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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name	WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAC	Withdrawer		
	(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE		DLE	3 2/5/2010
File Folder	CO002 (498142-529799)		FOI	A
			S10-	-306
Box Number	37		SYS	TEMATIC
			172	
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
84213 MEMO	FRITZ ERMARTH TO FRANK CARLUCCI, RE: BRZEZINSKI LETTER ON AFGHANISTAN AND NICARAGUA		Boc Date 8/10/1987	

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 complied for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

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

WHITE HOUSE

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to be used as Enclosure		•	FOR OUTGOING CORF Type of Response - Code - Completion Date -	Initials of Signer
comments:				

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

5/61

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents:	Media:	Individual Codes	4690	
Prime Subject Code: 222	22 Sec	ondary ject Codes:	0165-	
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PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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Code	Date		Comment	Form
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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 Reegen n - 2 - Nancy n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reegen

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Consepon n - 1 - Ronald Reegan - Nancy Reegan n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8718006

DATE July 7, 1987

EOR: MR. GRANT GREEN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL THE WHITE HOUSE

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Mr. Alfred Slesinger

DATE: June 17, 1987 SUBJECT: Concerns about

Afghanistan

REFERRAL DATED: June 24, 1987

(IF ANY)

ID# 504660

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.

(CLASSIFICATION)

_ OTHER (SEE REMARKS).

REMARKS:

. leis DIRECTOR

SECRETARIAT STAFF

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520



Mr. Alfred Slesinger 45 Sutton Place South New York, NY 10022

June 30, 1987

Dear Mr. Slesinger:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your letter of June 17 concerning a recent speech by Dr. Armand Hammer on U.S.-Soviet relations.

As you may recall, in November 1985 when President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev met in Geneva, they agreed to expand the dialogue between our two countries at all levels. As part of that process of dialogue, the President invited the General Secretary to visit the United States. While no summit meeting has been scheduled, the President's invitation remains open.

In the course of our bilateral dialogue with the Soviet Union, we have taken every opportunity to express our strong opposition to the continuing presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. We have repeatedly called for the prompt and complete withdrawal of Soviet forces and the right of full self-determination for the Afghan people.

I have enclosed some material on Afghanistan which you may find of interest, as well as the text of the President's recent speech in Berlin where he challenged the Soviet Union to remove the Berlin Wall.

Sincerely, Bruce G. Burton

Deputy Director for Multilateral and Security Affairs, Office of Soviet Union Affairs

8718006

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

JUNE 24, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

- ID: 504660
- MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JUNE 17, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. ALFRED SLESINGER 45 SUTTON PLACE SOUTH NEW YORK NY 10022

SUBJECT: CONCERNS ABOUT AFGHANISTAN

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, 20500

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

noreevas June 17- 1987 874.8006 705 Skellen Alfred Stesinger 504660 Dear Mr. President Reagan, I am a close friend of Armand Hammer. This May 24" my wife and I, we attented his 89 birthdag party. There he made a speech, and told us that he believes before this year is over M. Gorbacher will visit our President Reagan, and after our President will risit Moscow, and for the first time will be able To speak on Television to Russian people now, perhaps you could delay asking M. Horbacher to remove the Berlow walk. I believe it is much more importand for Russians to get out from Ufganistan. where for Typean they do not stop Killing each other . Please, ablige me with your reply Incerely alfed Slesinger

507784 2310

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

C0002 F6006-12

April 3, 1987

TR

MEMORANDUM FOR MELVYN LEVITSKY Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT: Public Themes for Afghanistan

We have reviewed your March 28, 1987 listing of public diplomacy themes for Afghanistan, and we concur.

