom of your administration's efforts to stop Communism's takeover of a number of countries in Central America.

Keep up the fine job you are doing to protect our nation.

Respectfully,

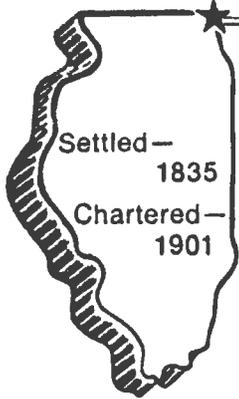
  
ARTHUR E. FOSSLAND, MAYOR

AEF/bw

Enclosure

# Village of Winthrop Harbor - Illinois

Offices: 830 Sheridan Road / 312-872-3846 / Zip Code 60096



August 8, 1983

Mr. Leonard H. Goldenson  
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer  
American Broadcasting Companies, Inc.  
1330 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10019

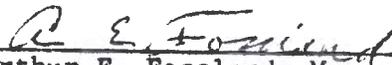
Dear Mr. Goldenson:

I realize I'm only a small town mayor, but I imagine those who read this U.S. NEWS editorial or read about the Afghanistan mass murders in other somewhat obscure publications have a question similar to mine in their mind.

Why hasn't your highly respected American Broadcasting Company or any other major American news media or even the State Department really made a greater effort to call the Afghanistan atrocities to the American public's attention?

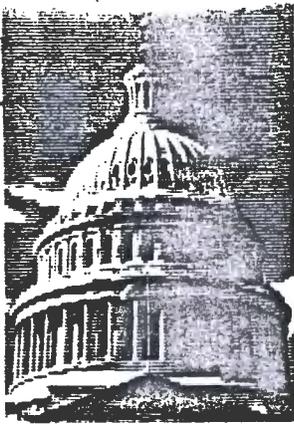
I will be eagerly waiting to hear your thoughts on this sad commentary.

Respectfully,

  
Arthur E. Fossland, Mayor

AEF/bw

cc: President Ronald Reagan  
Sec. State George Schultz  
Sen. Charles H. Percy



The Editor's Page

## Getting Away With Murder

By Marvin Stone

In Afghanistan, the invading armies of the Soviet Union are committing one of the most massive campaigns of savagery in recent history. Towns are bombed into rubble. Civilians are massacred by the thousands. Women and children, as well as men, are summarily shot. Homes are looted, females raped. People suspected of sympathizing with the Afghan resistance fighters are tortured.

The U.S. State Department describes the Soviet actions in Afghanistan as "intolerable by any standard of civilized behavior."

But where—in the United States or Europe—are the mass demonstrations against such atrocities? Where are all those people who marched in protest against the American campaign in Vietnam? And where are the screaming headlines or the angry editorials that appeared in the newspapers of the Vietnam era?

Americans read in their newspapers and see on their television screens far more about the relatively few killings in El Salvador than they do about the massive massacres in Afghanistan.

"It would appear," said the State Department, "that the Soviet Union believes that the world is either unaware of or no longer cares what it is doing in Afghanistan and ... is willing to employ any means, no matter how brutal."

Said the State Department: "We cannot stand silently by and witness this slaughter."

Now, what about the American news media? Should they "stand silently by"?

Or should they tell this story in all its ghastly details—just as they did about Vietnam, and as they do now about El Salvador?

Perhaps if the American people were better informed about what is going on in Afghanistan—and if they would react as strongly as they did during the Vietnam War—the Soviet Union might not feel that "the world is either unaware of or no longer cares" what it is doing.

Another example: How much have Americans been told about the genocide practiced by the Communists who have taken over Kampuchea, formerly Cambodia, at the cost of an estimated 2 million lives?

Charles Z. Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), recently charged that the American news media—particularly the television networks—bear a "great responsibility" for failing to draw the world's attention to that mass atrocity.

Why the seeming reluctance of U.S. news media to tell the story of such Communist cruelties? It is admittedly very difficult—and often impossible—for American reporters to observe events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The Communists see to that. But we suspect there are other reasons, too.

Apparently, many editors—and TV news-show producers—feel that Americans do not like to be reminded of Vietnam, or how the domino theory they once scorned is now being proved by the Communist inroads across South and Southeast Asia.

Ever since World War II, when the United States became allied with the Soviet Union to fight Nazism, Americans—and some of this nation's news media—have been prone to knee-jerk reactions against any sins by right-wing regimes while reacting less strongly, or not at all, against excesses of the left.

It is time for a readjustment.



"When it happened in Vietnam, people protested."

181877

ID # \_\_\_\_\_

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C0002

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 83/10/11

Name of Correspondent: James H. Ottaway, Jr.

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Asks for information concerning Afghanistan and the help U.S. is providing

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PS SPCA	ORIGINATOR <sup>CS</sup> 83/10/28	<sup>C</sup> 83/12/07
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DOS	<sup>CS</sup> 83/11/01	<sup>C</sup> 83/12/06
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PS Spea	<sup>A</sup> 83/12/12	<sup>A</sup> 83/12/15

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOP).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

# RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

## CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4620 \_\_\_\_\_  
Prime Subject Code: CO 002 Secondary Subject Codes: 50003 \_\_\_\_\_  
PR 007-01 \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

### SIGNATURE CODES:

#### CPn - Presidential Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

#### CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

#### CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

### MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1983

Dear Mr. Ottaway:

This is in reply to your thoughtful letter of October 7, 1983, about Afghanistan. You expressed concern about the lack of news coverage on the Afghan resistance's valiant struggle against the Soviets and your hope that bringing defecting Soviet soldiers to the United States would prompt increased media coverage of Afghanistan. You also asked about American assistance to the mujahidin or Afghan freedom fighters.

I would agree with you completely about the need to keep the issue of Afghanistan alive, and to make clear to the entire world that brutality, destruction and oppression the Soviets have brought to that now tragic land. The major problem is to get the journalists in and to bring the stories, films and tapes out. Afghanistan must not be allowed to become "the forgotten war."

In the almost four years of intense fighting in Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion, there have been very few Soviet defectors or prisoners. For that matter there have been very few prisoners taken by either side. In 1982 the International Committee of the Red Cross was finally able to work out an agreement among the Karmal regime, the Soviet Union, Pakistan, Switzerland and the Afghan resistance whereby Soviet prisoners of war captured in Afghanistan and held by the mujahidin would be taken to Switzerland for internment for two years. At the end of their internment, the prisoners would be turned over to the ICRC (an all-Swiss body) by the Swiss Government for repatriation. In February 1983 the President of the ICRC told the press that the ICRC would not participate in the forced repatriation to the USSR of Soviet prisoners interned in Switzerland.

Eight Soviet prisoners were sent to Switzerland and turned over to the Swiss Government in 1982 under the terms of this agreement. Another one was reported to have arrived in Switzerland on October 28, 1983. There have been various other reports, including the article in The Wall Street Journal by Ludmilla Thorne that you mentioned, of other Soviet POW's and defectors, who are still being held by the mujahidin and who are reported to have said that they would like to seek political asylum in the United States.

I concur with your view that the testimony of such defectors could be an outstanding news story, and their appearance throughout the United States could be a very useful way to keep the issue of Afghanistan before the public eye. You may be assured

that any specific requests for political asylum in the United States by such Soviet POW's or defectors will be viewed sympathetically.

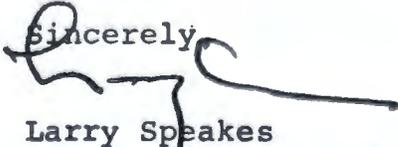
I regret to say that I am unable to reply to your specific questions on assistance to the Afghan resistance. The question of what any country might be doing to support the mujahidin is considered a sensitive intelligence matter upon which I cannot comment.

However, the President has made clear this nation's strong opposition to the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and he has voiced our moral support and admiration for the Afghan people in their courageous struggle against the Soviets. The United States, with the Government of Pakistan, is working to achieve a negotiated political settlement for Afghanistan that will end the agony of the Afghan people and get the Soviet forces out. We, together with the vast majority of the world community, believe that the essential elements of any lasting and workable negotiated political settlement for Afghanistan must be the four points outlined in the United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Afghanistan. These points are: The complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops, an independent and non-aligned status for Afghanistan, self-determination for the Afghan people, and the right of return for the refugees with safety and honor.

Furthermore, the United States has contributed over \$300 million since 1979 for the Afghan refugee program in Pakistan, where the world's largest refugee population has been welcomed and cared for by the Government of Pakistan. The question of how we can further bring home to the Soviets the full cost of their aggression is one which is under constant study.

I know this is not totally responsive to your deep concerns about Afghanistan and the cause of freedom, but I trust you understand why. If your Washington Bureau Chief, Bill Schmick, would like any further information on Afghanistan, I would suggest he be in touch with either the State Department's Press Office or Afghanistan Desk.

Sincerely,



Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. James H. Ottaway  
Chairman and President  
Ottaway Newspapers, Inc.  
Post Office Box 401  
Campbell Hall, NY 10916

**National Security Council  
The White House**

RECEIVED

DEC 6 P 5: 50

System # I  
 Package # 8602  
 RA

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>RA</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>		<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information    **A = Action**    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

**DISTRIBUTION**

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COMMENTS**

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Date/Time)

**MEMORANDUM**

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

8602

December 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Ottaway Newspapers, Inc.

Attached is a Kimmitt to Kelley memorandum for your signature.

