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**WHORM Subject File Code: CO002**  
Afghanistan  
**Case file Number(s): (562300-567999)**  
**Box: 37**

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT  
(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE

**Withdrawer**

DLB 2/5/2010

**File Folder** CO002 (562237-562299)

**FOIA**

S10-306

**Box Number** 37

SYSTEMATIC

179

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
84239	MEMO	ROBERT OAKLEY TO COLIN POWELL, RE: SENATOR HUMPHREY'S LATEST LETTER	1	5/2/1988	B1
		<b>R 4/22/2019 NSC WAIVER 8/6/2010</b>			

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.

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM Subject File  
 OA/Box:  
 File Folder: CO002: 563436

Archivist: jas  
 FOIA ID: F2000-106  
 Date: 5/12/00

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>1. letter</del>	<del>Gen. M. Zia-ul-Haq to RR (2p)</del> R F2000-106 #2 11/13/00	4/11/87	P1 / F1

### RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].  
 P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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

F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].  
 F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].  
 F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].  
 F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].  
 F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].  
 F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].  
 F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].  
 F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CF

84239

3267

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

562345

Head Sec Advisor  
has seen

1220

0002

FG006-12

May 2, 1988

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC Waver #16/116  
BY ab NARA DATE 4/22/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY *RB*

SUBJECT: Senator Humphrey's Latest Letter

In addition to his earlier letters to you and the President, the Senator has written to you again on April 28, on why the Afghan Alliance in Peshawar should form the provisional government for Afghanistan and secure U.S. recognition. This letter implies that Senator Humphrey is somewhat more open to arguments of appropriateness and timing. In fact, both Alliance leader Hekmatyar and President Zia believe that action would be premature. They also agree that the U.S. should not be the first to extend recognition. Humphrey's staff assistant, Mike Pillsbury, is now asking State to help draft a resolution which preserves the Senator's concerns regarding Afghanistan, but is "in harmony" with the President's policy.

We will be preparing a response to all those letters for your signature to the Senator. The longer we draw out the dialogue, the more things on the ground will clarify themselves -- including Mujahidin capture of garrisons and towns and the political evolution.

Attachment:

TAB ■ Humphrey/Powell Letter of April 28, 1988

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

NSC 8803267

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GORDON J. HUMPHREY  
NEW HAMPSHIRE

531 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 224-2841

NEW HAMPSHIRE TOLL FREE NUMBER  
1-800-852-3714

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510  
April 28, 1988

3267  
C. F.  
562345  
20002  
COMMITTEES  
ARMED SERVICES  
JUDICIARY  
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Lt. General Colin L. Powell  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Colin:

I appreciate the information Shirin provided my staff yesterday regarding the Afghan Resistance Alliance. There may be a misunderstanding about my recommendation that we recognize the Alliance.

As I indicated in my letter to you, I do not in any way suggest that we confer recognition on only one faction of the Alliance. I propose that we recognize an interim government formed by the Alliance and based inside Afghanistan. As I also stressed, we could provide an important incentive to the Alliance to establish a broad based government inside Afghanistan, if they knew that the United States would be willing to move toward recognition.

I agree with the President's assertion that "the political future of Afghanistan must be decided by the Afghans themselves." The present plan for an interim government includes a broad political spectrum, with Afghans from outside the Alliance structure. After all, they have set up a cabinet structure of 14 ministers from the resistance, 7 from the refugees and 7 from "good Muslims" in Kabul. How could the provisional government be any broader or more representative? Moreover, the Alliance itself is highly representative of Afghan politics, extending from the fundamentalists to moderate supporters of the King like Pir Gailani.