Grant S. Green, Executive Secreta

NSC# 8702310

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

April 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

FROM: ROBERT DEAN

SUBJECT: Public Themes for Afghanistan

Charlie Dunbar has sent for our concurrence the listing of public diplomacy themes for Afghanistan (Tab II). After review, we concur in the listing as submitted.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to Dumbar giving NSC concurrence.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab IMemo to DunbarTab IIMemo from State, March 23, 87, w/atch

Prepared by: Robert Bemis **P**

8708655 - 8708661

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 2310

March 28, 1987



LINITED OFFICIAL ISE als 2/5/10

TO:

OVP - Mr. Donald Gregg NSC - Mr. W. Robert Pearson DOD - Colonel James F. Lemon USIA- Mr. Larry R. Taylor CIA - Mr. H. Lawrence Sandall JCS - Captain Joseph C. Strasser AID - Mr. Richard Meyer

Subject: Afghanistan: Public Themes

Please provide comments/concurrence in the attached public themes on Afghanistan to Charles Dunbar (NEA, Room 5515, Department of State, 647 2505). The themes, which are unclassified, are for use both by officials here in Washington and by posts overseas.

If no comments are forthcoming by April 6, we will assume your agency concurs in the themes.

Melvyn Levitský Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

PUBLIC THEMES ON AFGHANISTAN

U.S. Policy

-- Towards the Afghans: The United States seeks a just and speedy end to the war in Afghanistan through the withdrawal of Soviet forces and self-determination for the Afghan people. To this end, the U.S. supports the Afghan resistance and views the resistance Alliance as a genuine spokesman of the Afghan people in their struggle for freedom. The United Staes joins other friends of Afghanistan in providing all appropriate assistance to the Afghan people, including a comprehensive program of humanitarian assistance to all Afghans affected by the war.

-- Towards Pakistan: We stand squarely behind Pakistan and with a large number of other countries in Pakistan's strong support of the Afghan people and in its efforts to end the war. We thus view with mounting concern the recent escalation of Soviet-inspired cross-border air strikes on Pakistani villages and of subversion throughout the country. Such attacks have for years been a part of Soviet policy in Afghanistan, but recent bombardments, in which 200 civilians were killed or wounded in the space of a few days, are of an unprecedented scale and conssitute a major escalation.

-- Towards the United Nations: Evidence of U.S. interest in a political settlement is the support the United States gives the UN-sponsored negotiations aimed at achieving a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan. The U.S. offer to guarantee an appropriate settlement reached through these negotiations remains on the table.

-- Towards the Soviet Union: The United States loses no opportunity to emphasize to its Soviet interlocutors that we seek xno strategic advantage in Afghanistan and that a just settlement in Afghanistan would remove a major obstacle in U.S.-Soviet relations. In March, Under Secrtary of State Armacost met with senior Soviet officials in Moscow for a frank exchange of views on Afghanistan. Although no breakthroughs were achieved, discussions between the two governments will continue. Should Moscow decide to withdraw its forces within a short time frame, thus permitting self-determination in Afghanistan, the United States would facilitate that decision.

The Path to a Solution

-- We welcome recent Soviet professions of increased interest in achieving a settlement. Moscow's language on the war, and that of the Kabul regime, contains some new elements. Our hope is that these words will be matched by the deeds needed to end the war. Recent Soviet proposals, while seeming to show flexibility, are one-sided and accompanied by increased military pressure on the Afghan people and on Pakistan. Thus, we remain skeptical and urge Moscow to negotiate in good faith. -- A genuine settlement must contain two elements:

1. <u>Soviet troop withdrawal</u>: Prompt, irrevocable withdrawal of Soviet forces remains the key to a settlement. Despite some progress on this issue at Geneva, the Soviets have yet to propose a timetable which meets these conditions. The Pakistan Government insists that the timetable should be based on logistical consideration and thus measured in months. This logical position enjoys overwhelming support in the Islamic, non-aligned and Western worlds.

2. Afghan self-determination: While not explicitly an element of the UN-sponsored Geneva talks, self-determination is necessary to achieving lasting stability in Afghanistan. Moscow has made much of the Kabul regime's so-called national reconciliation proposals as the basis of a just political settlement. In fact, these proposals mask a continuing effort at securing Kabul regime domination of Afghanistan's government.