Attachment:  
as stated

PS Speakes

**MEMORANDUM**

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

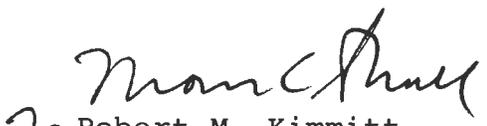
8602

December 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

SUBJECT: Reply to letter from Ottaway Newspapers, Inc.

We concur in the attached draft reply to James Ottaway, Ottaway Newspapers, Inc., for Larry Speakes' signature.

  
for Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:  
as stated  
w/incoming

DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. Ottaway:

This is in reply to your thoughtful letter of October 7, 1983, about Afghanistan. You expressed concern about the lack of news coverage on the Afghan resistance's valiant struggle against the Soviets and your hope that bringing defecting Soviet soldiers to the United States would prompt increased media coverage of Afghanistan. You also asked about American assistance to the mujahidin or Afghan freedom fighters.

I would agree with you completely about the need to keep the issue of Afghanistan alive, and to make clear to the entire world what brutality, destruction, and oppression the Soviets have brought to that now tragic land. The major problem is to get the journalists in and to bring the stories, films, and tapes out. Afghanistan must not be allowed to become "the forgotten war."

In the almost four years of intense fighting in Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion, there have been very few Soviet defectors or prisoners. For that matter there have been very few prisoners taken by either side. In 1982 the International Committee of the Red Cross was finally able to work out an agreement among the Karmal regime, the Soviet Union, Pakistan, Switzerland and the Afghan resistance whereby Soviet prisoners of war captured in Afghanistan and held by the mujahidin would

Mr. James H. Ottaway  
Chairman and President,  
Ottaway Newspapers, Inc.,  
P.O. Box 401,  
Campbell Hall, New York 10916.

be taken to Switzerland for internment for two years. At the end of their internment the prisoners would be turned over to the ICRC (an all-Swiss body) by the Swiss Government for repatriation. In February 1983 the President of the ICRC told the press that the ICRC would not participate in the forced repatriation to the USSR of Soviet prisoners interned in Switzerland.

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I concur with your view that the testimony of such defectors could be an outstanding news story, and their appearance throughout the United States could be a useful way to keep the issue of Afghanistan before the public eye. You may be assured that any specific requests for political asylum in the United States by such Soviet POWs or defectors will be viewed sympathetically.

I regret to say that I am unable to reply to your specific questions on assistance to the Afghan resistance. The question of what any country might be doing to support the mujahidin is considered a sensitive intelligence matter upon which I cannot comment.

However, the President has made clear this nation's strong opposition to the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and he has voiced our moral support and admiration for the Afghan people in their courageous struggle against the Soviets. The United States, with the Government of Pakistan, is working to achieve a negotiated political settlement for Afghanistan that will end the agony of the Afghan people and get the Soviet forces out. We, together with the vast majority of the world community, believe that the essential elements of any lasting and workable negotiated political settlement for Afghanistan must be the four points outlined in the UNGA resolutions on Afghanistan. These points are: the complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops, an independent and non-aligned status for Afghanistan, self-determination for the Afghan people, and the right of return for the refugees with safety and honor.

Furthermore, the United States has contributed over \$300 million since 1979 for the Afghan refugee program in Pakistan, where the world's largest refugee population has been welcomed

and cared for by the Government of Pakistan. The question of how we can further bring home to the Soviets the full cost of their aggression is one which is under constant study.

I know this is not totally responsive to your deep concerns about Afghanistan and the cause of freedom, but I trust you understand why. If your Washington Bureau Chief, Bill Schmick, would like any further information on Afghanistan I would suggest he be in touch with either the State Department's Press Office or Afghanistan Desk.

Sincerely,

Larry Speakes

RECEIVED 29 NOV 83 10

TO SPEAKES, L

FROM OTTAWAY, JIM

DOCDATE 07 OCT 83

HILL, C

23 NOV 83

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

MP

USSR

MEDIA

SUBJECT: LTR TO SPEAKES RE LACK NEWS COVERAGE RE AFGHAN RESISTANCE EFFORTS  
AGAINST SOVIET UNION

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO SALLY KELLEY DUE: 03 DEC 83 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KEMP

MATLOCK

SIMS

COMMENTS

REF# 181877

8333382

LOG

NSCIFID

( LB )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	C 12/06	Kimmit Agel memo		RK, GK
DISPATCH	✓ 12/06			W/ATTCH FILE WH (C)

8333382

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 1, 1983

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF LARRY SPEAKES

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 181877

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED OCTOBER 7, 1983

TO: LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: MR. JAMES H. OTTAWAY JR.  
CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT  
OTTAWAY NEWSPAPERS, INC.  
POST OFFICE BOX 401  
CAMPBELL HALL NY 10916

SUBJECT: ASKS FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN  
AND THE HELP U. S. IS PROVIDING

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN  
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE  
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE  
(OR DRAFT) TO:  
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

*rec'd 5/8-E 10/31/83  
2250 OHS*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/25/83

For: Anne Higgins

From: Les Janka

Please refer the attached to the  
Dept. of State for a draft reply  
for Larry Speakes' signature, and  
return to me.

Thank you.

*Sally - pls a h  
State Dept -  
draft -  
a*

# OTTAWAY NEWSPAPERS, INC. 8333382

P.O. Box 401, Campbell Hall, N.Y. 10916 Phone: (914) 294-8181

The Community Newspaper Subsidiary of Dow Jones & Co., Inc.

James H. Ottaway, Jr.  
Chairman and President

October 7, 1983

181877

Mr. Larry Speakes  
President's Press Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Speakes:

I am one of the members of the Associated Press board of directors who had a very nice lunch with you in the White House Wednesday, Oct. 5, and write to thank you for your hospitality and for making President Reagan available for questions during that very busy day.

I had one question I was not able to ask and write to ask if you could get me an answer which could be used in an Ottaway News Service round-up story our Washington bureau chief, Bill Schmick, is preparing with comments from our Senators and Congressmen who are on Senate and House Foreign Relations and Intelligence committees.

My question is about Afghanistan. We used to be criticized for writing editorials about it. Now we could be criticized for not writing very much about the valiant war Afghan guerrilla groups have carried on against the invading Russian army since 1979.

On Saturday, Oct. 1, Defense Secretary Weinberger was in a Pakistani/Afghan refugee camp near the Afghanistan border speaking to cheering refugees to whom he promised continued United States support in their battle against the Russians. A number of U.S. officials have made similar visits during the past four years to keep alive worldwide awareness of that Russian invasion and seemingly hopeless resistance by Afghan guerrillas.

The cover story of Newsweek magazine which appeared Monday, Oct. 3, contains a full-page description of what the CIA is supposedly doing to help the Afghanistan rebels. This Newsweek story claims that we are giving \$100 million a year to Afghan Moslem rebels in arms, ammunition and surface to air missiles, some through Egypt, but most through Pakistan and across its border into Afghanistan.

On the other hand, a number of Western journalists who have gone into Afghanistan, lived and traveled with rebel groups, all report that they are ill-equipped and angry at America and the West for not giving them more military, medical and economic support.

**California**  
Santa Cruz, SENTINEL

**Connecticut**  
Danbury, NEWS-TIMES

**Kentucky**  
Ashland, INDEPENDENT

**Massachusetts**  
New Bedford, STANDARD-TIMES  
Ware, GLOBE

Beverly-Peabody, TIMES  
Gloucester, DAILY TIMES  
Newburyport, DAILY NEWS

**Michigan**  
Traverse City, RECORD-EAGLE

**Minnesota**  
Mankato, FREE PRESS  
Owatonna, PEOPLE'S PRESS

**Missouri**  
Mallardsville, GLOBE

**Oregon**  
Medford, MAIL TRIBUNE

**New York**  
Oneonta, DAILY STAR  
Port Jervis, TRI-STATE GAZETTE  
Plattsburgh, PRESS-REPUBLICAN  
Middletown, TIMES HERALD-RECORD

**Pennsylvania**  
Sharon, HERALD  
Stroudsburg, POCONO RECORD  
Suffern, DAILY ITEM

#### Weeklies

**New Hampshire**  
Hampton, HAMPTON UNION  
Hampton, ROCKINGHAM COUNTY  
GAZETTE  
Exeter, THE NEWS-LETTER

**Pennsylvania**  
Grove City, ALLIED NEWS

As late as Sept. 21, Ludmilla Thorne of Freedom House in New York reported after spending several weeks with Afghan rebels that they were begging her for medical and military aid from the United States. This article appeared on the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal if you want to check it. It is a very interesting, detailed report.

Thorne reported in that Wall Street Journal that she interviewed several Russian army defectors living with Afghan rebels. They fled the invading Russian army because they had been lied to and treated badly by their Russian army superiors who told them they would be fighting Chinese and Americans. When they found they were being ordered to shoot Afghan citizens, they refused and defected.

Two of these Russian soldiers told Thorne they had written President Reagan asking for political asylum in the United States. Since President Reagan and Secretary Weinberger want to show support for the Afghan rebels and keep that guerrilla war in the news and in world political consciousness, would it not be a good idea for President Reagan to accept those Russian army defectors into the United States, give them political asylum and let them speak publicly about their feelings on the Russian invasion of Afghanistan? It would be a terrific news story if you could bring them to the United States, perhaps have them testify before the Senate Foreign Relations or Intelligence Subcommittee, and make it clear to the world what the Russians are doing in Afghanistan.