Please let me know your views on why the Alliance's provisional government should not be recognized soon. I intend to take steps in Congress towards this goal and wish to do so in harmony with the President.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Gordon J. Humphrey, USS

**National Security Council  
The White House**

*RC*

88 MAY 2 P 3: 19

System # \_\_\_\_\_  
 Package # 3267  
 DOCLOG RC A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Perito	_____	_____	_____
Marybel Batjer	_____	_____	_____
Paul Stevens	<u>1</u>	<i>PM</i>	<u>I</u>
John Negroponte	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
Colin Powell	<u>3</u>	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Paul Stevens	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>✓</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____

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

cc. VP    Baker    Other \_\_\_\_\_

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

*Connection req'd. to memo.  
 done*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8803267  
RECEIVED: '29 APR 88 07

TO: POWELL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

db 2/5/16

FROM: OAKLEY

DOC DATE: 02 MAY 88  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

NCO

PERSONS: HUMPHREY, GORDON J

SUBJECT: LTR RE AFGHANISTAN RESISTANCE ALLIANCE

ACTION: NOTED BY POWELL

DUE DATE: 03 MAY 88

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: TAHIR-KHELI

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
POWELL

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO  
OAKLEY

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSRCB CLOSED BY: NSCTF DOC 2 OF 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

*db 2/5/10*

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001	TAHIR-KHELI	Z	88042907	PREPARE MEMO FOR POWELL
002	POWELL	Z	88050215	FOR INFORMATION
002		X	88050219	NOTED BY POWELL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Track*  
*FYI*  
*POD*  
563436  
0002

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR BAKER

KEN DUBERSTEIN

FROM:

PAM STEVENS *Pam*

For your information, Armand Hammer handed this to the President at the event and he passed it to Jim Kuhn. Upon their arrival back at the hotel, the President and Mrs. Reagan asked to see it. Jim Kuhn and Rhett wanted to make sure you both got it as well as General Powell. The President and Mrs. Reagan have the original letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2-16-88  
HB *gaw*  
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR BAKER

KEN DUBERSTEIN

FROM: PAM STEVENS *PMS*

For your information, Armand Hammer handed this to the President at the event and he passed it to Jim Kuhn. Upon their arrival back at the hotel, the President and Mrs. Reagan asked to see it. Jim Kuhn and Rhett wanted to make sure you both got it as well as General Powell. The President and Mrs. Reagan have the original letter.

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION

10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • SUITE 1500

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

(213) 208-8800

ARMAND HAMMER  
CHAIRMAN AND  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

12 February 1988

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I returned this morning from three days of intensive discussions in Islamabad and Moscow with President Zia, top mujahideen leaders, and Soviet policy makers including Secretary Dobrynin.

I went to Islamabad on short notice, having received a communication from Yuli Vorontsov stating that he would be in Islamabad on 10 February for discussions with President Zia. I went in my capacity as a private citizen representing no government, but interested in assisting in any way possible the efforts to settle the Afghan question. As you know, I have retained an ongoing and active interest in the Afghan situation for sometime. I have tried to use to the fullest benefit possible my good relationship with President Zia and the Soviet leadership while constantly keeping members of the U.S. Government at the Department of State and the White House fully informed about my activities.

While in this short letter I cannot fully relate to you the conversations held with President Zia and particularly with Secretary Dobrynin, I believe that unless some way is found for President Zia to sign the Geneva accords on 15 March the June summit meeting is in great peril and the Afghanistan issue may drag on for years.

There exists one central problem. The Soviets feel the future government of Afghanistan must be decided only by the Afghans themselves. Thus, they state firmly, they will not agree to establishing a new government before the signing on 15 March in Geneva. The Pakistanis say they will not sign with the present government and that a new one must form in Kabul before any agreements are signed.

Mr. Dobrynin asked me to deliver the message directly to you that the Soviets reject President Zia's proposals. He said Secretary Shultz will hear this directly from Mr. Gorbachev and he hopes that the U.S. Government will agree to help solve the problem.

Feb 11, 88 letter to the President from Gen. M. Zia-UI-Haq

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4900  
C0002  
D0165  
ND016  
C0119

The President  
12 February 1988  
Page 2

President Zia asked me personally to present to you the enclosed letter which was dictated in my presence in his office yesterday in Islamabad. It sets forth his present position.

Perhaps a solution lies somewhere in between. I believe President Zia should not miss this chance to remove Soviet troops from Afghanistan. For their part, maybe the Soviets would hold no objection to establishment of a process to create a new government in Afghanistan after the agreements are signed (that process could be well underway before the agreements are signed, according to President Zia).

