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**WHORM Subject File Code**  
CO002 Afghanistan  
**Case file Number(s):** Begin-045999  
**Box: 36**

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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 (BEGIN-045999)

**FOIA**

S10-306

**Box Number** 36

SYSTEMATIC

162

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
84149	MEMO	GEOFFREY KEMP THROUGH RICHARD ALLEN TO MAX FRIEDERSDORF, RE: CONGRESSMAN RITTER AND AFGHANISTAN <i>R 4/19/2019 NSC/STATE WAIVERS</i>	1	6/16/1981	B1
84150	MEMO	GEOFFREY KEMP TO RICHARD ALLEN, RE: CONGRESSMAN RITTER AND AFGHANISTAN <i>R 4/19/2019 NSC/STATE WAIVERS</i>	1	6/5/1981	B1
84151	NOTE	ON NSC ROUTING FORM	1	8/27/1981	B1

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

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

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

B-5 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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

**WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

000070  
CO 002

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 8/19/24

ID # 000070

Name of Correspondent: Don Weidenweber

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Comments on and urges the President to act in helping to free Afghanistan in 1981.

**ROUTE TO:**

**ACTION**

**DISPOSITION**

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CO HIGG</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8/10/26</u> <sup>CH</sup>	<u>AM</u> <sup>DD</sup>	<u>A</u>	<u>8/10/23</u> <sup>DD</sup>
<u>State / <del>...</del></u>	<u>C</u>	<u>8/10/28</u> <sup>DD</sup>		<u>A</u>	<u>8/10/25</u> <sup>DD</sup>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

**ACTION CODES:**

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comments
- D - Draft Response
- F - Fact Sheet
- I - Info Copy
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

**DISPOSITION CODES:**

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

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

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

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

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

CENTRAL Reference X2590

# RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

## CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4800

Prime Subject Code: CO 002 Secondary Subject Codes: ND 016 FG 001-04  
CO 165  
TA 001

## PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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

**SIGNATURE CODES:**

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
  - n - 1 - James Earl Carter
  - n - 2 - Jimmy Carter
  - n - 3 - Jimmy
  - n - 4 - JC
  - n - 5 - J
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
  - n - 1 - Rosalynn Carter
  - n - 2 - Rosalynn
  - n - 3 - R
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
  - n - 1 - Jimmy Carter - Rosalynn Carter
  - n - 2 - Jimmy - Rosalynn

**MEDIA CODES:**

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

February 13, 1981

Dear Mr. Weidenweber:

Thank you for your letter of January 19, to the President, regarding the current situation in Afghanistan.

President Reagan has sharply condemned the illegal invasion by the Soviet Union of the previously independent and non-aligned country. During the year since the invasion, the Afghan nationalists, motivated by a fierce desire for freedom, have won the admiration of the entire free world by holding the modern army of the Soviet invader to a stalemate.

Your letter was particularly timely since the Administration is currently reviewing United States policies on this and other critical international issues.

We appreciate knowing your views on this important matter.

Sincerely,

Anne Higgins  
Director of Correspondence

Mr. Don Weidenweber, Founder,  
American Aid for Afghans  
6443 S.W. Beaverton Highway  
Portland, Oregon 97221

XX  
AVH/NL/lme

7

CORRESPONDENCE REFERRAL

MEMORANDUM

NSC#

306

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Date: February 9, 1981

TO: NED LYNCH  
Room 94 OEOB

FROM: CHARLES TYSON *CPT*

The NSC has reviewed and approved the attached draft reply:

           as is  
 as amended  
           recommends no reply

Comment:

           Staff initial

Attachments: Incoming and draft reply.

UNCLASSIFIED  
(Classification)

S/S # 8102217

Date February 5, 1981

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. Richard V. Allen  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: The President FROM: Mr. Don Weidenweber, Founder  
American Aid for Afghans

DATE: January 19, 1981 SUBJECT: Comments on and urges  
the President to Act in helping to free Afghanistan in 1981.