With all of this background, here is my specific question:

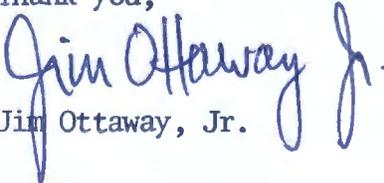
What is our current policy of support for the Afghanistan rebels and their war against the Russian army invading Afghanistan?

And what are we actually doing to help them with military and medical arms and supplies?

If we are giving them \$100 million of military supplies a year, why do Afghan rebel leaders repeatedly ask for more help, say that they are getting very little from America and appear to be so ill-equipped that they are using mostly captured Russian guns and bullets to defend their country?

I hope you can get me an answer to these questions from the President of the United States.

Thank you,

  
Jim Ottaway, Jr.

JHO, Jr./bms

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 INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 831223 RECEIVED DATE 831229  
 (PREFIX) (FIRST) (LAST) (SUFFIX)  
 THE HONORABLE CHARLIE WICK  
 TITLE: DIRECTOR

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ORGANIZATION: UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
 STREET:  
 CITY: WASHINGTON STATE: DC ZIP: 20547  
 COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES COPY OF THEIR LATEST PUBLICATION ON  
 AFGHANISTAN, "AFGHANISTAN: THE STRUGGLE  
 CONTINUES"

AGY/OFF ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE  
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STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN MEDIA: L OPID: LW TYPE: IBA  
 COMMENTS:

CODES REPORT MI INDIV: USER:

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NSC ID 8400059

**United States  
Information  
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

# 186392  
Office of the Director



DEC 23 1983

3

C<sup>7</sup> Fuller

Dear Mr. President:

I have attached a copy of USIA's latest publication on Afghanistan, which is part of our continuing public diplomacy effort to focus international attention on the facts and implications of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

"Afghanistan: The Struggle Continues" is a sequel to an earlier pamphlet, "Afghanistan: The Struggle to Regain Freedom," printed in the fall of 1981.

A total of 25,000 copies has been printed and distributed worldwide through our overseas posts in four languages: English, French, Arabic and Spanish.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Charles Z. Wick  
Director

Attachment:

"Afghanistan: The  
Struggle Continues"

The President  
The White House

NSC/S PROFILE

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TO PRESIDENT

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 23 DEC 83

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29 DEC 83

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

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SUBJECT USIA PUBLICATION RE AFGHANISTAN THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

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**AFGHANISTAN**  
**The Struggle Continues**

The toll mounts, yet  
the resistance to Soviet  
occupation remains  
unyielding.  
On the front cover,  
*mujahidin* mortar team in  
action (see page 15).  
Right, armed freedom  
fighter.  
below, graveyard in  
Gonduz with many  
who have died in  
battle.



**T**

he world knows them as the *mujahidin*, the Afghan freedom fighters. Since 1979 the *mujahidin*—and the people of Afghanistan—have been waging a war of resistance against the occupation forces of the Soviet Union and the Babrak Karmal regime which the Soviets installed.

The *mujahidin* rose spontaneously to battle the invader, as they have done periodically throughout Afghanistan's history. Although of disparate ethnic and tribal groups, the lightly armed Afghans are united in the faith of Islam and the determination to regain their independence despite the massive Soviet military technology employed against them—fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships, tanks, artillery, rocketry, mines and chemical weapons.

The price of their resistance in blood and suffering is enormous. Many thousands of Afghan fighters and civilians are dead; four million are refugees in Pakistan and Iran, comprising the world's largest such refugee group. Thousands more are refugees in their own country.

Afghanistan, which has resisted foreign invaders for centuries, achieved complete independence following World War I. Today the *mujahidin* fight on to win it back.



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَكُونَ  
ح ٢٦

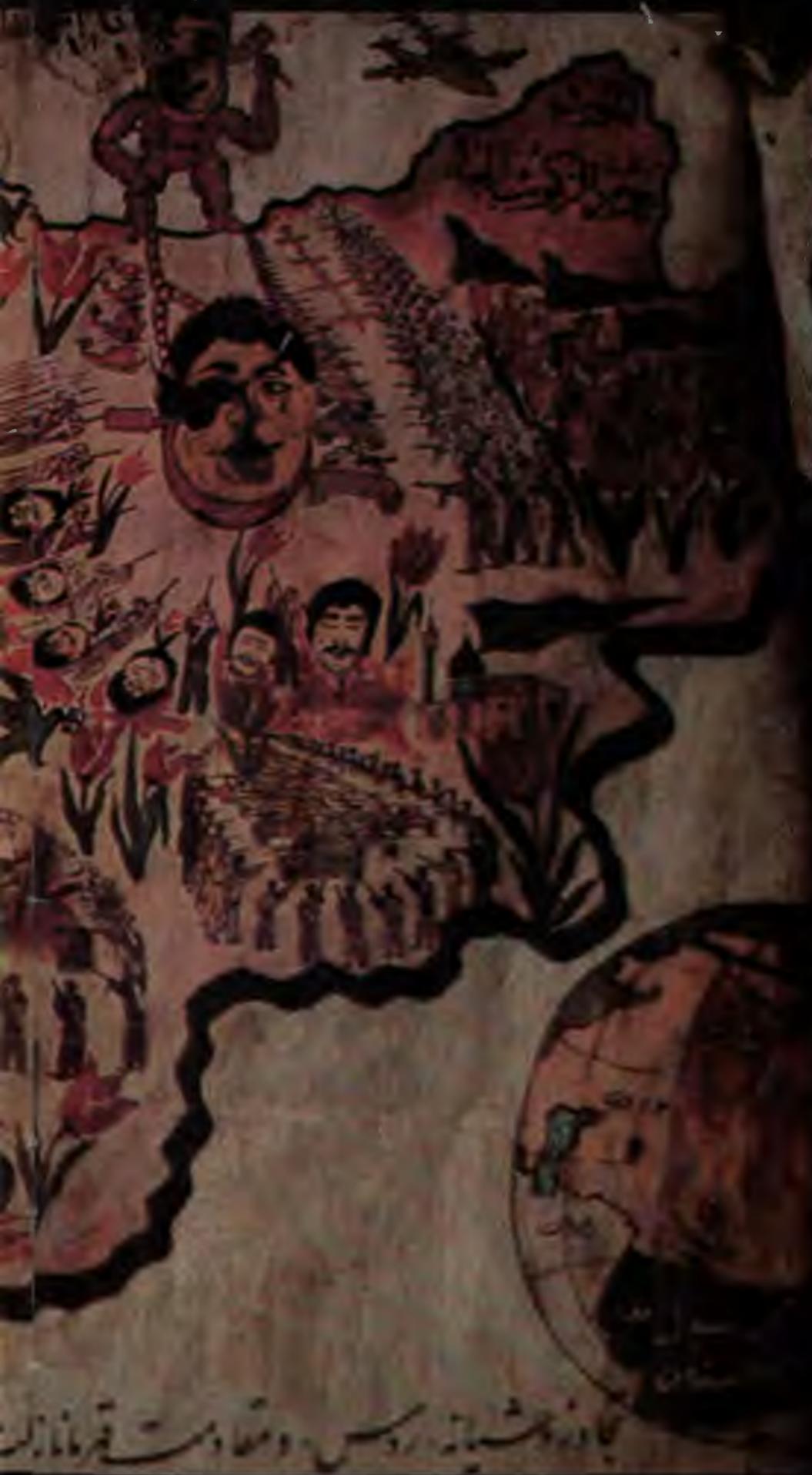
الجهاد الوطني لانتفاضة افغانستان الآن  
منذ انطلقت الجهاد والقيام العام  
في افغانستان بتاريخ ١٥ مارس ١٩٧٩  
بمساعدة قوات انتفاضة ان الذين  
استجابوا في ١١ مارس ١٩٧٩  
وتمت السيطرة على جلال آباد وبقية المدن



7 1979

تأهلت مسلمان افغانستان

Afghanistan map by freedom fighters depicts the struggle against Soviet occupiers.



## Background

**I**n examining Afghanistan's history during the past decade, a clear pattern emerges of increasing Soviet intervention, culminating in the December 1979 invasion and coup.

King Mohammad Zahir Shah, who reigned under the modernized constitution of 1964, was deposed in 1973 by a coalition led by a former prime minister, Mohammad Daoud Khan, who proclaimed a republic committed to political and economic reforms.

The Communist party (People's Democratic Party) overthrew the republic in the bloody April revolution of 1978. Daoud was killed along with his family and hundreds of his supporters; Nur Taraki, leader of the Communist party faction called the Khalq, took power.

The Soviet Union moved quickly to extend its influence. A "friendship treaty" was followed by an influx of Soviet military and civilian personnel, but unrest and organized opposition to a Kabul regime perceived as Soviet-dominated and anti-Islamic mounted. Continuing factionalism within the Communist party, inspired by personal and ideological differences, erupted in September 1979. Taraki was killed and replaced by Hafizullah Amin, an erratic subordinate.

As dissidence and armed resistance threatened the increasingly unstable Kabul regime, Moscow suddenly acted. Five thousand Soviet troops flew into the capital during a three-day period beginning December 24. Amin was killed December 27 and Babrak Karmal, exiled leader of a Communist party Parcham faction, was announced as the country's new "elected" leader. The announcement came in a radio broadcast from the Soviet Union.