-- There are other issues which need to be addressed in putting a settlement into effect:

o National reconciliation: On January 17, the resistance Alliance called for the establishment of a popularly chosen interim administration which would preside over the withdrawal of Soviet forces and organze national elections. By contrast, Kabul's "national reconciliation" proposals simply repackaged earlier schemes for a cosmetic broadening of the Kabul regime. The Afghan people have rejected Kabul's schemes by refusing to join the regime's "national reconciliation" exercises or, in the case of the refugees, to return home.

o <u>Amnesty</u>: The resistance Alliance spokesman has offered amnesty to its opponents. This offer is magnanimous after more than seven years of bitter fighting.

o <u>Cease-fire</u>: Kabul's cease-fire call placed the cart before the horse. Absent Moscow's agreement to withdraw its forces, the resistance Alliance had no choice but to reject the proposals. The cease-fire call was also duplicitous in that Soviet and Kabul regime forces did not stop their offensive operations against resistance forces. The Alliance has stated that they would guarantee safety to departing Soviet troops.

International responsibility

-- In the present situation, the international community should continue to press the Soviet Union to substitute actions for words in Afghanistan. The overwhelming majority of governments in the world express their support of the Afghan people with their annual votes in the General Assembly. This support should be complemented by greater acceptance, through dialogue and, as appropriate, through concrete support, of the Afghan resistance Alliance as a spokesman of the Afghan people. March 1987

PUBLIC THEMES ON AFGHANISTAN

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March 1987

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1

TIME STAMP

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

87 MAR 28 P 5: 3	SYSTEM LOG	NUMBER: 2310
ACTION OFFICER:	Prepare Mer	E: 2 APR no Green to Peterson / Murr Action
CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*	PHONE* to action officer at e	xt3950
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Return to Secretariat

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National Security Council The White House

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(Date/Time)

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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- 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.



5697

Center for Strategic & International Studies Washington, DC

July 23, 1987

Dear Frank:

Let me pass on a suggestion regarding the President's speech to the United Nations this coming September: In my judgment, it provides him with a unique opportunity to spell out the U.S. approach to a peaceful solution of the Nicaraguan problem and of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Placing emphasis on the need to resolve two major outstanding regional issues would be a most appropriate focus for a UN speech, and it could also help to generate the needed movement for a somewhat wider American-Soviet accommodation.

By addressing the issue of Nicaragua, the President could also help to galvanize greater domestic support for the needed funding for the democratic resistance. In large part the opposition to that funding stems from confusion regarding long-range U.S. objectives and the absence of an appealing formula which indicates to the public that our goal is a constructive and peaceful resolution of the issue.

At the same time, by stressing the problem of Afghanistan the President would remind world public opinion of the centrality of that issue, he would make it more difficult for the Soviets to exploit any INF agreement with the United States as a means of burying the Afghan problem altogether. The Soviet strategy is clearly to fight-talk-fight, capitalizing politically on the widespread impression that the Soviets appear to want a political solution while waging the war aggressively.

Indeed, the problem in that respect could become quite grave if there is a summit meeting later this year for such a summit will inevitably become a great public relations triumph for Gorbachev, to the detriment of our geostrategic interests regarding Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Yet Gorbachev needs that summit more than Reagan, and he should be pressed on Afghanistan before he gets here and our mass media and Congress genuflect before him.

There is a further tactical reason for stressing at this time the need to resolve the Afghan problem peacefully: the resistance seems to be doing well and the Soviets must be considering right now whether to escalate their military efforts or whether to seek a

peaceful solution. Merely gloating through press briefings about the successes of the mujaheddin, with the recent delivery of the Stingers, might in fact help those in Moscow who argue for a tougher military posture. At the same time, by not stressing the Afghan issue publicly, we also help those in Moscow who argue that a war of attrition can be sustained because international attention is waning. It is only by publicly coming forth with the outlines of a peace proposal that the United States simultaneously increases the salience of the Afghan issue while perhaps also influencing constructively those in Moscow who might be leaning toward a political solution.

In my view, in his speech to the UN the President should stress that these two issues need to be resolved in a manner that is acceptable to the major powers and is in keeping with international principles. Moreover, it would be desirable, and it would be viewed as a bold step, for the President to acknowledge the proposition that the same principles should apply to the solution of the Nicaraguan problem and to the Afghan problem; and that the United States does not insist on a solution for Afghanistan that it is not prepared to accept for itself in regard to Nicaragua.