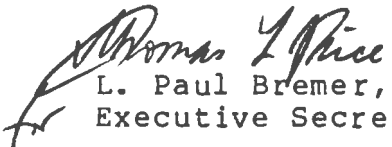
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: 1/28/81 NSC #             
(if any)

\_\_\_\_\_ THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- xx   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.
- Other.

REMARKS:

  
L. Paul Bremer, III  
Executive Secretary

DRAFT:#1

Dear Mr. Weidenweber:

Thank you for your letter of January 19 to the President regarding the current situation in Afghanistan.

President Reagan has sharply condemned the illegal invasion by the Soviet Union of the previously independent and non-aligned country. During the year since the invasion, the Afghan nationalists, motivated by a fierce desire for freedom, have won the admiration of the entire free world by holding the modern army of the Soviet invader to a stalemate.

Your letter was particularly timely since the Administration is currently reviewing United States policies on this and other critical international issues.

We appreciate knowing your views on this important matter.

*S  
Arbuzov*

Mr. Don Weidenweber, Founder,  
American Aid for Afghans  
6443 S.W. Beaverton Highway,  
Portland, Oregon 97221

*approved by N.S.C.  
L - keep file together*



Dear Mr. Weidenweber:

Thank you for your January 19 letter to the President regarding the current situation in Afghanistan.

President Reagan has sharply condemned the illegal invasion by the Soviet Union of that previously independent and non-aligned country. During the year since the invasion, the Afghan nationalists, motivated by a fierce desire for freedom, have won the admiration of the entire free world by holding the modern army of the Soviet invader to a stalemate.

Your letter has been particularly timely, coming as it has at a time when this Administration is reviewing United States policies on this and other critical international issues.

Your views on this important matter are very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Allen

Mr. Don Weidenweber, Founder,  
American Aid for Afghans,  
6443 S.W. Beaverton Highway,  
Portland, Oregon 97221.

9  
A.H.

# AMERICAN AID FOR AFGHANS

Inc.

8102217

000070

6443 S.W. Beaverton Highway, Portland, Oregon 97221 503/292-5600

A volunteer organization which supports the freedom fighters in Afghanistan.

January 19, 1981

#### Acting Board of Directors

Thomas F. Hartung  
Oregon State Senator

Larry O. Wheeler  
President, Beaver State Bank

Phillip Querin  
Member of Oregon State Bar

Don Weidenweber  
President, Computer Concepts, Inc.

Warren Z. Biden  
President, Westmont Properties

#### Advisory Committee

Thomas E. Goutierre  
Director, Afghanistan Studies  
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Ambassador Leon Poullada

Gary O. Jarmin  
National Director, American Council for a  
Free Asia

Dave Allen  
President, Oregon World Affairs Council

Roger Pierson  
Belford Hammerbeck  
Former Afghan Peace Corps

Dr. Frank Munk  
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Portland State University

Richard S. Newell  
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University of Northern Iowa

Dr. Whitney Azoy  
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Lawrenceville School

Dave Cargo  
Former Governor of New Mexico

Dave Frohnmayer  
Oregon Attorney General

Tom Mason  
Oregon State Representative (D)

Norm Smith  
Oregon State Representative (R)

Terence H. Cochran, M.D.  
Director, Medical Laboratory

Paul A. Folquet, D.D.M.

Walt Morey  
Author, *Gentle Ben*

Jim Long  
Journalist, Oregon Journal

Kevin Capé  
Columnist

Robin H. Shaylor  
Owner, Systemware Laboratories

Bob Reinhardt  
Vice President, Continental Computing Inc.

Gary Gowen  
President, Colorado Service Company

D. Christie  
President, Century 21 Realtors

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

Mr. President:

Please join me in an inaugural resolution to take whatever action possible to Help Free Afghanistan in 1981!

As the leader of the free world, you can not accept the continued enslavement and genocide of these brave people. Please be as strong in your resolve to the right to a free life in Afghanistan as you have been in your commitment to the right to life regarding abortion.

Let your heart remember the struggling Afghans who need all freedom loving people to remember them in their prayers and deeds. Please bear in mind how much you cherish freedom and the right to self-determination. Freedom loving and understanding people can not forget the importance of a Free Afghanistan.