I think it would be beneficial for us to have a brief conversation at which time I could more fully relate the substance of the last days' conversations. You have made tremendous strides in bringing our world closer to peace and I stand as an admiring supporter ready to assist you in bringing your goals to fruition.

With best wishes.

Respectfully,



AH:rdj  
OCJ3393

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

General M. Zia-ul-Haq

ISLAMABAD

3012/2/PRESIDENT  
22 Jamadi-us-Sani 1408 AH  
11 February 1988

His Excellency  
Mr Ronald W. Reagan  
President of the  
United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS F2000-106 #2

Dear Mr President, BY CAS NARA, DATE 11/13/00

I am taking this opportunity of conveying to you something which I feel is very important. I had a long meeting with Mr Vorontsov yesterday, and he has left us with no doubt that the Soviet Union is sincere about their withdrawal. But he has also left a very strong and clear impression that the Soviet Union do not intend to do anything substantial and meaningful to bring about a new transitional government which is so essential for establishing stability and for creating an environment of security in which the refugees may return to Afghanistan with dignity and honour. Whereas I am of the view that the Soviet Union has taken a firm and hard decision to withdraw the troops, yet at the same time they are hoping that Dr Najib will continue to stay at the helm of affairs or alternatively, PDPA without him remain in being forming a coalition government around itself with elements from within and outside of Afghanistan but without the participation of the Mujahideen.

I wish to convey this to you that this is a great moment in history. It all depends how we emerge from this situation - we who have stood together and firmly on principles. I think when history is written, you Mr President, will emerge as one person who has contributed



so much, in the form of moral and material help, to the cause of freedom of a small, neutral, independent people. I may also add at this juncture that the United States has nurtured this tender tree of freedom of a people for 8 long years. This tree is about to bear the fruit.

I venture to say that your relevance and importance in history, with regard to the struggle of Afghans may not be related to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. By an ironic turn of events the credit for this withdrawal may go to the Soviets themselves. Your greatness will be recognised by the history by your unflinching and steadfast support to a small and proud people, thousands of miles away from America, who waged a heroic struggle to retain their independence and identity. You should be known to history for one who helped the people of Afghanistan to throw away the yoke of oppression and subjugation and re-assertion of their independence. Unless this happens the basic aim will not be achieved. Therefore, I pray to you Mr President, that we should not let the Soviet Union turn their brutalities into glory. This can only be possible if your help, both moral and material continues to flow to the aid of Mujahideen.

I am requesting Dr Hammer to deliver this message personally to you. Dr Hammer is not only a great American but also a great friend of Pakistan, and also of the people of Afghanistan. He enjoys respect amongst leadership of the Soviet Union, and we value the role that he has been playing during the last four years for the cause of regaining freedom by the people of Afghanistan.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. Zia-ul-Haq

---

General  
(M. Zia-ul-Haq)

*BP*

UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8801548  
RECEIVED: 27 FEB 88 11

*563436*

*C0002*

TO: POWELL

FROM: LEVITSKY, M

DOC DATE: 26 FEB 88  
SOURCE REF: 8804335

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

PERSONS: HAMMER, ARMAND

SUBJECT: SUGGESTED LTR FM PRES TO HAMMER

ACTION: OBE / STATUS ORIGINAL UNKNOWN      DUE DATE: 02 MAR 88      STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: TAHIR-KHELI      LOGREF:

FILES: WH      NSCIF:      CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION  
TAHIR-KHELI

FOR CONCURRENCE  
ROSS

FOR INFO  
OAKLEY  
PERITO  
ROSTOW  
STEVENS

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSTAC      CLOSED BY: NSWJR      DOC 1 OF 1

*NSC 8801548*

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8801548

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 TAHIR-KHELI  
001

Z 88022711 PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES  
X 88061612 OBE / STATUS ORIGINAL UNKNOWN



**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

1458  
1548

ACTION OFFICER:

Tahir-Kheli

DUE:

MAR 3, 1988

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For President | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo Stevens to Peterson / Murr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Powell/Negroponete   | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo _____                    | to _____   |

**CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\***

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. \_\_\_\_\_

- | FYI                                       | FYI  | FYI  |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Batjer           | <input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer        | <input type="checkbox"/> Perina            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bemis            | <input type="checkbox"/> Herbst            | <input type="checkbox"/> Porter            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Brooks           | <input type="checkbox"/> Howard            | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger             |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Burns | <input type="checkbox"/> Howland           | <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress        | <input type="checkbox"/> Jameson           | <input type="checkbox"/> Rosenberg         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb             | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ross   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cockell          | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rostow |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cohen            | <input type="checkbox"/> Kimberling        | <input type="checkbox"/> Saunders          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Collins          | <input type="checkbox"/> Kissell           | <input type="checkbox"/> Scharfen          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky        | <input type="checkbox"/> Ledsky            | <input type="checkbox"/> Snider            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dean             | <input type="checkbox"/> Lewis             | <input type="checkbox"/> Sorzano           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley           | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard           | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass         | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley            | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ermarth          | <input type="checkbox"/> Matthews          | <input type="checkbox"/> Tarbell           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Farrar           | <input type="checkbox"/> McNamara          | <input type="checkbox"/> Tice              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flower           | <input type="checkbox"/> Melby             | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fortier          | <input type="checkbox"/> Michael           | <input type="checkbox"/> Tobey             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frazier          | <input type="checkbox"/> Miskel            | <input type="checkbox"/> _____             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Oakley | <input type="checkbox"/> _____             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Heiser           | <input type="checkbox"/> Paal              | <input type="checkbox"/> _____             |

**INFORMATION**

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Stevens | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Courtney   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secretariat |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Powell (advance)   | <input type="checkbox"/> Negroponete (advance) | <input type="checkbox"/> _____                  |

**COMMENTS**

Logged By TC

Return to Secretariat

8804335

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 26, 1988



MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Suggested letter from President Reagan to  
Armand Hammer

On February 12, Armand Hammer wrote a letter to President Reagan outlining his views concerning the Afghan problem. Attached is the suggested letter from President Reagan to Armand Hammer.

Attachment:

As stated.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Melvyn Levitsky".

Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/18/01 BY 1043

Department of State

Suggested Letter from President Reagan to Armand Hammer

Dear Armand:

I want to thank you for sharing with me the results of your meetings with President Zia and with Soviet officials on the subject of Afghanistan. As you know, we fully support the Government of Pakistan in its efforts to seek a diplomatic solution to this terrible conflict. If Mr. Gorbachev lives up to his words, we may see a free Afghanistan within the near future.

Our consistent goal has been and continues to be to bring about the earliest possible withdrawal of all Soviet troops, self-determination for the Afghan people, restoration of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan, and return of the refugees in safety and honor. Until a settlement is reached which encompasses these principles, we will continue to provide assistance to the valiant Afghan resistance fighters.

Dr. Armand Hammer,  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,  
Occidental Petroleum Corporation,  
10889 Wilshire Blvd. - Suite 1500,  
Los Angeles, California 90024

- 2 -

We certainly welcome your insight on the Soviet leadership on this and other matters. Please continue to keep us informed on what they are saying.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

EF

NSA

563436  
0002  
F0008  
FG011

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1988

Dear Armand:

I want to thank you for sharing with me the results of your meetings with President Zia and with Soviet officials on the subject of Afghanistan. As you know, we fully support the Government of Pakistan in its efforts to seek a political solution to this terrible conflict. Secretary of State Shultz made this point forcefully during his recent talks in Moscow and spelled out clearly what it would take to satisfy my Administration so that we could envisage guaranteeing any agreement reached by Pakistan and Afghanistan in their talks at Geneva. If Secretary Gorbachev lives up to his words, we may see a free Afghanistan within the near future.

Our consistent goal has been and continues to be to bring about the earliest possible complete and irreversible withdrawal of all Soviet troops, self-determination for the Afghan people, restoration of an independent and nonaligned Afghanistan, and return of the refugees in safety and honor. We will continue to provide assistance to the valiant Afghan Resistance fighters until a settlement is reached which will obtain these objectives, including the cessation of Soviet military assistance to the PDPA controlled regime in Kabul, so that self-determination will not be blocked.

56343655  
NSA 8801458

Our direct, detailed discussions with the Soviets on Afghanistan have stressed the importance to overall U.S.-Soviet relations of good faith, early action by the USSR to allow Afghanistan to regain its freedom. We await their official response.

