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Committee for a Free Afghanistan) file

A Project of the Council for the Defense of Freedom
(Member of the Coalition for Peace through Strength)

Executive Director
Karen McKay

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March 24, 1981

Mrs. Elizabeth Dole
Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison
White House
Washington, D.C.

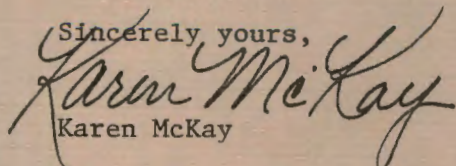
Dear Mrs. Dole:

Recently I met with Morton Blackwell and Aram Bakshian to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. They recommended I write you to suggest an informal meeting of representatives of our Committee and administration officials for an exchange of information.

As you may know, this organization sponsored a recent visit to Washington of the leader of the largest Afghan resistance group, Sayed Ahmed Gailani of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan. Mr. Gailani was accompanied by several of his chief aides. They were pleading for U.S. assistance to their cause in time to blunt the almost certain Soviet spring offensive against the freedom fighters. They were responsively received by members of Congress, State and Defense Department offices, and by private public interest groups such as the American Legion and the Reserve Officers Association. They also got quite extensive coverage in the media.

This Committee is a project of the Council for the Defense of Freedom and a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. It is allied with a number of influential public interest groups in a joint effort to gain support for more effective assistance to the freedom fighters of Afghanistan for their own sake and in our own country's best interests. We stand ready to cooperate with the administration in any way we can to increase popular support for the more positive U.S. policies suggested by the recent remarks of President Reagan.

Sincerely yours,


Karen McKay

cc: Mr. Morton Blackwell
Mr. Aram Bakshian

Political ★ Gun News

File

April 27, 1981

MEMO: Congressman John LeBoutillier (R.-NY)

SUBJECT: Aid to Afghan Freedom Fighters

1. S.A.M. and Anti-tank missiles would deny the Russians the tactical advantage by depriving them of their air support. This would reduce their effectiveness. Since the Afghanistan terrain is not that conducive to tank warfare, it would force the Russian to rely more on infantry tactics in fighting the freedom fighters.
 - a. Since there is no massed army, in a Western sense, of Afghan freedom fighters, but numerous scattered independent groups, the Russians will have to go after them in a piece-meal fashion, or greatly increase their troop commitment to launch coordinated attacks on all groups. By using the SAM missiles to deny air cover from helicopter gunships, the Russians will be forced into utilizing small unit tactics against the numerous bands of freedom fighters. This would result in most of the combat being conducted by small arms.
 - b. The terrain in Afghanistan would favor the indigenous Afghans in this type of combat. The Afghans knowing the terrain and being superior marksman would have an advantage over the Russians. The Russian's small arms tactics are designed for close combat assault tactics backed by the fire-power of their helicopter gunships, tanks and mechanized artillery. If this supportive firepower could be neutralized, it would force the Russians to rely on trying to impose superior aimed rifle fire in subduing the Afghan freedom fighters. The marksmanship ability of the Afghans far exceeds that of the Russians.

FURNISHING SAM AND ANTI-TANK MISSILES TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS COULD DENY THE RUSSIANS THEIR FIREPOWER SUPPORT AND SERIOUSLY EFFECT THEIR CAMPAIGN IN AFGHANISTAN.

2. Russian Options

- a. Withdraw from Afghanistan. This is not likely to happen as it would be an admission of defeat. They couldn't tolerate that as it might encourage revolt elsewhere in their empire.
- b. They could escalate by sending in more troops and material. This would give them a black-eye in the propaganda area as it would expose their aggressive nature to other Islamic nations. If this escalation bogs them down in Afghanistan this could touch a raw nerve within Russia since a large portion of Soviet Russia's population is Muslim.
- c. Invade Pakistan to deny the freedom fighters their bases and cut their supply lines of any outside aid. This would fatally cripple the Afghan resistance movement and have ominous consequences for the Persian Gulf. This action would point the Russian dagger at the heart of the Persian Gulf.
 1. Russia could accomplish this goal by exerting pressure on Pakistan to deny Pakistani territory to the Afghans and prohibit the transit of supplies to the freedom fighters; and/or
 2. Russia could support and finance the overthrow of the current Zia government in Pakistan and replace it with a puppet-regime which would dance to the Kremlin's tune.
 3. Russia could get a surrogate to invade Pakistan. India would be a logical choice. Mrs. Gandhi is pro-Russian and India and Pakistan are implacable enemies ever since partition after WWII. This option might be forestalled by: a threatened aid cut-off by the U.S. if India did invade, or Pakistan might cozy-up to Red China and even enter into a mutual-defense pact, although this would, no doubt, exacerbate Russian-Pakistan relations.

The Russians could adapt a "strategic hamlet" concept whereby they try to hold the urban areas of Afghanistan and conduct armed sallies into the country side which is controlled by the freedom fighters.

3. The West, especially the U.S., is in a position to exploit the Russian situation by giving aid to the Afghan freedom fighters.
 - a. It would force the Russians to spend money and material which their economy couldn't absorb like ours. The Russians can't have both a guns and butter policy. One has to predominate at the expense of the other. Afghanistan can represent a festering sore for the troubled Soviet economy only if the Russians are forced to stay there and prop up the puppet government they installed.
 1. For this to succeed, the West, and that includes Europe and Japan, must be forced not to rush in and bail the Soviets out of their economic plight. This means no technology transfers, no selling grain to the Soviets, etc. This will, no doubt, require a tremendous amount of pressure on our so-called allies by the U.S.