Until Afghanistan is free, I believe we have a moral obligation to continue the economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, to censure the Soviets at every diplomatic opportunity and to support the Afghan freedom fighters. This is also in our national interest from a strategic and humanitarian perspective. But to make this widely understood and accepted will require a courageous commitment on your part.

May God guide and bless you in all your work and may you never forget the importance of individual liberty in the continued growth of the human spirit. And so guided, may you lead the free world in the reversal of human enslavement by helping create a Free Afghanistan. If you accomplish this you will win an everlasting place in the hearts and minds of all free people.

Sincerely,



Don Weidenweber  
Founder

DW:ph

S/S # 8109609

Date April 9, 1981

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

021587

3500

MG

C0002

C0165

ND016

C0119

FOR: Mr. Richard V. Allen  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: The President FROM: Prof. Sibghatullah Al-Mujaddidy

DATE: March 23, 1981 SUBJECT: Response to President's  
Remarks on Afghanistan

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: March 15, 1981 NSC # 8101532  
(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.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- Other.

REMARKS:

*Jonah B. Rosenblatt*  
L. Paul Bremer, III  
Executive Secretary *for*

*3/26/10*

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

ADP  
3124110

NEA/PAB:ESHECK:CM  
4/9/81:EXT. 29552  
NEA:JAC00N

NEA/PAB:WLSIMMONS

IMMEDIATE PESHAWAR

IMMEDIATE ISLAMABAD

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: OGEN, AF, PK

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO MOJADIDI'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT

1. AT YOUR DISCRETION, PLEASE TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO PROFESSOR SEBQATULLAH MOJADIDI, CHAIRMAN, AFGHAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, PESHAWAR.

2. DEAR PROFESSOR MOJADID:

I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO REPLY TO YOUR TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE CLEAR THIS COUNTRY'S STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE SOVIET INVASION OF YOUR COUNTRY. THE SOVIETS MUST WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS. WE MUST ONCE AGAIN SEE AN INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THE AFGHAN PEOPLE CAN CHOOSE FOR THEMSELVES THEIR OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE THE GREATEST RESPECT FOR ALL AFGHANS WHO ARE FIGHTING TO REGAIN YOUR COUNTRY'S FREEDOM. WE ARE ALSO DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE PLIGHT OF THE ALMOST TWO MILLION AFGHANS WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMELAND FOR REFUGE ELSEWHERE.

WE, TOGETHER WITH THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S NATIONS,

JAC  
ESH EA  
WLS

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ 2

BELIEVE THAT RESTORATION OF AN INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN IS A GOAL WHICH MUST BE ACHIEVED.

WITH BEST WISHES, JANE A. COON, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA.

3. FYI: THE TEXT OF MOJADIDI'S TELEGRAM FOLLOWS:

THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY YOUR EXCELLENCY AND SOME OF THE HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT ON AN IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AGGRESSOR SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THE ASSISTANCE OF AFGHAN MUJAHEDDEEN IS RECEIVED WITH DEEP APPRECIATION BY AFGHAN MUJAHEDDEEN, AFGHAN REFUGEES AND ALL FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN. TRULY BRAVE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN, WHO HAVE FEARLESSLY STOOD AGAINST THE MOST CRUEL AGGRESSOR FORCE OF OUR TIMES ONLY TO DEFEND THEIR FAITH, FREEDOM AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR JUST STRUGGLE WITH ABSOLUTE FAITH IN GOD AND UNTIL COMPLETE SUCCESS, DESERVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE FREE WORLD AND THOSE NATIONS WHICH BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF FAITH AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE THAT POSITIVE MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR JUST STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE AND FOR THE PURPOSE OF RESTRICTING THE HANDS OF AGGRESSORS IS AN IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY INGREDIENT FOR WORLD PEACE AND WE ASSURE YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT YOUR EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION IS FULLY RECOGNIZED AND APPRECIATED BY FREEDOM-LOVING MUSLIM PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN. PROF. SIGBHATULLAH AL-MUJADDIDY, CHAIRMAN OF THE AFGHAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN. END FYI.

4. THE WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT INTEND TO RELEASE THIS CORRESPONDENCE. 44

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8101532

RECEIVED 25 MAR 81 14

TO PRES

FROM MUJADDIDY, SUBGHATUL DOCDATE 23 MAR 81

BREMER

09 APR 81

021587

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

PAKISTAN

USSR

SUBJECT: TELEGRAM EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR RECENT STATEMENTS CALLING FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FM AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS

DUE: 07 APR 81 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

KEMP

PIPES

COLSON

COMMENTS

REF#

8109609

LOG

NSCIFID

( D / C )

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

*C 4/10 Recd s/w Direct Reply GK, R?, JC*

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(C)

REFERRAL

DATE: 15 MAR 81

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

8109609

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRES

FROM: MUJADDIDY, SUBGHATUL

DATE: 23 MAR 81

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

PAKISTAN

USSR

SUBJ:

-----  
REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO COPY

DUE DATE: 07 APR 81

COMMENTS:



FOR ALLEN J LENZ

STAFF DIRECTOR

----- FOR NSC USE ONLY -----

FOR INFO COLSON

F WH

O DM C JF

*Received in 5/5-I  
3/21 - 7 6 15 P.M. (22)*

NSC#  
1532

8109809

NSC

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7  
8 ITT1/23 MAR 1981

9  
10 PESHAWAR 212/208 19 1330 BACKDATE SUSPECTED DUPLICATE

11 LT H E MR RONALD REAGAN

12 THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

13 THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY YOUR EXCELLENCY AND SOME OF THE HIGH  
14 RANKING OFFICIALS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT ON AN IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL  
15 OF THE AGGRESSOR SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THE

16 ASSISTANCE OF AFGHAN MUJAHEDDEEN IS RECEIVED WITH DEEP  
17 APPRECIATION BY AFGHAN MUJAHEDDEEN, AFGHAN REFUGEES  
18 AND ALL FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE OF

19  
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26  
AFGHANISTAN(.) TURLEE BRAVE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN,

WHO HAVE FEARLESSLY STOOD AGAINST THE MOST CRUEL AGGRESSOR

FORCE OF OUR TIMES ONLY TO DEFEND THEIR FATH, FREEDOM AND THE HUMAN

RIGHTS AND ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR JUST STRUGGLE WIT

ABSOLUTE FAITH IN GOD AND UNTIL COMPLETE SUCCESS, DESERVE

THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE FREE WORLD AND THOSE NATIONS WHICH

BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF FATH AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS (.)

WE BELIEVE THAT POSITIVE MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR JUST

STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE AND FOR THE PURPOSE OF

RESTRICTING THE HANDS OF AGGRESSORS IS AN IMPORTANT



1  
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8 AND NECESSARY INGREDIANT FOR WORLD PEACE AND WE ASSURE YOUR  
9 EXCELLENCY THAT YOUR EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION IS  
10 FULLY RECOGNIZED AND APPRECIATED BY FREEDOM-LOVING MUSLIM  
11 PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN (.)  
12  
13

14 PROF SIBGHATULLAH AL-MUJADDIDY CHAIRMAN OF THE AFGHAN  
15 NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT PESHAWAR PAKISTAN  
16  
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9 JUN 1981  
027680

ID #

C0002

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

3385

- O - OUTGOING
  - H - INTERNAL
  - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: Honors Secretary

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

Subject: Requests opportunity to share with President information on Afghanistan & encloses an old photo of the Pres. as Gov. of California.

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>Sec RAWL</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8106108</u> <sup>MG</sup>	<u>NAN</u>	<u>C 8106108</u> <sup>MG</sup>
<u>Allen</u>	A	<u>81106108</u> <sup>MG</sup>	<u>NAN</u>	<u>C 81106112</u> <sup>MG</sup>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
  - C - Comments
  - D - Draft Response
  - F - Fact Sheet

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

- DISPOSITION CODES:**
- A - Answered
  - B - Non-Special Referral
  - C - Completed
  - S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**  
 Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
 Code = "A"  
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: NSC ID 8103385<sup>MG</sup>

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

## RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

### CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4200 \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: CO 002 \_\_\_\_\_ Secondary Subject Codes: HU 040 \_\_\_\_\_ EG 001-04  
PR 007 \_\_\_\_\_ BE 003 \_\_\_\_\_  
PR 003 \_\_\_\_\_ PR 005 \_\_\_\_\_

### PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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

**SIGNATURE CODES:**

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence**
- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie
  
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence**
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 -
  
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence**
- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

**MEDIA CODES:**

- B - Box/package
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- D - Official document
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- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 12, 1981

TO: NSC/S  
FROM: RAYMOND TANTER

No action necessary.

INTERNAL NSC ROUTING

ALLEN	LENZ
BAILEY	LEVINE
BERTA	LILLEY
BLAIR	LORD
COLSON	NANCE
DEGRAFFENREID	NAU
DOBRIANSKY	PIPES
FARRAR	POATS
FEITH	REGER
FONTAINE	RENTSCHLER
GOLD	RUSSELL
GREGG	SCHWEITZER
GUHIN	SHOEMAKER
HUBERMAN	SICK
JENNINGS	STEARMAN
KAMINSKY	TANTER
<u>KEMP</u>	TYSON
KIMMITT	WETTERING
KRAEMER	_____
ADMIN	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

*Recommended  
he not see  
the President  
or Vice  
President*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

*Request for report etc  
Kemp: P.A.D.*

*Comment:* pls note the date of this  
correspondence, also note that the scheduling  
office elected not to take any action on this  
ltr and deferred it to the NSC/S.

*Savetta*



G 493

is  
Scheduling

# AFGHAN CARPET SERVICE

912 THAYER AVE., SUITE 202 • SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND 20910

(301) 589-4100

November 25, 1980

received and  
schedule being office  
6/8/81

To Mr Allen?  
yes  
TH  
6/8

027680

Dear President Elect Reagan:

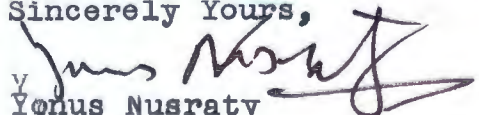
In 1967 when you were Governor of the State of California you came down to greet Mr. Maywandwal, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan at that time. The photograph I am enclosing is a memento of that proud occasion. How pleased and honored we all were that you came.

The later tragedy was that the man you gave your warm welcome to met an early death. The Communists killed him. They falsely accused him of being a C.I.A. Agent. He was not. He simply refused to follow or become a part of their political philosophy and system. He absolutely saw no hope in Communism for Afghanistan.

I was accompanying the Prime Minister as Editor of Afghanistan students in the United States. I subsequently made the happy choice and became a citizen of the United States, although I have family and close friends still living in Afghanistan.

I am convinced that it is important and wise for you to have an inside report on what is going on in Afghanistan. I have information which I know needs to be shared with you, and I am willing to share it in spite of the possible problems my actions may pose to my family in Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan are determined to crush communism in Afghanistan forever and there is much that America as the leader of the free world can do to aid that effort. I place myself at your disposal and at your convenience. May God bless you with four years of prosperity and restored dignity for America.

Sincerely Yours,



Yonus Nusraty  
President,  
Afghan Carpet Service

RECEIVED 09 JUN 81 18

TO PRES

FROM NUSRATY, YONUS

DOCDATE 25 NOV 80

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

AP

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR APPT W/ PRES TO SHARE NEWS RE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: ANY ACTION NECESSARY

DUE: 12 JUN 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

KEMP

STEARMAN ✓

COLSON ✓

GREGG ✓

TYSON ✓

COMMENTS \*\* NOTE DATE OF LTR

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

( M / )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	C 9/12	No Action necessary		

*C 9/12 No Action necessary*

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

*WH*

(C) *u. t*



MEMORANDUM

3295

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 16, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MAX FRIEDERSDORF

THROUGH: RICHARD V. ALLEN *Allen*

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *GK*

SUBJECT: Congressman Ritter and Afghanistan

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1240  
PY 10002  
CO 165  
F9000-1/2  
I O 5