Sincerely,

Ron

Dr. Armand Hammer  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
Occidental Petroleum Corporation  
10889 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1500  
Los Angeles, California 90024

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 8801458

REFERRAL

DATE: 04 MAR 88

MEMORANDUM FOR: WHITE HOUSE STRIPPING DESK

RM 72

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: ARMAND HAMMER

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 04 MAR 88

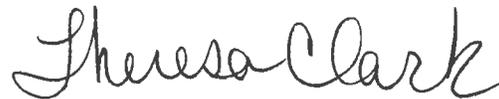
SUBJ: REPLY TO HAMMER RE PAKISTAN

---

REQUIRED ACTION: DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:



FOR GEORGE VAN ERON

DIRECTOR NSC SECRETARIAT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO 002

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 29, 1988

8814257

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. WILLIAM H. KLING

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT ON THE  
DECISION TO AGREE TO THE AFGHAN ACCORDS

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
CHUCK DONOVAN		ORG	88/04/29		C 88/10/31 CJ
<i>Do 8</i>	REFERRAL NOTE: _____	<i>D</i>	<i>88/05/01</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>C 88/05/16</i>
<i>NS STEV</i>	REFERRAL NOTE: _____	<i>A</i>	<i>88/05/16</i>		<i>C 88/05/16 CJ</i>
	REFERRAL NOTE: <i>Overtaken by event</i>				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

- \*\*\*\*\*
- |                         |                      |                      |   |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES:          | *DISPOSITION         | *OUTGOING            | * |
| *                       | *                    | *CORRESPONDENCE:     | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION   | *A-ANSWERED          | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS  | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM        | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER          | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE       | *C-COMPLETED         | * CODE = A           | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET   | *S-SUSPENDED         | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC | *                    | * OUTGOING           | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY  | *                    | *                    | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE        | *                    | *                    | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY        | *                    | *                    | * |
- \*\*\*\*\*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1988

TO: VAN ERON

FROM: CHUCK DONOVAN *CD*

These are copies of files that DOS shows have been returned to the White House, but our files show have not been dispatched. We have no record of them coming in down here -- any trace of them in your system? The Kling letter may be overtaken by events, at least partially. Let me know if you have any record of them -- thanks.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

## TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8814257Date May 16, 1988

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

REFERENCE:

To: President Reagan  
From: Mr. William H. Kling  
Date: April 27, 1988  
Subject: Expresses great disappointment on the decision to  
agree to the Afghan accords

WH Referral Dated: May 4, 1988  
NSC ID# (if any): 567982

       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.  
 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:

*Jay Salpini*  
Director  
Secretariat Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE  
REFERRAL

MAY 4, 1988

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:  
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 567982

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 27, 1988

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. WILLIAM H. KLING  
DIRECTOR  
THE FOREIGN POLICY PROJECT  
SUITE 305  
717 SECOND STREET, N.E.  
WASHINGTON DC 20002

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT ON THE  
DECISION TO AGREE TO THE AFGHAN ACCORDS

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. Kling:

I am responding to your letter of April 27 to President Reagan on Afghanistan.

The settlement reached at Geneva on April 14 constitutes the first step toward realizing our goals in Afghanistan. These aims have been and remain, to secure a rapid and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, to facilitate the unimpeded return of the refugees to their homes, to restore Afghanistan's status as an independent and non-aligned country, and to allow the Afghan people genuine self-determination.

As Secretary Shultz made clear in Geneva, U.S. support for the Afghan resistance remains strong and will continue. We have stressed to the Soviets that we retain the right, consistent with our obligations as a guarantor of the agreement, to provide military assistance to the Afghan resistance. If Moscow continues to supply the Kabul regime

Mr. William H. Kling

The Foreign Policy Project

Free Congress, Research and Education Foundation

717 Second Street, N.E., Suite 305

Washington, D.C.

we will exercise that right. You can be certain that this Administration will do nothing which would put the mujahidin at a disadvantage as they continue their struggle against the illegitimate regime in Kabul. We believe that this regime cannot long survive a Soviet withdrawal.