Karmal, who was not in Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet invasion, said in an address a few months later: "The date of December 27 represents the intervention of God Almighty. The U.S.S.R. helping us is also an act of God."



Ever since the 1979 Soviet invasion, Moscow has claimed that it was "invited" into Afghanistan under terms of a friendship treaty to repel "armed intervention" from abroad. And Moscow continues to maintain that it is only supporting the Kabul regime with a "limited contingent" of troops.

## INTERNATIONAL

With the exception largely of a few Communist states, the international community did not believe Moscow in 1979 and does not today. Rarely have the nations of the world registered their opinion on any subject with such unanimity and consistency. The world knows the Soviet Union is guilty of aggression, that the only "foreign forces" in Afghanistan are those of the Soviet Union, and that the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a threat to international peace and security.

On four occasions since January 1980, the United Nations General Assembly has approved resolutions by overwhelming majorities calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status, respect for the Afghan people's right of self-determination, and the return of refugees to their homeland in safety and with honor.

All four resolutions have been drafted, introduced and supported by Third World nations, including Islamic and non-aligned states. They have made the issue of Afghanistan their own—and for good reason—regarding the extension of the 1968 "Brezhnev Doctrine" (Moscow's self-proclaimed right to intervene in any "socialist" country) outside of East Europe into Asia as especially menacing.

The U.N. General Assembly first met in emergency session on Afghanistan in January 1980 after a 13-2 vote by the Security Council calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Since that time, similar resolutions and declarations condemning the Soviet invasion have been approved by many individual nations and international assemblies or bodies—including the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Conference, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Community, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

The Non-Aligned Summit of 1983, meeting in New Delhi, approved a declaration calling for "the withdrawal of foreign troops" and a settlement "which would ensure that the Afghan people would determine their own destiny free from outside interference." The summit also supported efforts by the U.N. Secretary General "in promoting an early settlement of the problem in conformity with the ideals and principles of non-aligned countries."

The Soviet Union has rejected outright the appeals of the U.N. General Assembly and others as "inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

Moscow's position, as set forth in Kabul's 1980 and 1981 statements of conditions for a political settlement, is a demand for direct negotiations between the Kabul regime

and its neighbors, a cessation of "outside interference" and international guarantees regarding that cessation. In essence, this would mean recognition of the legitimacy of the Karmal regime and abandonment of international support for the rights of the Afghan people and refugees.

The U.N. Secretary General, meanwhile, continues to seek a negotiated solution to Afghanistan, as he originally was mandated to do by a General Assembly resolution of November 1980. In 1982 and again in 1983 a personal representative of the Secretary General has gone to Kabul and Islamabad, as well as Tehran, and then held indirect talks in Geneva with Pakistan and Kabul representatives. These talks are continuing.

Although reports of possible negotiations are encouraging, statements emanating from Moscow and Kabul are not

Babrak Karmal, in a speech marking the fifth anniversary of the 1978 April revolution, said: "Today we express our profound and sincere thanks to the Soviet Union, to the CPSU led by Comrade Y.I. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for the formidable and all-round assistance to the D.R.A. (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan) and our people."

A Soviet Communist party message to the Afghan Communist party on the fifth anniversary of the April revolution said: "The Afghan people and their government can continue to count on the international aid of the Soviet people in defense of the gains of the April revolution."



In many areas the Afghan countryside is a landscape of destruction. Opposite page, wreckage of Soviet helicopter shot down near Mala Sar; an old man (left) works to rebuild his home in the Panjsher Valley north of Kabul following a Soviet air attack.

Afghanistan is a country undergoing Sovietization, with Moscow in command of the war as well as the Kabul regime's administrative apparatus.

# OCCUPATION

From its 5,000-man invasion contingent in 1979, the Soviet military force has been increased to at least 105,000; it also directs the Kabul regime's desertion-ridden army of 30,000 troops—about one-third of its pre-invasion size. Several thousand Soviet advisers are in charge of regime ministries. The Soviet secret police, KGB, oversees its Kabul counterpart, KHAD (State Information Service). Several thousand Afghan youths are studying in the Soviet Union as candidates for the regime's ruling class.

Economically, Afghanistan is being reoriented to



Above, evidence of deployment of Soviet chemical weapons in Afghanistan—chemical detection kit captured from Soviet soldier. Soviet forces also have used the deadly toxin known as Yellow Rain against *mujahidin* and unarmed villagers in remote parts of the country.

Soviet and Soviet-directed Afghan forces wage a war of occupation that has ravaged Afghanistan with tanks, artillery, helicopter gunships and mines, as well as chemical and toxin weapons outlawed by international convention. Above, *mujahidin* commander wounded in stomach and leg by helicopter attack begins long journey for medical care; at right, aftermath of Soviet ground and air bombardment.



the Soviet Union and East European countries; its natural gas and mineral deposits are being exploited to finance the war and the Soviet presence. In short, Afghanistan is paying for its own occupation.

Neither Moscow nor Kabul foresees any halfway station for Afghanistan and its people. Babrak Karmal, speaking in July 1982 of a possible negotiated settlement, declared his regime is pressing ahead with "consolidation of the new order in Afghanistan and securing the invincible path that we have selected."

*Red Star*, the Soviet military newspaper, made this observation in early 1983 on Afghanistan's destiny: *People always reach enlightenment through the bitterness of mistakes. But it comes just the same. The total victory of the revolution is still a long way off. But there is no crossroad for the Afghan people. There is the straight and difficult road they are traveling in the clear knowledge that their mighty northern neighbor—the Soviet Union—is always ready to give them assistance and support.*



## OCCUPATION

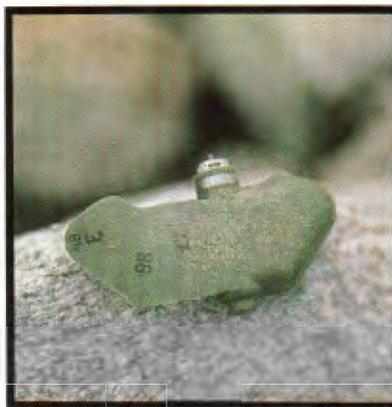
**S**oviet military strategy thus far has been to hold the country's few major cities as bases from which to strike out at the *mujahidin* in the countryside and mountain valleys of the Hindu Kush range. Because the *mujahidin* have proven so fierce and indomitable, Soviet forces in 1982 began resorting to massive firepower during their offensives in selected areas. Heavy aerial bombardment precedes artillery and tank assaults, followed by mopping-up operations on the ground. Towns and villages are obliterated to deprive the Afghan freedom fighters of food, shelter and aid. Soviet and Kabul forces employ a scorched-earth policy—plundering homes, burning crops and destroying irrigation systems.

Abdul Tabibi, Afghan ambassador to the United Nations until the Soviet invasion, said in early 1983: *Afghan cities have been ruined, bridges burned, and its people killed and maimed. The whole peaceful population of our country is being confronted daily with the bombardment of not only bombs and rockets, but by Yellow Rain, dum-dum (bullets), and chemical weapons—all of which are illegal.*

Chemical weapons have been employed selectively against the *mujahidin* in relatively inaccessible locations, such as mountain caves or underground waterways. Physical evidence also has been found— notably from analysis of two captured Soviet gas masks—of the use of deadly trichothecene mycotoxins (Yellow Rain). Testimony on the employment of these illegal weapons in Afghanistan—as in Kampuchea and Laos—has come from victims in refugee camps and physicians attending them, defectors and journalists.

Another tactic of Soviet and Kabul forces is the calculated atrocity. In September 1982, for example, Soviet troops surrounded the village of Padkahwab-e-shana in the Logar Valley south of Kabul. The soldiers sealed off the escape route of a group of 105 villagers hiding in an underground irrigation canal, poured in petrol and chemicals, and then set the canal aflame, killing virtually all of them. The story was told by village officials before the People's Permanent Tribunal hearings on Afghanistan held in Paris in December 1982.

Soviet "butterfly" mine (below) is one of thousands dropped by air throughout Afghanistan, including mountain trails that are the only escape route for refugees fleeing to Pakistan.



The Paris tribunal (successor to groups founded by the British philosopher and pacifist Bertrand Russell) concluded four days of hearings on Soviet warfare and human rights violations in Afghanistan by stating that the tribunal "condemns the Soviet Union for violations of the rules of the law of war" and "declares that such violations are closely linked to violation of the inalienable rights of the Afghan people."

Hearings organized in Oslo in March 1983 further substantiated accounts by victims and eyewitnesses of atrocities and violations of human rights in Afghanistan. A former high-ranking police officer in Kabul, Mohammad Ayyoub Assil, who defected in late 1982, testified that torture, confiscation of property, and imprisonment and execution were "all the order of the day." At least 12,000 Afghans have died of torture at the Ministry of the Interior in Kabul, Assil said, and probably hundreds of thousands elsewhere in the country. He said the ministry was "completely dominated by the Soviets," who control the Afghan secret police interrogators.

Pal Hougen, chairman of the Norwegian Afghanistan Committee, told the Oslo hearings of his two recent trips into the countryside and the deliberate destruction of farms, villages and towns. He reported, "I found a society where all the basic functions were disturbed, where the infrastructure of the society was broken down." He added that the people were "unable to cultivate their own soil." The war in Afghanistan, Hougen said, is "directed against the civilian population," and the objective is "frightening it, forcing it out of the country, and dividing and destroying the country."

Edward Girardet, a journalist who has made five trips inside Afghanistan since 1979, said there was a "deliberate policy by the Soviet government to chase the (Afghan) people into exile, thereby ridding the resistance groups of any possibility of support."

In the view of Moscow and Kabul, this is all part of "consolidation of the new order," part of the experience the Afghan people must endure to achieve "the total victory of the revolution."

Afghans struggle against the Soviet occupation with every means at their command. Villager (left) sets type for clandestine *mujahidin* newspaper; below, freedom fighters use portable tape recorder and microphone for broadcasts of Radio Free Kabul, recently renamed "The Voice of the Mujahidin." Broadcasts began in June 1982 with former employees of the Kabul regime's radio station. At bottom, Soviet defector from Kazakhstan (shown at right), one of several former Soviet soldiers from central Asia who have joined the Afghan resistance.



A cruel barometer of the violence, destruction and suffering inflicted upon the people of Afghanistan is the number who have been forced from their farmlands and villages and become refugees abroad. Pakistan registered 2.8 million refugees in late 1982 and Iran cited 1.5 million in 1983. These four million Afghans—approximately one-quarter of the population—comprise the largest single refugee mass in the world for any one national group.

# REFUGEES



The exodus began as a comparative trickle after the 1978 Communist coup, when several hundred thousand fled during the Taraki and Amin regimes. After the Soviet invasion, the trickle became a torrent of thousands each month and later a flood of tens of thousands.

And still they come, the wounded, sick, starving, old and young. Escape is an ordeal, particularly for the wounded. There are no railroads, buses or motor vehicles to transport them. The Afghans travel, sometimes for many days, on foot, on horses, donkeys, cattle and

even camels. The wounded reaching Pakistan are picked up by ambulances and rushed to surgery in hospitals in Peshawar or treated in border medical facilities. "Our hospital is always full to capacity," said a Peshawar hospital official, "and we are forced to treat as out-patients many who need to be hospitalized." About 80 percent of the wounded are men.

Several hundred refugee camps dot the border areas of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier and Baluchistan provinces. The refugees live in tents; half of them are children.

Above, refugee camp in Bajuar, Pakistan; right, mother and child in Kachiagari refugee camp, also in Pakistan.



## REFUGEES



Pakistani authorities and international relief agencies struggle to provide food, shelter and medical care for Afghan refugees who now number in the millions. Above, wounded refugee; right, distribution of food and milk; far right, tent-covered classroom for refugee children.



**I**nternational aid for the refugees includes massive amounts of food, medical supplies, housing materials and bedding. The relief program is sponsored by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the World Food Program, another U.N. agency, also has played a major role. The Pakistan Refugee Administration's work is directed by a staff of 7,000 district, area and village administrators. Pakistan estimates its program costs \$1 million a day, about half of all the money required to support the refugees. An extensive program is provided by the Saudi Red Crescent Society as well, which has

set up clinics, schools and mosques in a number of refugee camps.

Refugee support includes food, shelter, clothing, health care, schooling and cash allowances. A fleet of 450 long-haul trucks transports international aid arriving at the port of Karachi.

Health care is a special challenge. Gradually, mobile health units have been supplanted by clinics in refugee camps staffed by doctors and nurses. Surgical hospitals are operated by the International Committee of the Red Cross and Idara-i-ahyual-loom (Institute of Islamic



Learning). "We are trying to fill a serious vacuum," a Red Cross officer said in commenting on the almost total absence of medical aid available in Afghanistan to the *mujahidin* and civilians wounded in bombing attacks and ground offensives.

The Red Cross attempted to extend its services to Afghanistan, but the Kabul regime expelled the organization in 1982 after a few months. The only medical care a comparatively few *mujahidin* receive is provided clandestinely by doctors and nurses sent by several Paris-based organizations, including *Médecins Sans*

*Frontières* (Doctors Without Frontiers). The doctors treat the wounded and sick in village huts and underground caves, and often are targets for Soviet bombers.

Not all refugees have escaped to Pakistan or Iran on foot. Of the Afghan Muslims who made pilgrimages by air to Mecca in 1982, some 1,500 sought political asylum, according to two officials of Kabul's Haj (pilgrimage) Department, Afghan Directorate of Religious Affairs, who defected and told their story to journalists in Pakistan.



Moscow and Kabul call them "bandits," "terrorists" and "counter-revolutionaries." But the *mujahidin* regard themselves as holy warriors in the cause of Islam against the foreign invader and his puppet in Kabul.

# WAR



Mujahidin troops (above right) bombard Soviet encampment near Rokha in the Panjsher Valley with mortar fire. Above left, mortar round explodes in the distance near the camp, which is marked by a red flag.





War in Afghanistan pits the guerrilla tactics of the *mujahidin* against the massive firepower of Soviet armor and airpower.

Center right, a group of *mujahidin* examine captured Soviet machine gun. Despite their limited weaponry, the *mujahidin* have developed effective tactics for destroying armored vehicles such as the Soviet personnel carrier (right). At top, Janan Gul, former farmer near Jalalabad, is credited with shooting down a helicopter with his rifle; left, wreckage of downed Soviet helicopter gunship.

*Mujahidin* in Qonduz (above) shoulders captured Soviet SAM-7 ground-to-air rocket launcher, one of the most advanced infantry weapons in the Soviet arsenal.



“**T**

he Afghans will be ruled by the Russians only when there are no more Afghans,” said one resistance leader. Another, speaking of possible future negotiations, said, “If the terms are not acceptable we shall fight until they are, or until we die.”

Many *mujahidin* have died. Tabulations are difficult to authenticate, but estimates range from 200,000 upward. Various Afghan spokesmen have estimated the total number of Afghan fighter and civilian deaths from a half million to several million. Soviet casualties are believed to number 15,000, perhaps one-third killed, although some analyses place the figures higher.

This fact is clear, however: In the years since the invasion of 1979, Soviet military forces have failed to subjugate Afghanistan despite the enormously superior firepower and mobility of their aircraft, artillery and armor. The *mujahidin* still control about 80 percent of the country. Many cities and towns are under only nominal daylight control by Soviet and Kabul army units. Even in Kabul the resistance fighters continue night attacks, hitting military and police posts, regime offices, enemy housing and power facilities. In the countryside the Afghans

attack military garrisons and outposts and constantly ambush military convoys.

The resistance has continued to be effective throughout the country, as renewal of Soviet offensives in the spring of 1983 testified. There were reports of heavy and sustained fighting in the Herat area of western Afghanistan, in Kandahar to the south, the eastern border province of Paktia and the Shomali district between Kabul and the Hindu Kush.

Journalists, diplomats and intelligence specialists marvel at successes of the *mujahidin*. Despite inadequate firepower, lack of a central unified command structure, limited military training, scanty communication facilities, and haphazard logistic support, the *mujahidin* have shown improving capabilities against all the advanced weaponry that the Soviet forces possess. Though the *mujahidin* began the war of resistance with little more than turn-of-the-century rifles, they have upgraded their firepower with weapons captured from Soviet military convoys, army posts and depots. Many deserters from the Afghan army brought their weapons and their military expertise to the *mujahidin* as well.



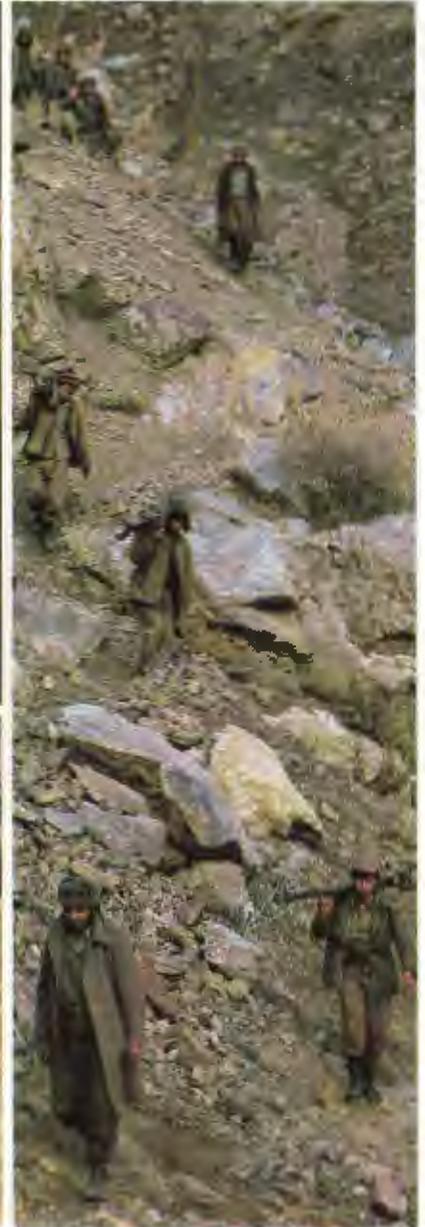
Above, smoke rises from rockets and machine guns fired by helicopters flying along the road leading north from Kabul to Charikar and the U.S.S.R. Soviet helicopter gunships patrol the road throughout the day in 30-minute shifts, firing at anything that moves. All the villages in the area have been evacuated. At left, severely wounded *mujahidin*.