The formula for both ought to be "external neutralization and internal self-determination." The former assures the concerned major power that the country concerned will not be hostile and used against its interests; the latter is in keeping with the UN Charter and internationally accepted principles.

Having outlined these generalized propositions, the President could go on to say that in regard to Afghanistan the United States would be prepared to entertain an arrangement with the Soviet Union which entails the following elements:

1. A neutrality treaty for Afghanistan, modeled to some degree on the Austrian Peace Treaty, and signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Pakistan, and perhaps (if it is willing) Iran. In other words, all of Afghanistan's neighbors would guarantee its neutrality status, and that neutrality would be spelled out in detail so as to guarantee the Soviet Union that under no circumstances could Afghanistan be used in a manner hostile to Soviet interests.

2. Immediate (3-6 months) withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to be replaced on a transitional basis by peace-keeping forces designated by the UN, and perhaps deliberately drawn from those Moslem countries whose foreign policies are not unfriendly to the Soviet Union. Peace-keeping contingents from Algeria or Syria in the major cities could provide some transitional security for those who will be endangered by the departure of the Soviet troops. 3. Transitional political arrangements for Afghanistan, based on an inter-tribal council, and designed to insure that the Afghan people are governed by rulers of their choice. Without being too specific, some form of internationally supervised electoral process could also be envisaged.

I do not believe that at this stage the President needs to go beyond such generalized principles, and he could indicate that with proper refinements and changes similar arrangements for Nicaragua would be acceptable to the United States. The objective of a neutralized but democratically self-governing Nicaragua would, in my judgment, help the President to generate more bipartisan support for the more specific objective of sustaining the resistance. The President could indicate that American aid to both the Nicaraguan resistance and the Afghan mujaheddin would be terminated upon the implementation by the Nicaraguan government of the concept of internationally supervised and genuinely free elections and by the Soviet Union of a prompt deadline for the withdrawal of their forces.

I am convinced that such a speech would have a very major international impact and would be helpful to the United States insofar as our strategic objectives in both Central America and West Asia are concerned. In contrast, our present policies are likely to prompt greater national division over Nicaragua while giving the Soviets an increasingly free hand in Afghanistan to pursue a war of attrition, and perhaps actually of escalation, even while seemingly reviving detente with the United States.

Finally, I have reason to believe that the French are getting ready to surface a peace plan for Afghanistan, to be put forth by the Danish Presidency of the European Community in September. It would be better for the President to scoop them.

Best regards,

Zbigniew Brzezinski

The Honorable Frank Carlucci Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

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UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8705697.

RECEIVED 31 JUL 87 13

CARLUCCI

FROM BRZEZINSKI, ABIGNIEW DOCDATE 23 JUL 87

KEYWORDS: USSR

TO

AFGHANISTAN

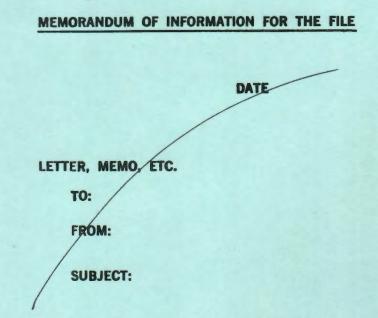
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SUBJECT: LTR TO CARLUCCI FM BRZEZINSKI RE SOVIET & AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CARLUCCI DUE: 10 AUG 87 STATUS S FILES WH FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO ERMARTH TAHIR-KHELI ROSS LEDSKY RODMAN

COMMENTS

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THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: NOVEMBER 30, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. SIDDIEG NOORZOY

SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN AND URGES PRESSURE ON GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV DURING UPCOMING MEETINGS TO GET OUT OF AFGHANISTAN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S # 8735489

DATE: December 18, 1987

FOR:: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens Executive Secretary National Security Council The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: <u>President Reagan</u> FROM: Dr. Siddieg Noorzoy

DATE: November 12, 1987 SUBJECT: Writes concerning Soviet

aggression in Afghanistan

WH REFERRAL DATED: December 9, 1987 NSC ID# 529758

(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.

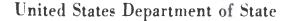
OTHER (SEE REMARKS).

REMARKS: :

SECRETARIAT STAFF



(CLASSIFICATION)



Washington, D.C. 20520

December 17, 1987

Dr. Siddieg Noorzoy Professor of Economics Member, Board of Directors Afghanistan Assistance Council Post Office Box 162 Orinda, California 94563

Dear Dr. Noorzoy:

I have been asked to respond on behalf of the President to your letter of November 12, concerning the war in Afghanistan.

As you are probably aware, the President has deep personal feelings about the continued Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. He conveyed these clearly and directly to the Soviet leader during General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Washington this December. The United States wants the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops promptly and completely from Afghanistan and return the fate of that country to the Afghan people, where it rightfully belongs. We will continue to emphasize to the Soviets that the continuation of this war remains a major impediment to improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

Thank you for sharing your thoughts with us on this question.

Sincerely, Parris

Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs



8735489

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THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

DECEMBER 9, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

- ID: 529758
- MEDIA: LETTER, DATED NOVEMBER 12, 1987
- TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
- FROM: DR. SIDDIEG NOORZOY PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS AFGHANISTAN ASSISTANCE COUNCIL POST OFFICE BOX 162 ORINDA CA 94563
- SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN AND URGES PRESSURE ON GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV DURING UPCOMING MEETINGS TO GET OUT OF AFGHANISTAN

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, 20500

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

529758

AFGHANISTAN ASSISTANCE COUNCIL

8735489

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

November 12, 1987.

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Dear Mr. President,

We are writing with the deepest concern about continued Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. While the Soviets tell the world they want to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan, they have intensified their military aggression and continue to build up fortifications.

Mr. President, the upcoming <u>December 7, 1987 meetings</u> between yourself and Michael Gorbachev may be the last major opportunity to pressure the <u>Soviets</u> out of Afghanistan.

World public opinion expressed through the U.N. General Assembly vote of 123 countries demanding soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is not practically observed by Moscow. New initiatives are needed. We are writing to suggest initiatives in two areas:

First, the Soviets should be pressured to publicly accept the costs of reconstruction in post-war Afghanistan. This reconstruction should be carried out by an international consortium under the auspices of the United Nations.

Second, undoubtedly the Soviets want increased trade, investment, and other exchange relations with the United States. Some people suggest that these issues be tied to the treatment of civil rights issues within the Soviet Union. We would like to suggest that these issues should first be linked to the serious humanitarian problem of Soviet aggression and atrocities in Afghanistan; the only country in the world where the Red Army is fighting a war of genocide.

Mr. President, now that the doors of various forms of exchanges are opened to the Soviets in the United States and no trace of the initial U.S. reactions to the invasion of Afghanistan remain in force, now that major disarmament treaties are being signed between the United States and the Soviet Union, such new initiatives seem the only way to bring about a genuine Soviet withdrawal.

P. 0. BOX 162 ORINDA, CA. 94563

There is also, of course, the possibility of raising the cost of Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan through more than incremental steps as in the past to which the Red Army seems to have adjusted its tactics.

The Soviet insistance on constructing a collage of permanent communist dominated government in Kabul and on considering it as a condition for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is unacceptable to the Afghan people.

Mr. President, how long should the Afghan people bear the burden of personal sacrifices against a commom enemy? Our estimates show that 339 Afghans lose their lives on daily basis because of Soviet bombardments, because of fighting, and because of war related diseases.

Can this be stopped? A holocaust is taking place in Afghanistan. Why are the Soviets getting away with it in 1987?

Respectfully yours,

MAMorzoy

Members of the Board of Directors:

Siddieg Noorzoy, PhD, Professor of Economics Ravan Farhadi, PhD, Former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Painda M. Koshani, Former Diplomat Yar M. Mujaddedi, Former Government Official Qayum Kochai, PhD, Former Diplomat A. Hai Hamid, MD.

Copies to:

Secretary George P. Shultz

Senator Gordon J. Humphrey