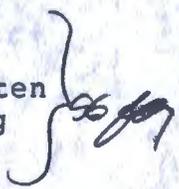
As the Soviet withdrawal proceeds, our attention will turn to the repatriation and resettlement of the millions of Afghan refugees. We are encouraging a multilateral effort in order to maximize the resources from various sources. We will also continue our own substantial humanitarian assistance program for the war-affected people of Afghanistan.

We look forward to the day when Afghanistan will take its rightful place in the community of nations as an independent country, free of foreign intervention and occupation. This Administration remains committed to the cause of a free Afghanistan, and our support for the Afghan people will not falter as they near the goal for which they have sacrificed so much.

Sincerely,

White House Staffer.

drafted: NEA/PAB: SGHitelman  
2773f 5/12/88 x79552  
Cleared: NEA: RApeck  
NEA: JMEalum  
NEA/PAB: RAFlaten  
EUR/SOV: SYoung  
IO: CDaris

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly "SGH", written in black ink. It is positioned to the right of the typed text, with a large bracket-like stroke on the left side that encompasses the last three lines of the typed list.

# THE FOREIGN POLICY PROJECT

WILLIAM H. KLING  
Director

April 27, 1988

8814257

CAD

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your decision to agree to the Afghan accords comes as a great disappointment to those of us who number ourselves among your most ardent supporters and who have shared your publicly stated commitment to the realization of an independent, non-communist Afghanistan.

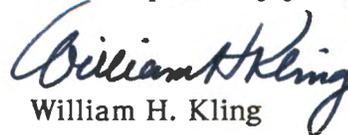
While we recognize it is too late to reverse your decision, we respectfully ask that you publicly repeat your commitment to seek an Afghanistan that is free and not within the Soviet orbit — and that you become personally involved in assuring that, should the Soviets begin aiding its puppet Kabul regime, the United States continues aiding the Afghan resistance with Stingers, long-range mortars and mine-clearing equipment.

Further, we ask that you:

- Recognize the Afghan resistance, the Islamic Unity of Mujahideen, as the true leadership of Afghanistan.
- Make public the letters of understanding between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Sheverdnadze, dated March 25 and April 8 of this year.
- Provide United States assistance in Afghan reconstruction once the Soviets have withdrawn, and demand war reparations of the Soviet Union.
- Institute an immediate embargo on proposed U.S. high-tech trade with the Soviets until they have completely withdrawn from Afghanistan and an independent Afghan government has been formed there.

Thank you, sir, for your attention.

Most respectfully yours,

  
William H. Kling

cc: The Honorable Frank Carlucci  
The Honorable Colin Powell  
The Honorable George Shultz

UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8803709  
RECEIVED: 17 MAY 88 09

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: KLING, WILLIAM H

DOC DATE: 27 APR 88  
SOURCE REF: 567982

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN MP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR RE EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT ON DECISION TO AGREE TO AFGHANISTAN ACCORDS

ACTION: OBE PER TAHIR-KHELI DUE DATE: 20 MAY 88 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: TAHIR-KHELI LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCIF: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
TAHIR-KHELI

FOR CONCURRENCE  
LEDSKY  
RODMAN  
ROSS

FOR INFO  
CURTIN  
OAKLEY  
ROSTOW

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSRCB CLOSED BY: NSEF DOC 1 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8803709

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 TAHIR-KHELI  
001

Z 88051710 PREPARE MEMO STEVENS TO KELLEY  
X 88091313 OBE PER TAHIR-KHELI

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8803709  
RECEIVED: 17 MAY 88 09

TO: PRESIDENT

*OBE*

FROM: KLING, WILLIAM H

DOC DATE: 27 APR 88  
SOURCE REF: 567982

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

MP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR RE EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT ON DECISION TO AGREE TO AFGHANISTAN ACCORDS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR POWELL DUE DATE: 20 MAY 88 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: TAHIR-KHELI

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION  
TAHIR-KHELI

FOR CONCURRENCE  
LEDSKY  
RODMAN  
ROSS

FOR INFO  
CURTIN-  
OAKLEY  
ROSTOW

COMMENTS:

*OBE PER SPT*

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSRCB

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED