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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name	WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAC	Г Wit l	hdrawer	
	(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE		DLE	3 2/5/2010
File Folder	CO002 (475000-476999)		FOL	A
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Box Number	37		SYS	TEMATIC
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
84196 MEMO	FRANK CARLUCCI TO THE PRESIDENT, RE: LETTER ON AFGHANISTAN FROM ZBIG BRZEZINSKI AND JUDGE CLARK	2	7/10/1987	B1
84197 MEMO	FRITZ ERMARTH TO FRANK CARLUCCI, RE: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT ON AFGHANISTAN FROM BRZEZINSKI AND JUDGE CLARK	2	7/7/1987	B1
84198 MEMO	UNDATED, EARLIER VERSION OF #84196	2	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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WASHINGTON

July 13, 1987

Dear Zbig:

I much appreciate the letter you and Judge Clark sent me on June 16. I fully share your view that Afghanistan remains a matter of first-rank importance in East-West relations. I said so in my address of April 10 in Los Angeles and challenged Gorbachev to set a date for withdrawal. Secretary Shultz and others in my Administration say so every time we speak or write to the Soviet leadership. Afghanistan is intrinsically important; it is strategically and regionally important; and it is perhaps most important as a test of Moscow's claims to seek a more stable and cooperative relationship with the outside world.

There is good news to report. The military effectiveness of the Resistance continues to improve; its morale is high; and its attention is increasingly focused on winning the political, as well as military, struggle with Moscow and Kabul. The Pakistanis continue to be firm and courageous, despite awful pressures on them. The Kabul regime remains a shaky and altogether unreliable base for lasting Soviet control of Afghanistan. Even Soviet political maneuverings bespeak a painful predicament for Moscow. Our policy on Afghanistan continues to have strong support in the Congress and U.S. public. We were able to get a good statement from our allies in Venice.

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Along with other forms of support to the Resistance and solidarity with Pakistan, our problem is how to increase the political pressure without transforming the war into a purely East-West issue or giving the Soviets additional scope for duplicitous maneuvers. The prospect of major achievements in arms reduction and the possibility of another summit makes the exertion of such pressure all the more urgent. I appreciate your advice and shall give it close consideration in the weeks ahead.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski Center for Strategic and International Studies 1800 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

REFERRAL

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DATE: 13 JUL 87

MEMORANDUM FOR: WHITE HOUSE STRIPPING DESK

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

SOURCE: THE PRESIDENT

AFGHANISTAN

HUMAN RIGHTS

DATE: 13 JUL 87

KEYWORDS: USSR

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REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

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COMMENTS:

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FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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DATE: 13 JUL

MEMORANDUM FOR: WHITE HOUSE STRIPPING DESK

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TO: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SOURCE: THE PRESIDENT

DATE: 13 JUL 87

RDS: USSR

AFGHANISTAN

MP HUMAN RIGHTS

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

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FOR

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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BRZEZINSKI AND JUDGE CLARK

above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing dom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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June 16, 1987

The Honorable Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are concerned that in the ongoing U.S.-Soviet negotiations, pointing perhaps even to a summit in the United States between yourself and the Soviet leader, the issue of Afghanistan is fading into the background. This poses the danger, we fear, that the Soviet leadership and the world will gain thereby the impression that the continuing Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a matter of secondary importance to the United States.

We feel confident that you share the view that Afghanistan is not a far-away land in which Americans have little at stake. It is a key conflict in the American-Soviet geostrategic rivalry as well as a key challenge to the West's dedication to the cause of human rights.

On the geostrategic level, the war in Afghanistan involves the future of southwest Asia, including the Persian Gulf. Thus ultimately the conflict is not so much about Afghanistan itself but about the future of Pakistan and Iran. Soviet control over Afghanistan would place Moscow in a geostrategically favorable position from which to exercise decisive leverage on the adjacent countries of Pakistan and Iran. That in turn would make it possible for the Soviet Union to attain a preponderant position in the Persian Gulf region.

On the humanitarian level, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan amounts to genocide. Over one million Afghans -- mostly civilians -- have apparently already been killed. Another five million have been driven as refugees from their homes. That means that over a third of the prewar population has died or has been displaced. In the light of the foregoing, it follows that any genuine improvement in the American-Soviet relationship has to involve also a constructive resolution of the Afghan issue, as we know you also truly believe.

Presumably, that would require some arrangement which guarantees the genuine neutrality of Afghanistan after a Soviet withdrawal and the right of the Afghan people to determine the nature of their own internal government. In brief, the basis of a solution must be a formula which combines external neutralization with internal self-determination.

Sharing your desire to attain a genuine improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations, we urge you, Mr. President, to give the issue of Afghanistan higher visibility in your public and private diplomacy and to be particularly careful not to generate the impression, especially through a summit meeting in the United States, that the question of Afghanistan is only of peripheral significance to the United States. One concrete step to that end would be for you or the Secretary of State to outline publicly in more detail the specifics of an acceptable resolution of the Afghan problem. By laying a concrete and reasonable proposal on the table, so to speak, the Soviet side would be placed under greater international pressure to clarify its position. At the same time, this would also underline your own commitment.

Respectfully,

zezinski Zbigniev

Bill

William P. Clark

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FRITZ ERMARTH TO FRANK CARLUCCI, RE: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT ON AFGHANISTAN FROM BRZEZINSKI AND JUDGE CLARK

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National Security Council The White House

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