# T

he Afghan army itself is a continuing embarrassment to the Babrak Karmal regime, an indicator of its failure to win the support of the Afghan people. Riddled by desertions, demoralized by Soviet control, the army is far under its pre-invasion strength of 90,000, despite repeated conscription dragnets and decrees extending the ages and qualifications for service.

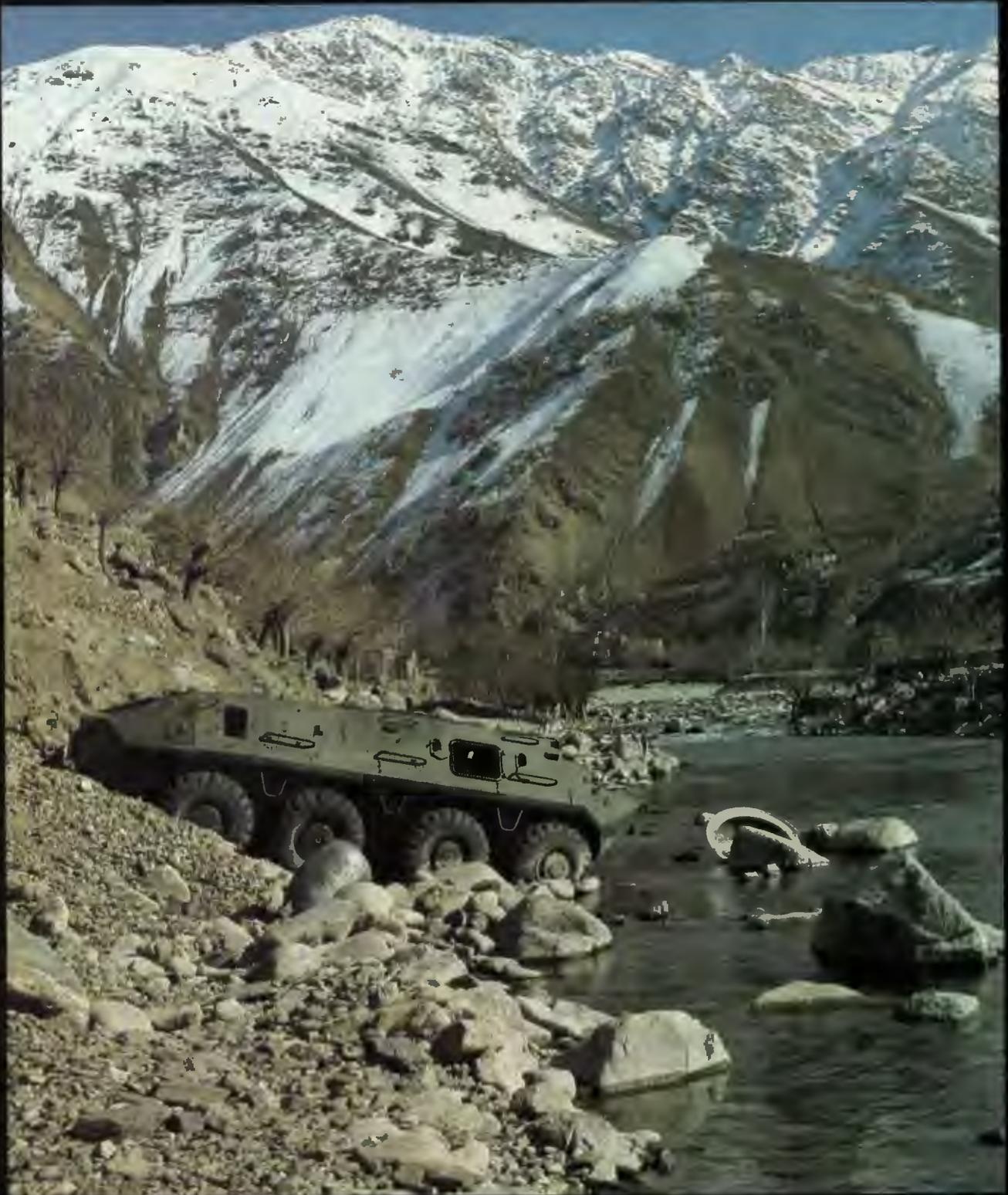
The *mujahidin's* opposition to the Soviet Union and its Kabul regime is eloquently summarized by Mohamed Akram Gizani, a resistance leader in the

Hazarajat central highlands region. "The Kabul government does not represent the Afghan people, it only represents itself and its own miniature party," Gizani told a Norwegian journalist. "Justice will be the victor. Our struggle, combined with increasingly strong international pressure, will result in the Soviet withdrawal. It will take time, but we are patient.... So far, neither the Kabul regime nor the Moscow government has gained anything from this war. As time goes, they will realize that the price will become increasingly high."

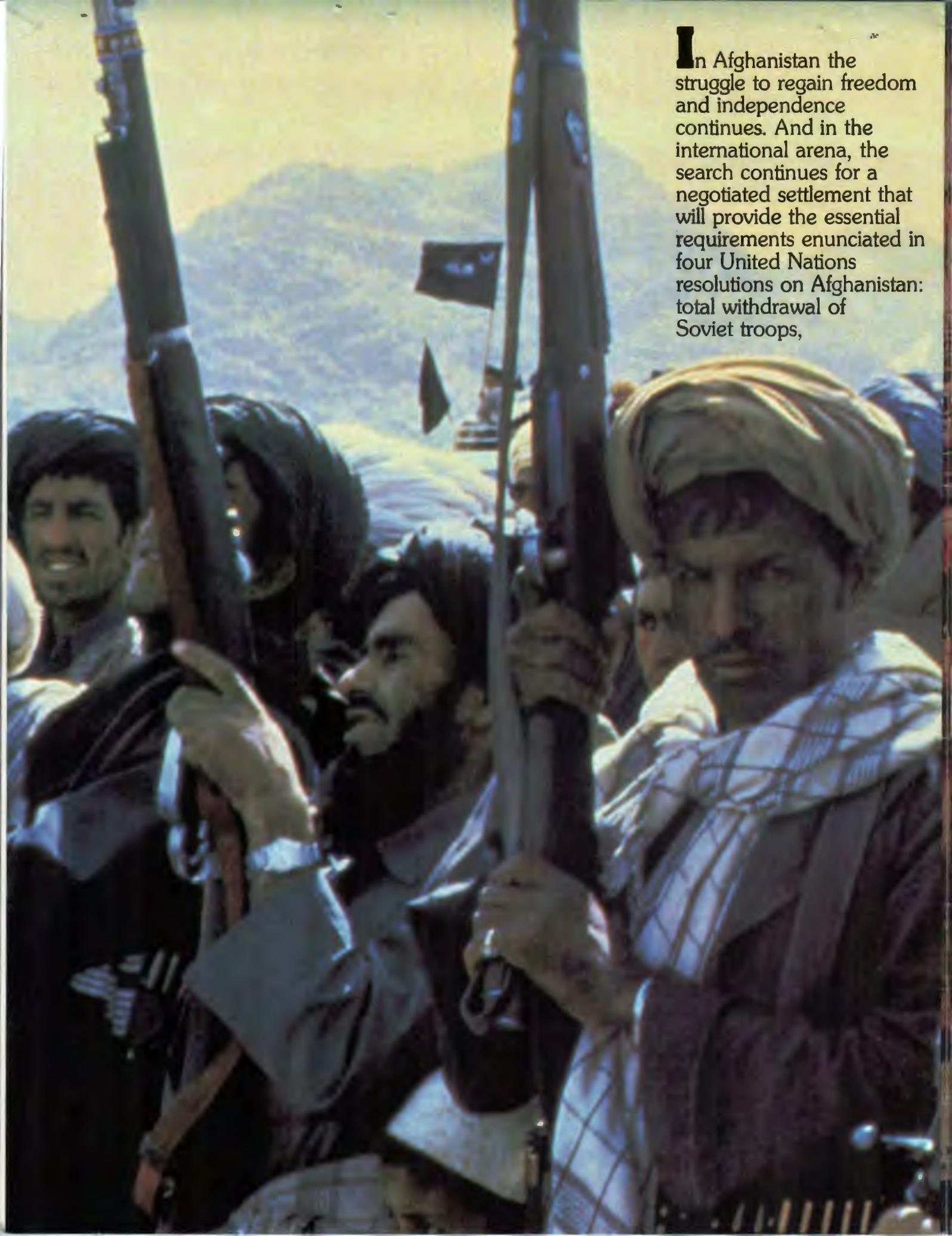


Courage, stamina and knowledge of the countryside are as important to the *mujahidin* as their weapons. Top left, freedom fighters gather around a fire for a morning meal; on the march with a mortar (above right); gathering at a staging area to organize a pack train with horses (above left).

**WAR**



Afghanistan's rugged terrain helps to negate the mobility and firepower of Soviet armor. Above, Soviet armored personnel carrier, destroyed in a *mujahidin* ambush, rests in a riverbed.

A photograph showing a group of Afghan fighters in a mountainous region. They are wearing traditional headwear (turbans) and are holding rifles. A flag is visible in the background. The scene is set against a backdrop of rugged, hazy mountains under a bright sky. The fighters are dressed in traditional Afghan clothing, including turbans and shawls. They are holding rifles, and one in the foreground is holding a flag. The overall atmosphere is one of a military or revolutionary struggle.