We, as a nation, have a moral obligation to help a people who are fighting for their freedom. The Russians are the invaders. They are guilty of not only naked aggression on one of their neighboring states, but are carrying out acts of genocide against the Afghanistan people. This is a prime example of human rights violation on a grand scale notwithstanding the silence of the so-called human rights advocates throughout the world. The Andy Youngs and his Leftist apologists are strangely silent on this glaring example of a people whose rights are being brutally and systematically destroyed. For the U.S., the beacon of liberty and freedom in the world, not to assist these heroic people in their struggle for freedom would be an act of moral cowardice.

It is time we realize that the Russians are out to destroy our society and way of life. They know freedom and liberty are incompatible with totalitarian tyranny. The Soviets, therefore, will stoop to any means, as President Reagan has pointed out, to destroy us. Common sense dictates that we must resist them especially when others, such as the Afghan freedom fighters, are extremely eager to do our dirty work - the actual fighting against the Russians.

Morgan Norval,
Editor



File

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Accuracy in Media

Executive Director
Karen McKay

February 27, 1982

Hon. William Clark
National Security Adviser
to the President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Clark:

The Committee for a Free Afghanistan, which began its work in January 1981, has taken a key role in coordinating a demonstration in Washington (at the Washington Monument) on March 21 to mark the International Afghanistan Day which the President referred to in his State of the Union message last month. This is in line with our mandate of seeking to bring the attention of the Nation to the valiant struggle of the Afghan Freedom Fighters against the brutal invasion of their country by Soviet troops. We hope that we shall be successful in attracting a number of people to the Washington Monument on March 21 to show their support for the cause of Afghan independence.

In this connection, it would surely be appropriate for President Reagan and you to meet with representatives of organizations such as ours which are concerned with the Afghan situation -- perhaps on a day such as Friday, March 19 -- to discuss the policies the United States has adopted and should adopt toward the struggle of the Afghan Freedom Fighters. This would be an appropriate way for the Administration to demonstrate its continuing concern for the Afghan national cause. Certainly the Committee for a Free Afghanistan would be pleased to send representatives to such a meeting, and I am sure other groups working for the Afghan cause would be as well.

We hope very much that you will agree such a meeting would be helpful, and we look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Moser
Charles A. Moser
Treasurer

cc: Morton Blackwell

Your contributions are tax-deductible



MAY 17 1982

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Karen McKay

May 6, 1982

Dear Colleague:

This Committee is founded on the principle that when the freedom of one is threatened the freedom of all is threatened. With this in mind, I'm writing to inform you of the situation concerning the family of one of our valued advisors to the Committee.

Dr. Ed Lozansky, a professor of physics at George Washington University, was an officer of the Soviet army and an instructor in physics at the Soviet military academy. He was expelled from the Soviet Union for dissident activities five years ago.

Upon reaching the West, he founded the Sakharov International Committee to work for the freedom of all who are threatened by Communism. He has also worked, so far unsuccessfully, to get his wife and daughter out - they were forced to remain behind when Dr. Lozansky was expelled. His daughter is now ten years old.

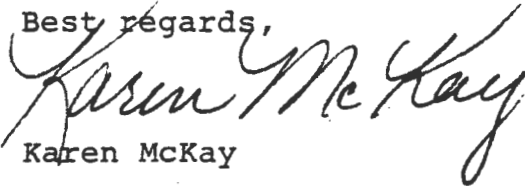
Breaking up families such as Dr. Lozansky's is one of the most cruel of tricks the Soviets employ to extend their regime of repression over all who have lived under their rule. Even those who gain physical freedom by exile or emmigration are often held captive by the invisible chains of fear, anxiety and love for their families still trapped in the Soviet Union. Concern for their families' well-being prevents them from exercising the freedoms of speech and action the United States offers them. They know their families would reap a harvest of abuse and ostracism as a result of their activities here.

It is with regret that I report to you the U.S. State Department's disinterest in this matter. After repeated entreaties from many quarters, they have yet to intercede on Dr. Lozansky's behalf and press for the release of his unlawfully held wife and daughter. Mrs. Lozansky and her child have declared their intentions to enter a total hunger strike on May 10. This is their final desperate attempt to obtain exit visas so that their family might be reunited.

Your contributions are tax-deductible

I am writing to urge all of Dr. Lozansky's colleagues on the Committee's Council of Advisors and Board of Directors to support him and his family in this plea for justice and freedom. I have enclosed several items to give you the background on the case. Please try to do whatever you can to bring this forced separation to an end. Tatayna Lozansky is ready to sacrifice her health and possibly her life for the right to see her husband again. We cannot let her call for justice go unheeded.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Karen McKay". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Karen McKay

P.S. I am also enclosing for your interest a copy of our most recent newsletter.

Enclosures

KM:jm



FREE AFGHANISTAN REPORT

Published by
The Committee for a Free Afghanistan
(a project of the Council for the Defense of Freedom)
1237 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003 • (202) 546-7577

Number Two
April 1982

Two Days to Support Afghanistan's Freedom Fighters: December 27 and March 21

On December 27 the world marked the second anniversary of the brutal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. A number of demonstrations were held around the world on that day, and in Washington President Reagan issued the following statement:

"Our current concern regarding Poland should not cause us to forget that two years ago today massive Soviet military forces invaded the sovereign country of Afghanistan and began an attempt to subjugate one of the most fiercely independent peoples of the world. Despite the presence of 9,000 Soviet combat troops, a recent increase of some 5,000, the courageous people of Afghanistan have fought back. Today they effectively deny Soviet forces control of most of Afghanistan. Efforts by the Soviets to establish a puppet government in the Soviet image which could govern a conquered land have failed. Soviet control extends little beyond the major cities and even there the Afghan Freedom Fighters often hold sway by night and sometimes even by day. The battle for Afghan independence continues.

"But the gallant efforts of the people of Afghanistan to regain their independence have come at great cost. Almost three million Afghan refugees, a fifth of the pre-invasion population of Afghanistan, have fled their homes and have taken refuge across the border, largely in Pakistan. Those who have remained at home have become the unfortunate victims not only of the dislocations of war but also of indiscriminate Soviet attacks on civilians. So while we express our admiration for those who fight for the freedom we all cherish, we must also express our deep sympathy for those innocent victims of Soviet imperialism who, because of the love of freedom of their countrymen, have been forced to flee for their lives.

"On three separate occasions, most recently on November 18, 1981, the United Nations General Assembly

passed by overwhelming margins resolutions aimed at Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. The U.S. Government and the American people join in the broad international condemnation of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. Just as in Poland we see the use of intimidation and indirect use of power to subjugate a neighboring people, in Afghanistan we see direct aggression in violation of the United Nations Charter and other principles governing conduct among nations.

"While extending our admiration and sympathy to the people of Afghanistan, we also call upon the Soviet Union to avail itself of proposals set forth by the community of nations for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so that an independent and non-aligned nation can be reestablished with a government responsive to the desires of the people and so that the millions of Afghans who have sought refuge in other countries can return with honor to their homes. As long as the Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan in defiance of the international community, the heroic Afghan resistance will continue and the United States will support the cause of a free Afghanistan."

If December 27 is a day of infamy, March 21 may be a day of hope for Afghan independence. As a resolution which passed by a large majority in the European Parliament in Strasbourg has put it, March 21 "is celebrated by Afghans as their national day, representing the beginning of a new year and symbolizing the nation's rebirth." In the United States, a press conference was held on February 2 under the leadership of Senators Arlen Specter and Charles Percy and Congressmen Elliott Levitas, Don Ritter, Joel Pritchard, to give publicity to a resolution calling upon the President to designate March 21, 1982 as "a day to commemorate the struggle of the people of Afghanistan against the occupation of their country by Soviet forces."

The text of the Joint Resolution follows:

"Whereas Afghanistan, more than two years after the Soviet invasion, remains a nation occupied and terrorized by over 80,000 Soviet Troops;

"Whereas the continued Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is causing enormous suffering among the people of Afghanistan, as well as the deprivation of their basic right of national sovereignty;

"Whereas over 2.5 million people of Afghanistan, constituting more than 15 percent of the country's population, have fled the Soviet occupation and are now refugees in Pakistan and other neighboring countries;

"Whereas the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan undermines the spirit and intention of the Declaration of Principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed at Helsinki in 1975;

"Whereas the puppet regime of Babrak Karmal, installed and maintained by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has denied the people of Afghanistan their right to self-determination, in violation of the United Nations Charter;

"Whereas the undaunted resistance of the Afghan freedom fighters against the Soviet occupational forces as an inspiration to the free world;

"Whereas the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution on November 18, 1981, calling for 'the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan';

"Whereas the people of Afghanistan observe March 21 as the start of each new year and as a symbol of the nation's rebirth; and

"Whereas the European Parliament has declared its intention to commemorate March 21, 1982 as Afghanistan Day: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating March 21, 1982 as Afghanistan Day, and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities."

On March 10 President Reagan signed such a proclamation, and the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, whose efforts since the November session of the European Parliament were directed toward developing official American participation in Afghanistan Day, immediately set into motion plans for its observance.

Among other activities the CFA coordinated a demonstration which was held at the Washington Monument. Speakers at the event included Congressmen Don Ritter, Micky Edwards and Larry McDonald. In addition, there were many performers who donated their time. Among them was Renata Babak, former prima donna of the Bolshoi Opera, who defected from the Soviet Union and came to this country two years ago.

The Washington Post estimated that several thousand people turned out for the demonstration. The CFA also worked closely with former Secretary of State

William Rogers—appointed by the President to coordinate Afghanistan Day activities—in producing a special program at the Kennedy Center to show recognition and support of the Afghan people who are fighting and dying in defense of their country and freedom. The main speaker at this event was Vice President George Bush and the text of his speech begins on page 5.

Further details on Afghanistan Day will be forthcoming in our next issue of the Free Afghanistan Report.

NEWS NOTES

TASS, the official foreign news agency of the Soviet press, has been active in covering the activities of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan. A dispatch of November 6, 1981, reports on a press briefing held by the "so-called 'Committee for a Free Afghanistan,'" one of whose objectives is to "raise funds for extending the undeclared war against the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan."

At that briefing, TASS informs us, "Executive Director of the 'committee' McKay lauded to the skies the 'courage and heroism' of bandit gangs sent into Afghanistan's territory from Pakistan to sow death and destruction in peaceful Afghan villages." The reporter concludes with an indirect and backhanded compliment to the energies of CFA: "The fresh farce staged by the enemies of the Afghan revolution in the USA would not be worth mentioning at all, but for the fact that such actions have become particularly frequent and malicious recently."

That is the sort of reporting which the ordinary Soviet reader receives about what is going on in Afghanistan today. CFA works to bring Americans the truth about the situation in that valiant land.

.....

An effort to bring the truth to the people of Afghanistan itself is being organized by one of the bravest of former Soviet dissidents, Vladimir Bukovsky, now in exile in the West. He is raising money to put "Radio Free Kabul" on the air, using 36 small transmitters to break through the iron curtain of disinformation and lies. You may contribute to "Radio Free Kabul" through Coutts and Co., 1 Old Park Lane, London W1Y 4BS, England.

A Crucial Matter of Journalistic Terminology

Ideas and the words in which they are clothed have consequences in the real world, as the Afghan Freedom Fighters understand. They have every reason to protest when the Western news media refer to them — consistently and disparagingly — as "rebels", a word which is not so very far away from the standard Soviet term for them: "bandits". Recently the Voice of Afghanistan Freedom Fighters made a moving appeal to Western journalists for recognition through the proper use of words, as follows:

"As representatives of the Voice of Afghanistan Freedom Fighters, when the news media refers to us as rebels, it is an insult which hurts us deeply.

"President Reagan on several occasions and also another leader of the free world, Prime Minister of England M. Thatcher, again corrected reporters as not to refer to Afghanistan fighting forces as rebels, but as Freedom Fighters because they are fighting an invading foreign army of the Soviet Union and its illegal puppet government, which is not recognized by the entire free world. This is a very clear and known fact to every informed person. Afghanistan was completely free and was not a satellite of Russia.

"The people of Afghanistan have decided to defend their freedom to the last man, against a satanic savage super power. However, this is not only the war of the Afghan people but of all freedom loving people of the world.

"We do not understand how the free world can watch a small innocent nation being nailed to the cross dying in defense of freedom, and yet the Western News Media, the voice of the conscience of the free world, keeps insulting us as rebels. If the source of the news insults us as rebels, we expect you, the voice of the freedom loving people of the Western World, to correct this mistake.

"Those who keep insulting us as rebels, history and freedom loving people of the world will put them to judgement.

"This mistake or oversight may not mean very much to you, but it is a dagger to the hearts of our Freedom Fighters and a blow to the spirit of our struggle for freedom.

"By correcting this mistake you will give to our Freedom Fighters the highest honor for which they are paying with their lives, and you will regain the respect of freedom loving people of the world, as a free news media with the love for freedom, as it will be reflected in your news and publications.

"With respect and appeal to your love for Freedom

From

The Voice of Afghanistan Freedom Fighters"



Karen McKay addressing Afghanistan Day demonstration.

Special Feature

Afghans Buy Time for America

The following article is reprinted from **Soldier of Fortune** for December 1981.

By PROFESSOR LEON POULLADA

The Soviet thrust toward the Persian Gulf through Afghanistan has fundamentally altered the geo-strategic balance of that region. Further Soviet moves toward the oil fields could not now be countered by American military power without danger of an unacceptable nuclear war. The Red Army demonstrated amazing mobility by deploying nearly 100,000 troops throughout Afghanistan within days.

In contrast, nearly two years after the Carter Doctrine defined the Persian Gulf as vital to American security, the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force is not "rapid" nor "deployed" nor a "force". Interservice rivalries, shortages of transport and manpower, and political resistance by Gulf states have prevented the RDF from becoming a credible deterrent. The RDF requires at least three Army divisions, four air wings, a Marine amphibious force of 50,000 men and two carrier battle groups. At present the pre-positioned ships at Diego

Garcia can supply only enough water and ammunition for 15,000 Marines for one month. To airlift one reinforcement mechanized division from the United States requires all the planes of the Military Airlift Command to fly continuously for 13 days. Soviet forces in southern Afghanistan are only 400 land miles from the Straits of Hormuz and their airbase at Shindand has both fighter cover and bomber capability.

Is America then in a hopeless position? Not if we use the Rapid Deployment Force which is already engaged in mortal combat with the Soviets, namely, the Afghan mujahideen or freedom fighters. American failure either to help or use these superb guerrilla fighters has conceded Soviet dominance in the area. It smells of appeasement similar to that which encouraged Hitler and Mussolini to rape Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia, an appeasement whose price was the holocaust and bloodshed of World War II.

To ignore the Afghan struggle is also a foolish repudiation of American self-interest, because the Afghans are defending the Persian Gulf which is vital to our security. At the moment, they are **better** than an American Rapid Deployment Force because they are an **Instant** Deployment Force already fighting and successfully barring Soviet expansion. They are pinning down nearly 100,000 crack Soviet troops, thus restraining the USSR in Poland and relieving intolerable pressures on Pakistan and on Iran, a country which is the next logical target for Soviet penetration.

"Soviet terror tactics, civilian atrocities and genocide in Afghanistan have produced a backlash of revulsion throughout the Third World, especially in Moslem nations. The United States is missing a prime opportunity to align itself with this Islamic revival. Supplying weapons to the mujahideen through the Islamic Conference, which includes most Moslem nations, would enhance American prestige in the Islamic world. The use of this Islamic channel would also reduce the natural reluctance of Moslem Pakistan to serve as a conduit for aid to the mujahideen.

Should Pakistan remain reluctant, it would be fairly simple to supply the light armaments the mujahideen need by utilizing the gun-running professionals along the Makran coast of Baluchistan who have for centuries supplied weapons to the tribes on the Pakistani-Afghan frontier. Aid should go to all groups resisting Soviet aggression, but especially to those fighting inside Afghanistan. Lack of unity among resistance groups should be disregarded. Remember the mess we made in Yugoslavia when we tried to choose between Tito and Mikhailovich. Natural leadership will emerge from the struggle and this problem should be left to the Afghans themselves.

What about the risk of Soviet escalation in Afghanistan? For total pacification the Soviets would need at least 300,000 troops. If the mujahideen are well-armed even that level of escalation would probably fail, because the struggle is not merely an insurgency but a national-liberation war involving the entire population of millions fired by the unquenchable flames of independence and Islamic fervor. With more weapons, the mujahideen can multiply faster than the Soviets can escalate. In Afghanistan the Soviets have to use scarce, elite mobile units which would deplete essential forces in Eastern Europe and on the Chinese border. The financial costs of escalation would greatly increase the drain on the weak Russian economy. Growing casualties would reveal to the misinformed Russian people the true Soviet role in Afghanistan. Increased genocide would further inflame Third World and especially Moslem resentment. Even waverers like India might no longer be able to suppress their revulsion. Facing all these costs, Soviet leadership might well react, as it has in the past when meeting firm resistance and adverse world opinion, by some face-saving withdrawal restoring Afghan independence and neutrality. The American objective of removing the immediate Soviet threat from the Persian Gulf would thus be achieved.

If the Soviets did not withdraw, they would remain pinned down and restrained from new adventures in the Persian Gulf, Poland and elsewhere. The mujahideen would be buying precious time which America desperately needs:

- Time to solve the Arab-Israeli problem, an essential condition for regional stability.
- Time to normalize relations with Iran, the strategic keystone to the Persian Gulf.
- Time to develop stronger relations with China, the most effective counterweight to Soviet ambitions.

- Time to build a credible U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.

- Time for Persian Gulf nations to deal with problems of modernization and internal security so they can concentrate on an indigenous regional defense organization with which America can work harmoniously.

- Time for the evolving Polish situation to make the USSR more vulnerable in Eastern Europe and less eager for mischief elsewhere.

- Time to develop a NATO policy to defend the Gulf, whose oil is, after all, much more vital for Europe than for the United States.

- Time for America to get its own economic house in order and diminish its dependence on imported oil.

With a ridiculously small amount of American military material and at absolutely no risk to American manpower, the Afghan mujahideen can be the key to all these favorable developments. The United States and all countries dependent on Persian Gulf oil have a vital stake in the fate of these freedom fighters. American leaders need only exercise courage, common sense and moral righteousness to help the Afghans who are fighting for their freedom **and for ours**.

Professor Leon Poullada is professor of political science at Northern Arizona University and has taught as a Fulbright scholar in Afghanistan in addition to serving as a State Department specialist on Afghan affairs.

Afghanistan Holds Key Geostrategic Position

Reprinted from **The Washington Inquirer** for May 1981.

By JAMES PHILLIPS

Although Afghanistan is a remote, obscure country which ranks among the poorest nations in the world, its strategic location endows it with a high degree of geopolitical importance. Afghanistan has long been a major crossroads of Asia astride important north-south and east-west land routes. Its control of the Khyber and Bolan passes has historically made it the gateway which links Russia with the Indian Sub-continent and the Middle East with the Orient.

The Soviet Union has exhibited a long-standing interest in Afghanistan and its other southern neighbors, as evidenced by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Protocol to the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, which asserted that Soviet territorial aspirations lay in the direction of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. In recent years the Kremlin's incentives for expanding its influence to the south have been significantly enhanced by the growing importance of Middle Eastern, especially Persian Gulf, oil in the western economic system. According to the CIA, Soviet interest in the region is likely to continue to intensify in the 1980s as Soviet oil production peaks and the Soviet bloc becomes a net oil importer.

Seen from the vantage point of the Persian Gulf, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan constitutes one part of a giant pincer movement designed to encircle Gulf oil reserves. The Kremlin already has established a military presence in Ethiopia and South Yemen. It has signed

military assistance pacts with Iraq (1978) and Syria (1980) and stands to gain considerable influence in Iran due to continuing anarchy there.

At the other end of the pincer, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan constitutes a flanking movement which has doubled the length of the Soviet-Iranian frontier and opened up the permeable eastern border of Iran to potential Soviet military pressures. It has expanded the perimeter of the Soviet bloc to within 350 miles of long-sought warm water ports on the Arabian Sea and has established a common border with Pakistan.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has also moved Soviet combat aircraft 500 miles closer to the vital sea lines of communication emanating from the Persian Gulf which function as the oil lifeline of the industrial West. Soviet planes based in southwest Afghanistan are now situated closer to the strategic Straits of Hormuz (through which pass 40% of the western oil imports) than if they were based in Teheran. Using these bases Soviet aircraft could reach the choke point at the mouth of the Persian Gulf and remain on station there for at least 30 minutes. Clearly, Soviet access to Afghan airbases significantly upgrades the Kremlin's ability to block, or even sever, the petroleum jugular vein of the West and greatly enhances the Soviet ability to neutralize American naval power in the Arabian Sea.

In addition, occupied Afghanistan provides Moscow with an excellent fulcrum which increases Russian diplomatic leverage over both Iran and Pakistan. Both states have had troubles in the past with ethnic separatist movements and both are likely to face more such problems in the future. Because Afghanistan is wedged between Iran and Pakistan in close proximity to strongholds of ethnic separatism along the peripheries of the two states, the Soviets could threaten the internal stability as well as the external security of both states.

The principal focal point for separatist sentiment lies in Baluchistan, the tribal homeland of the Baluch people, which encompasses both sides of the Iran-Pakistan border. The Baluch have risen in revolt three times since 1947 and are entirely capable of doing so again. The last uprising, begun in 1973, persisted for four years until Pakistan's General Zia reached an uneasy truce with the rebels in November 1977.

Today there are an estimated 300 Soviet agents

working among the Baluch, chiefly in Afghanistan, and up to 8,000 Baluch being trained in the USSR. There are rumors that part of this education includes guerrilla warfare training by Cuban military instructors. Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the Pakistanis had amassed reliable intelligence that young Baluchi tribesmen were being exfiltrated across the border to Soviet-operated camps in Southern Afghanistan for political indoctrination and advanced weapons training.

Clearly, the Soviets are laying the groundwork for a possible war of national liberation in Baluchistan. This would be an extremely dangerous development because the secession of Baluchistan would give the Soviets a grateful client state dependent on Soviet support to offset the enmity of Iran and Pakistan. In return for Soviet protection, the Baluch would probably be only too happy to grant the Soviets base rights at the excellent natural harbor at Gwadar only 400 miles east of the Straits of Hormuz.

Mr. Phillips is a National Security Analyst with the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Remarks of Vice President George Bush Afghanistan Day

What I have in my hand is a Soviet mine. It's called a "butterfly" mine, because when it's dropped from Soviet helicopters, it flutters softly to the ground. At that point any resemblance to one of nature's most gentle creatures ends. This device isn't meant to kill—at least immediately. It's meant to maim—to blow off feet, a hand, the flesh from someone's face, the eyes. To someone injured by one of these, death from infection can be a slow agony, far from medical care.

The Soviets dropped thousands of these devices on Afghanistan. The freedom fighters and most of the adult population know what they are, and avoid them. But children, not knowing better, do not, and so most of the victims of the butterfly mines are children—children who, if they survive, will live their entire lives blind, disfigured, or lame.

Tens of thousands of people have died since the Soviets invaded Afghanistan two days after Christmas, 1979. Butterfly mines are by no means the cruelest way they have devised of killing. **All evidence indicates that the Soviets have opened Pandora's box of modern warfare.** They've used chemicals—nerve agents, phosgene oxime, perhaps mycotoxins, and others.

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Over three thousand deaths alone have been attributed to these.

The United Nations General Assembly has twice called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the first time by a vote of 104 to 18, the second by a vote of 111 to 22. Similar resolutions have been passed by the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the Foreign Ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the European Economic Community, and the Islamic Conference.

All of this has had no effect on the Soviet Union, which has twice vetoed resolutions in the U.N. Security Council deploring its armed intervention.

The Soviet Union has shown only contempt for the universal condemnation of its invasion of Afghanistan. In the face of this, how can the world be asked to take seriously their talk of peace?

The occasion we're observing here today was conceived of by our European allies as a way of demonstrating our continued support for the Afghan people.

Not much news has been coming out of Afghanistan, for the simple reason that Western journalists are finding it virtually impossible to get permission to enter the country, thereby making it impossible to cover the atrocities. Tyranny fears a free press, because tyranny fears the truth.

Instead, news of the continuing struggle trickles out. Freedom House, the New York organization that has brought many of the developments there to light, published in 1980 in a letter from Afghanistan. I want to read you a few lines from it:

"Since about a week ago, all the streets and corners of Kabul have been swarming with young men armed with Russian rifles. . . they seize boys and young men between the ages of 15 and 26, and assemble them at various Army posts. From these posts, the young men are sent in trucks to the airport, from where they are dispatched to places nobody knows.

"During these dreadful nights and days of cold winter, many parents are living in a state of agony and mourning. They can do nothing but pray to God."

The Soviets can really no more allow a free press in Afghanistan than they can in their own country. If they did, the horrors of the war would play across our newspapers and television screens every day and every night.

Almost more distressing is the refusal to allow representatives of the International Red Cross into Afghanistan. Adolf Hitler allowed the Red Cross—albeit selectively—into Germany during the second World War.

The Soviets justified their invasion from the beginning with a farcical explanation, saying they were invited. This is nonsense, and everyone knows it. They told their own troops that they would be fighting against Chinese and American troops, but in fact they are fighting only one enemy: the natives of the country they invaded. The Kremlin has not even been telling the whole truth to Soviet mothers, whose sons have been dying by the thousands in a war they can never hope to win.

The charades persist. Babrak Karmal, whose regime would not last until nightfall without Soviet troops, recently awarded President Breshnev Afghanistan's highest order—The Sun of Freedom. This is a remarkable honor indeed to bestow on one whose troops have forced three million Afghan refugees to flee their country. That medal now hangs from President Breshnev's chest, even as he makes speeches about his country's desire for a lessening of world tension, for arms limitation, for peace among men.

It was a Frenchman, the Marquis De Custine, a counterpart to De Tocqueville, who observed that we must not blame the Russians for being what they are, only for pretending to be what we are.

The Afghans are a brave people, and a determined people. The Soviets are not losing their war, in the sense that they are killing a great number of Afghans. But neither are they winning their war. The freedom fighters, two and a half years later, still control most of the country. Considering the almost overwhelming technological odds against them, their bravery and endurance are extraordinary.

What can we do? What is said here today matters little. But the very worst that could happen would be that we forget the Afghan freedom fighters. Their struggle is not on the front pages every day. In the midst of our own liberty, we should not forget their lack of it. **The Soviet Union should be made to answer for their crimes every day before the Councils of the world.** Every day, someone, somewhere, should ask, when are you getting out of Afghanistan? In that spirit, let me say to the Soviet leaders: end the suffering. Take your troops out of Afghanistan.

The Vernal Equinox traditionally marks the start of the new year in Afghanistan. This year will bring more killings, more brutality, more butterflies—more suffering children.

It's my hope, and the hope of all of us here, the hope of all those across this country and across the world who today are demonstrating their solidarity with the Afghan people, that this year will bring something else.

Today, President Reagan made a direct appeal to President Breshnev. He said that this conflict has "seriously poisoned the international environment." He noted that the European Community put forward last year a sensible and creative proposal for an international conference on Afghanistan; and he said that we and others were particularly disappointed that the Soviet Union rejected the European proposal.

Finally, he asked President Breshnev to join with the United States and many other nations in a "genuine and intensive search for a peaceful resolution" of the tragedy that has come to Afghanistan.

There is a saying: Afghanistan Ahzod. It means, "Free Afghanistan."

Perhaps on this day, a year from now, we will be celebrating a free Afghanistan, instead of commemorating the struggle of a people to survive.

Thank you.

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FREE AFGHANISTAN REPORT

April 18, 1982

LETTER FROM MOSCOW

Dear Friends:

My name is Tatyana Lozansky. I am 29 and I have a 10-year-old daughter Tanya. I am a chemist but I was dismissed from a PhD program at the Zelinski Institute of Organic Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR after applying for emigration to the United States. Since December 1976 I have been trying to join my husband, Edward Lozansky, a professor of physics and mathematics at the American University in Washington, D.C. and George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia.

The Soviet government has repeatedly denied my application for an exit visa inspite of countless appeals from around the world and the only explanation the authorities give for our detention is that my father, General Ivan Yershov, refuses to sign the papers releasing me from any material obligations toward his retirement. In case the General won't be able to survive on his pension, they say I will have to support him.

This is outrageous. Not only does communist doctrine and the Soviet Constitution guarantee to provide for their elderly, but the facts are that my father is a three-star general and a member of the privileged Soviet elite, while I remain unemployed and outcast. In addition, my husband has submitted a written pledge to Soviet President Brezhnev guaranteeing to pay any material claims to me made by the General.

To protest violation of my basic human rights by the Soviet officials I held three two-week hunger strikes, the last was ended on April 12, 1982. On May 10, I will begin my final hunger strike which will continue until my daughter and I receive permission to emigrate. I am prepared to undertake this desperate step because I have no other choice. I want only to reunite my family and those who deprive me of this right debase me as a human being and violate numerous international agreements as well as the Soviet Constitution.

For my last hunger strike to be effective, I need support from all those who care about such fundamental things as family, children, love, and freedom. I am asking you to write to your government representatives and urge them to appeal to Soviet President Brezhnev for our release. You can also write to my father and appeal to his conscience. His address is: General Ivan Yershov, Ryleeva Street 6, apt. 47, Moscow, USSR.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Tatyana Lozansky
1st Krasnokursantski proyezd 1/5 apt.88
Moscow, USSR 111250
Tel. 261-8704

Translated from Russian by Edward Lozansky
For further information, please write to: Sakharov International Committee,
P.O.Box 9422, Washington, D.C. 20016. Tel. (202)-364-0200

Soviet Woman Caught in a Trap Between Divorce and Emigration

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, April 25 — Last week, while 18 members of the United States Congress were here discussing Soviet emigration restrictions with Moscow officials, Tatyana Lozansky, a 26-year-old chemist whose father is a senior Soviet general, despaired of ever getting out.

Mrs. Lozansky said she divorced Eduard D. Lozansky in 1976 so he would be eligible to emigrate. Now, because of the divorce, the authorities are refusing permission for Mrs. Lozansky and their 7-year-old daughter to join him in Rochester, N.Y., where he is a physicist at the University of Rochester.

"Last week, I was called to the emigration office and told not to make any noise while the Congressmen were here," Mrs. Lozansky said, close to tears, the day the American legislators left. "I think there is no hope of getting out of this trap except if I die."

A Symbol of Emigration Curbs

Mrs. Lozansky has become the latest symbol of the restrictions that have made Soviet emigration policy an obstacle to improving Soviet-American relations, even though more than 30,000 Jews were allowed to leave last year.

There is still no end of hardship cases, and a huge constituency in the United States and Europe is always ready to take them up. The scientific community in the United States has begun to work for the reunification of the Lozanskys, with a campaign of petitions, letters to Soviet officials and appeals to influential American political figures.

"Certain circles in the United States are trying to prevent cooperation between scientists of both countries," five prominent Soviet scientists asserted Monday in an article in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper.

"Attempts are being made to exert pressure upon American scientists, signatures are being collected to all sorts of 'petitions' and 'appeals,'" the article went on, without specifically referring to the Lozansky case, charging that the campaigns "are only trying to raise obstacles to the pooling of efforts of scientists of the U.S.S.R. and the United States."

'Not Your Husband Any More'

The Soviet authorities tell Mrs. Lozansky that she has no chance of getting out because she is divorced. "'He is not your husband any more,' they tell me, 'so there is no question of your being allowed to join him.'"

Tatyana Lozansky belongs to a privileged caste of Soviet society, even in her present predicament. She has a good job at the Institute of Organic Chemistry of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and is doing graduate studies, she said.

She does not want to divulge her father's name because of his high military rank, but she says he occupies "an important post" in Moscow. He has refused to help or to give her permission to emigrate — permission from the parents is another

requirement for emigration. She has broken off relations with her father because of her desire to leave.

Mrs. Lozansky lives in a three-room apartment on the eighth floor of a Moscow building formerly reserved for military families. There is a military clinic on the ground floor and a garrison next door.

Her parents, Russians, had no objection to her marrying Mr. Lozansky, who is Jewish, in 1971 although he is 10 years older than she. "He was an excellent student in physics and he had every expectation of a promising career," she said.

Difficulty in Finding a Job

The physicist finished his studies in Moscow in 1969, she said, but then had difficulty obtaining a position in his profession.

"Plenty of places wanted to take him," she said. "But the security departments of the laboratories he applied to would always reject him because he was Jewish." He could get only temporary jobs in laboratories at universities, research centers and institutes in and around Moscow, she said.

Other Soviet Jews here say that many employers are afraid of hiring Jews because an application to emigrate brings an unpleasant security investigation.

When her husband decided he had to emigrate, she was afraid to tell her parents. The emigration authorities would not let her husband leave unless he divorced her. "We don't split up families," she said they told her. Still keeping her own wish to emigrate a secret, she consented to the divorce.

In December 1976, Mr. Lozansky was allowed to leave, only three months after he had applied. "My parents didn't want a scandal," Mrs. Lozansky said, "and they expedited permission for him."

Moscow Rejected His Petition

After he got to the United States, he sent an official invitation for his wife and child to join him, as Soviet emigration procedure requires. The authorities rejected it because of the divorce.

She now lives in isolation.

"Even my friends are afraid to see me because they think they could get into trouble, too," she said. "And I get letters from my husband only once a month, even though he writes every day."

She has talked with Robert W. Pringle, a consular officer at the American Embassy, most recently in February. She said the Embassy said there was nothing it could do to compel the Soviet Union to grant its citizens exit visas.

"My husband's bought a big house in Rochester," she said. "His parents, his two sisters, all his relatives, have been able to leave to join him. And here his wife and child have to stay without him."

"I left the visa office Wednesday," she added, "and asked the officials there: 'What should I do — I'm a chemist — should I take poison?' They told me that it was not their affair."

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May 21, 1979

President Leonid Brezhnev
The Kremlin
Moscow, RSFSR, USSR

Dear President Brezhnev:

I am writing to express my concern for the wife and child of Dr. Edward Lozansky, who emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1977. Dr. Lozansky now resides in Rochester, New York, while his wife Mrs. Tatyana Lozansky and their seven-year-old daughter, Tanya, reside at 11250, Moscow E-250, 1 Krasnokursantsky, proezd 1/5, kv. 88.

As I understand, Mrs. Lozansky's father, a high-ranking military officer, refuses to grant his adult daughter the permission required so that she may submit an emigration application to join her husband. In addition, in order to expedite Dr. Lozansky's emigration, Mrs. Lozansky divorced her husband so that her lack of parental permission would not prevent his departure. Both these reasons are used to justify refusing Mrs. Lozansky and her daughter permission to emigrate.

My colleagues in the Congress and I are deeply disturbed by the obstacles this family has encountered in their attempts to be reunited. In light of the pledges made at Helsinki to "deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit" with applications for family reunification and to facilitate such reunions, I respectfully request that you use your good offices to convey this concern to the proper authorities.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

DANTE B. FASCELL
Chairman

DBF/nd

AN OPEN LETTER

Francois Mitterand, President of the Republic of France
Wilhelm Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America

Dear Sirs:

We, Soviet members of the Divided Families Group, appeal to you for your support and understanding. For if peace and goodwill among nations rests on mutual respect for the rights of each other's citizens, and especially their families, then our plight is surely more than regrettable.

Our situation: as Soviet citizens married to citizens of the U.S.A., France and West Germany, we have been consistently denied the right to join our spouses, and in some cases children, now resident in your countries. Some of us have suffered such enforced separation for up to five years now. In no case have the Soviet authorities any valid reason for withholding our exit visas, a flagrant violation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. Moreover, the personal agony of separation from our loved ones is aggravated by the extremely precarious position imposed upon us as "refuseniks" in a largely unsympathetic society.

Repeated applications to the Soviet authorities have served only to frustrate us still further. We are desperate. On April 2, 1982 we began a ten-day hunger strike ending today. If no relief is forthcoming, we shall, on May/9, 1982 strike again in earnest, until we are released from such cruel and unusual punishment—either to join our families, or by death. We have no other choice.

We beg you, leaders of the countries we hope to raise our families in, to do all you can to end this inhuman, unmotivated and totally unnecessary tragedy.

Respectfully,

Tatiana Azure
Yuri Balovlenkov
Iosif Kiblitaky
Tatiana Lozanskaya

April 12, 1982
Moscow, USSR