**I**n Afghanistan the struggle to regain freedom and independence continues. And in the international arena, the search continues for a negotiated settlement that will provide the essential requirements enunciated in four United Nations resolutions on Afghanistan: total withdrawal of Soviet troops,

self-determination for the Afghan people, independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and the return of the refugees in safety and with honor. The people of Afghanistan ask no more; the world community can demand no less.



# Afghanistan Chronology

## 1978

### April

Mohammad Daoud is overthrown and Nur Mohammad Taraki is installed as President. An estimated 350 Soviet advisers are in the country.

### December

Growing Afghan resistance to Soviet presence prompts Moscow to increase military advisers to about 1,000.

## 1979

### July

Soviets deploy first combat unit to Afghanistan by moving an airborne battalion of some 400 men to Bagram, 30 kilometers outside Kabul.

### August

Uprising in Kabul on August 5 prompts additional increase in Soviet presence and military aid.

### September

In Moscow President Taraki and President Brezhnev discuss the replacement of Prime Minister Amin.

Amin gains effective control of government after an exchange of gunfire at the People's Palace. Taraki's resignation and Amin's appointment as President are announced. Soviet airborne division goes to heightened state of readiness.

### October

Kabul announces Taraki's death.

### December

Massive Soviet airlift occurs, with more than 300 transports delivering troops, equipment and supplies to Kabul. Soviet airborne troops lead attack on Darulaman Palace and radio station. Amin is killed. Afghan army units are disarmed by Soviet advisers and troops. "Radio Kabul"—actually the Soviet Union broadcasting from Termez in the U.S.S.R.—announces coup. Babrak Karmal becomes President.

## 1980

### January

Soviets deploy about 40,000 combat troops in Afghanistan and move into major provincial capitals.

U.N. General Assembly, by 104-18 vote, passes resolution calling for "immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops" from Afghanistan.

Islamic Foreign Ministers meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan, pass resolution calling Soviet invasion of Afghanistan a "flagrant violation" of international law.

### February

U.N. Human Rights Commission adopts Pakistan's resolution condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Number of Soviet troops inside Afghanistan increases to 75,000.

### March

U.S. expresses concern over reported Soviet use of poison gas in Afghanistan and raises the issue with the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights says it has confirmed Soviet use of poison gas in Afghanistan.

Seven members of Afghanistan's national soccer team ask for political asylum after fleeing to Pakistan and then to West Germany.

### June

The captain of Afghanistan's national basketball team announces in Peshawar that seven members of the team scheduled to play in the Moscow Olympics have defected to Pakistan.

### July

Seven members of the 11-man Afghan wrestling team leave Kabul to defect to Pakistan one day before they are to fly to Moscow for Olympic competition.

### August

The number of Afghan refugees who have registered in Pakistan passes the one million mark.

Officials estimate that the Afghan army, which numbered 80,000 one year earlier, now has less than 40,000 men, with only about 10,000 to 15,000 actually available for combat.

### September

Two members of the Afghan embassy in Ankara flee their posts for the United States. Charge d'affaires Ahmed Akram and First Secretary Abdul Manaf Qudes say they decided to defect when Turkey accepted the appointment of a new ambassador by the Kabul government.

About 250 employees of Ariana, Afghanistan's government-controlled airline, have defected to the West in recent months, a spokesman for the group says in

Frankfurt. The defectors include three-quarters of the airline's pilots.

### October

Afghanistan Chief Delegate to the U.N. World Communications Conference in Belgrade, Akhtar Mohammed Pakitawal, denounces the Soviet invasion in an emotional speech that moves the other delegates to wild applause. West German officials announce that Pakitawal will be granted political asylum in that country.

### November

The United Nations General Assembly overwhelmingly approves the second resolution calling for withdrawal of "foreign troops" from Afghanistan by a vote of 111 to 22 with 12 abstentions.

## 1981

### February

Annual survey of human rights released by U.S. State Department criticizes Soviet policies in Afghanistan. Alleged violations there include "use of 'trick explosives' and indiscriminate bombing and terrorizing of the Afghan population."

### April

Two Afghan diplomats and two staff members of the Afghan embassy in New Delhi are reported to be in the United States seeking political asylum.

Three Afghan crewmen of a Soviet-built helicopter fly to Quetta, Pakistan, and ask for asylum. An Afghan army lieutenant drives his Soviet tank into Pakistan seeking asylum.

### May

A panel of citizens from 11 nations, meeting in Stockholm to judge the "Afghanistan case," finds the Soviet Union "guilty of aggression...against the Afghan state." The hearing was conducted by a group of 14 judges from North and South America, Asia and North Africa, under the auspices of "the People's Permanent Tribunal," a successor to Bertrand Russell groups of the past.

### July

An entire Afghan army regiment deserts en masse in a battle at Charikar, north of Kabul.

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee hold a joint hearing in the U.S. Congress on Soviet violations of the Helsinki Accords in Afghanistan. Malik

Mohammed Hussain Khan, a *mujahidin* from Wardak province in Central Afghanistan, testifies on Soviet military actions in Afghanistan, the devastation resulting from the invasion and the effects on the Afghan people. Afghan refugees tell of witnessing Soviet-directed attacks on unarmed villagers.

## November

The United Nations General Assembly, for the third time since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, overwhelmingly approves a resolution demanding "the immediate withdrawal" of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The resolution vote is 116 for, 23 against, and 12 abstentions, an even larger majority censuring the Soviet Union than on the two previous resolutions.

## December

The U.N. General Assembly, overriding Soviet bloc objections, votes 86 to 20 with 34 abstentions, to continue an investigation by a panel of experts into charges that Soviet-made chemical weapons are being used in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

# 1982

## April

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Paul Hartling says in Brussels that the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan has passed 2.5 million, and the situation there is grave.

## June

The European Parliament, meeting in Strasbourg, adopts a resolution calling upon the foreign ministers of the ten member-states to establish a common policy of non-recognition of the legitimacy of the Soviet occupation of the Kabul regime, and recognizing "the Afghan resistance as a legitimate national liberation movement" which should be provided "all necessary aid."

In Geneva, Diego Cordovez, United Nations Under Secretary for Political Affairs, conducts talks on Afghanistan with representatives of Pakistan and the Karmal regime. The parties, in indirect negotiations, agree to discuss "the withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes."

## November

The United Nations General Assembly, for the fourth time in three years, approves a resolution demanding "the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghani-

stan"; 45 non-aligned nations sponsored the resolution, approved by a vote of 114 in favor and 21 opposed with 13 abstentions.

## December

Afghan army troops mutiny at the Nadar Shah-Kot military outpost in southeastern Paktia Province and then flee to Pakistan.

# 1983

## January

A defecting Afghan Defense Ministry official, Colonel Mohammad Ayub Osmani, tells reporters in Peshawar that Moscow plans to pattern the Kabul regime on the Soviet Moslem Republics in Central Asia. He says the information was revealed to him by a Soviet military adviser.

Several hundred troops of the Afghan army's 25th Division defect to Pakistan after a mutiny in which they kill Soviet and Afghan officers, according to diplomatic sources in New Delhi and Islamabad.

## February

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights adopts a resolution in Geneva condemning the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan and the continuing violation of the Afghan people's rights, and calls for "the immediate withdrawal" of Soviet troops. The commission vote, its fourth on the issue, is 29 in favor and seven against, with five abstentions.

## March

The seventh Non-Aligned Summit, meeting in New Delhi, approves a "political declaration" which supports efforts by the U.N. Secretary General in "promoting an early settlement of the (Afghanistan) problem in conformity with the ideals and principles of the movement of non-aligned countries."

A hearing on Afghanistan, organized by Norwegian citizens in Oslo, hears testimony from Afghan resistance members, French physicians and journalists on the devastation and hardships that the Afghan people are enduring in the war caused by the Soviet occupation.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan, in a statement marking the second annual "Afghanistan Day," March 21, calls upon the leaders of the Soviet Union "to end the bloodshed so that an independent Afghanistan can again take its place in the community of nations."

## April

U.N. Under Secretary Cordovez, serving as

the Secretary General's personal representative, opens a second round of separate talks in Geneva on an Afghanistan settlement with representatives of Pakistan and the Kabul regime; Iran, which is not participating, agrees to be kept informed. At the conclusion of the talks, the United Nations reports "substantial progress on a draft comprehensive settlement."

Afghan resistance sources in Pakistan and Iran claim that a Soviet air-ground offensive centering on the city of Herat has killed hundreds of civilians, and perhaps as many as 3,000.

## May

In an interview, Kabul Politburo member Soltan Ail Keshtrand denies various reports that a timetable for Soviet withdrawal has been discussed. "Soviet troops will stay as long as imperialist intervention lasts," he says. "No one can impose on us the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

A broadcaster on Moscow Radio's English-language service criticizes the Kabul regime and the Soviet occupation, and refers to the Afghans' "struggle against the Soviet invaders." Western journalists in Moscow later report that the broadcaster, identified as Vladimir Danchev, has disappeared.

## June

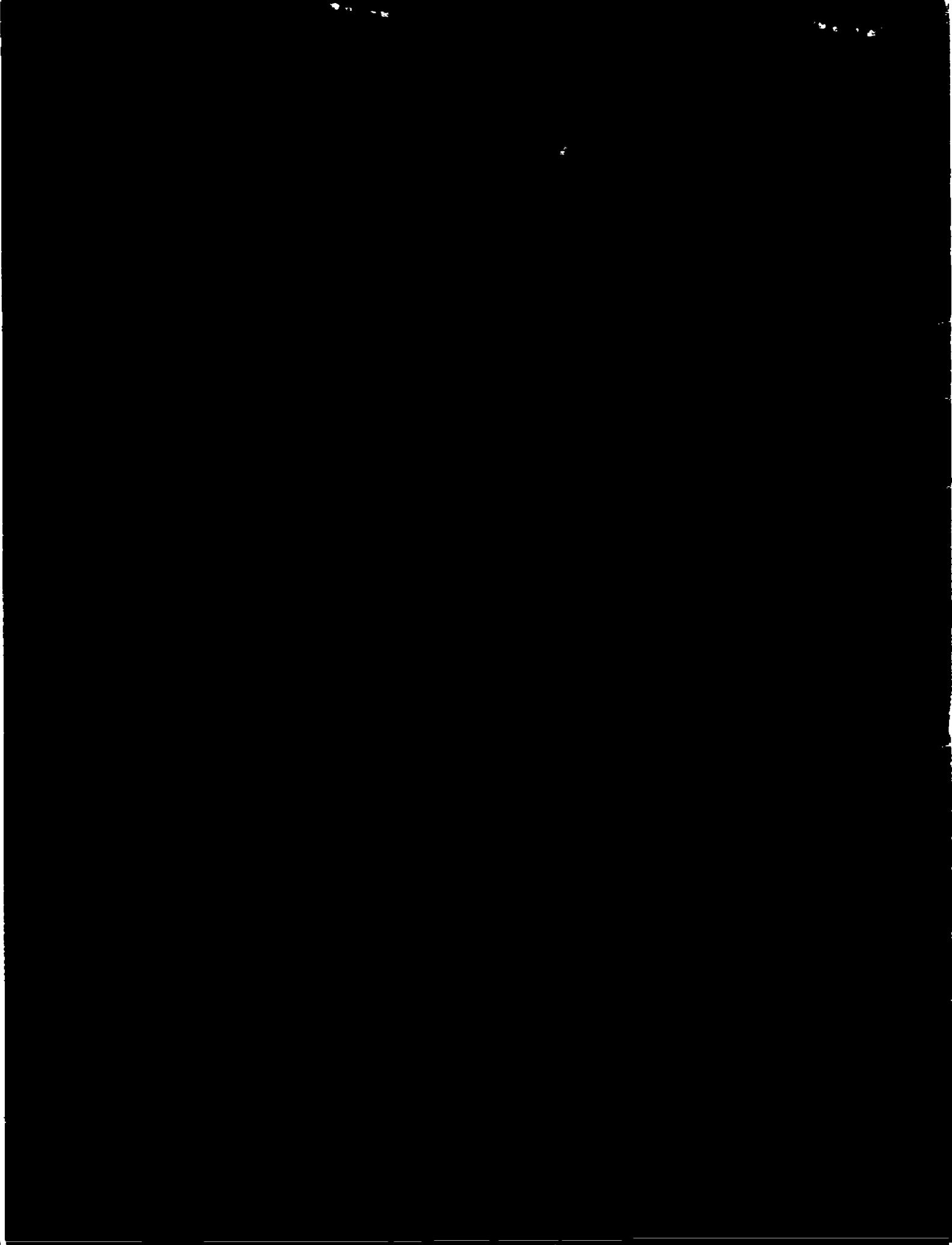
Afghan freedom fighters completely destroy an elite commando battalion of the Kabul regime during a three-day battle in Paktia Province, according to diplomats based in New Delhi. Approximately 200 Afghan soldiers were killed, sources claim, and many of the rest defected to the *mujahidin*.

The U.S. State Department, in a statement reiterating U.S. policy on Afghanistan, says "a negotiated settlement at the earliest possible moment to end the agony of the Afghan people and to get the Soviet forces out of Afghanistan remains the key." The United States renews its support for a settlement based on the U.N. General Assembly resolutions and the U.N. negotiating process in Geneva.

### Photo Credits

6, Top left: Jere Van Dyk, Black Star.  
9, Top right: Christian Baudu, Sipa Press/Black Star. 10-13, Steve McCurry, Gamma-Liaison (4) except p. 12 top. 17, Top: Van Dyk, Black Star. 18-19, Top: Alain Becquerel, Sipa Press/Black Star. 22-23, Akbar Shalizi, Sipa Press/Black Star.

### United States Information Agency



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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 16, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD K. PETERSON

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*

SUBJECT: State Draft Report SCR-74 Re Support of Afghanistan

We concur in the State draft report on S.Con.Res. 74, a bill declaring the support of the United States for the people of Afghanistan.

Attachment:  
incoming correspondence

NSC# 8308807

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

8807

December 15, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

GEOFFREY KEMP *GK*

SUBJECT:

State Draft Report SCR-74 Re Support  
of Afghanistan

Attached is a Kimmitt to Peterson memorandum for your signature.

Attachment:  
as stated  
w/incoming

8801



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

December 1, 1983

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer-  
National Security Council

SUBJECT: State draft report on S.Con.Res. 74, a bill declaring  
the support of the United States for the people of  
Afghanistan

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your  
agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to  
the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1983.

Questions should be referred to Tracey Lawler (395-4710 )  
the legislative analyst in this office or to Susan Gates  
( 395-4580 ).

*Ronald K. Peterson*  
RONALD K. PETERSON FOR  
Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Department of State has reviewed Senate Concurrent Resolution 74 (S. Con. Res 74) which says that "it should be the policy of the United States to encourage and support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign domination" submitted by Senator Tsongas on October 6. Although the Department of State remains of the opinion that it would be unwise for it to comment publicly on the text of the resolution, in order to avoid providing the Soviet Union with any support to their claim of outside interference in Afghan affairs by the United States, in private we have indicated that we have no objection to its contents. This Administration and the American people have great sympathy and admiration for the Afghans in their heroic struggle against the Soviet invaders, and it is our belief that this non-binding resolution will encourage their resolve and demonstrate that they have not been forgotten by the United States.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Alvin Paul Drischler  
Acting Assistant Secretary  
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable  
Charles H. Percy,  
Chairman,  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
United States Senate.

CONFIDENTIAL  
DECL: OADR

HOWARD M. BAKER, JR., TENN.  
JESSIE HELMS, N.C.  
RICHARD G. LUGAR, IND.  
CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., MD.  
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, RANS.  
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, MINN.  
LARRY PRESSLER, S. DAK.  
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, ALASKA

CLAIBORNE PELL, RI.  
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL.  
JOHN GLENN, OHIO  
PAUL S. SARBANES, MD.  
EDWARD ZORINSKY, NEBR.  
PAUL E. TSONGAS, MASS.  
ALAN CRANSTON, CALIF.  
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONN.

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

SCOTT COHEN, STAFF DIRECTOR  
GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

October 12, 1983

*H*  
**ACTION**  
is assigned to  
**NEA/PAB**

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Enclosed are copies of the following legislation:

S. Con. Res. 71, "Deploring the assassination of Benigno Aquino, calling for the conduct of a thorough, independent, and impartial investigation, and calling for free and fair elections in the Philippines," which was submitted by Senator Kennedy on October 3, 1983; and

S. Con. Res. 72, "Calling on the President to appoint a special envoy for Northern Ireland," which was submitted by Senator Moynihan on October 5, 1983; and

S. Con. Res. 74 "To encourage and support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign domination," which was submitted by Senator Tsongas on October 6, 1983.

The Foreign Relations Committee would appreciate receiving coordinated executive branch comments on this legislation at an early date.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Percy  
Chairman

CHP:gkg

Enclosures

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RECEIVED BY  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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98TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. CON. RES. 74

To encourage and support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign domination.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 6 (legislative day, OCTOBER 3), 1983

Mr. TSONGAS (for himself, Mr. ABDNOR, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. ARMSTRONG, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. BYRD, Mr. CHILES, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. COHEN, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. DIXON, Mr. DOLE, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. EXON, Mr. FORD, Mr. GARN, Mr. GLENN, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HART, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. HUDDLESTON, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LAXALT, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MATTINGLY, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. PELL, Mr. PRESSLEE, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. QUAYLE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. RUDMAN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SASSEB, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. WARNER, Mr. WILSON, Mr. ZOBINSKY, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. PERCY, and Mr. JEPSEN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

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## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To encourage and support the people of Afghanistan 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 three and a half 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;

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

1        *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*  
 2 *concurring), That it should be the policy of the United*  
 3 *States—*

4            (1) to encourage and support the people of Af-  
 5            ghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign  
 6            domination;

7            (2) to provide the people of Afghanistan, if they  
 8            so request, with material assistance, as the United

1 States considers appropriate, to help them fight effec-  
2 tively for their freedom;

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



**National Security Council  
The White House**

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Package # 8807

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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>		<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

RECEIVED 05 DEC 83 15

TO KIMMITT

FROM PETERSON, R

DOCDATE 01 DEC 83

KEYWORDS. AFGHANISTAN

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL

SUBJECT: STATE DRAFT RPT SCR-74 RE SUPPORT OF AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO PETERSON DUE: 21 DEC 83 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KEMP

MATLOCK

LEHMAN, C

DUR

LENCZOWSKI

THOMPSON

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( CB )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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12/16

Kimmit Strel memo

GK, TS

DISPATCH

12/16

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