On Tuesday, June 2, I met with Congressman Don Ritter (R-PA) for about three quarters of an hour to discuss his interest in Afghanistan and ways in which we can counter Soviet imperialism there. Ritter speaks Russian and has lived in the Soviet Union for a year. He has recently returned from a visit to Pakistan where he met a lot of Afghani exiles. He feels very strongly that we should be doing more to help the Afghani rebels, thereby delaying Soviet encroachment into the Gulf area. *(S)*

Although he realizes the sensitivities and difficulties of doing very much about this and although he does not sit on any of the committees that deal directly with Afghanistan, he is a member of the Helsinki Commission, a Congressional Commission that monitors the Helsinki Accords (Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe). They are planning to hold hearings in mid-July and Ritter and several of his colleagues wish to give as much publicity as they can during those hearings to Soviet activities in Afghanistan. I told him I thought this was a good idea and that we would be as helpful as we could. His Executive Assistant dealing with this is Miss Lana Buck and I'm passing you this information because I think it is something you should know. I hope your staff can find ways to be helpful to Mr. Ritter in his attempts to put Soviet behavior on the front pages of the press. *(S)*

cc: Richard Fairbanks

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority NSC/State Wawers  
BY db NARA DATE 4/19/2015

NSC # 8103295

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review June 5, 1987

84150. 2

MEMORANDUM

3295  
*[Handwritten initials]*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

June 5, 1981

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

Authority Not State Waivers  
BY [Handwritten] NARA DATE 4/19/2019

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *gl*

SUBJECT: Congressman Ritter and Afghanistan

The memorandum for your signature at Tab I transmits a request for the staffs of Max Friedersdorf and Richard Fairbanks to assist Congressman Ritter in his attempts to make public Soviet behavior in Afghanistan during the hearings of the Helsinki Commission to be held in mid-July. (e)

RECOMMENDATION:

That you also sign the memorandum at Tab I.

APPROVE 6/15 DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment  
Tab I

Memorandum to Max Friedersdorf

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review June 5, 1987

JANET COLSON

Jc 9/0955

BUD NANCE

Jc 9/1955

DICK ALLEN

Mu 14/2236

IRENE DERUS

rid 15/0735

JANET COLSON

Jc 15/1243

BUD NANCE

KAY

CY TO VP

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

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CY TO BAKER

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CY TO BRADY

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SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

db 2/5/10

RECEIVED 09 JUN 81 09

TO ALLEN

FROM KEMP

DOCDATE 05 JUN 81

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

CONGRESSIONAL

RITTER, DON

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMEN RITTER & AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE: 11 JUN 81 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

ALLEN

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

( C / )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	C 6/16	RVA rpl memo		GK ✓

DISPATCH

el 6/16 / JCP ✓

W/ATTCH FILE

WH

cidsm

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4806

redo

8/28 to VPO

1500

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *Dick*

SUBJECT: Correspondence Referral -- Mr. Ghani Eirabie

039180  
3500  
1120  
PY 00002  
FG030  
F0003-02  
F0005-03  
FG011

At Tab A is a State Department draft response to Pakistani journalist Ghani Eirabie, who wrote Peter Teeley on July 30 requesting a statement from you designed to reassure the Pakistani people of U.S. support.

The State Department notes that Eirabie would propose to use your statement as if it came from a personal interview. The Department believes, as does the NSC Staff, that this would stimulate requests for interviews from other foreign journalists and would set an undesirable precedent.

In order to avoid this, we believe it preferable that Pete respond to Eirabie, drawing on paragraph two of the attached draft, making it clear to Eirabie that while this paragraph can be attributed to the Vice President, it should not be reported as if it came in an interview with you.

RECOMMENDATION

That Pete Teeley respond to Mr. Eirabie, using the attached draft for standard language.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab A Draft response
- B Incoming

Dear Mr. Eirabie:

I regret that my schedule has not permitted an interview with you as you have requested.

As you know, the Reagan Administration considers close and friendly relations with Pakistan, based on the principle of sovereign equality of states and mutual understanding, to be of the highest importance. The understanding which our two governments have reached on assistance over the next six years is tangible evidence of this Administration's commitment to support Pakistan at this critical juncture. In this regard, I would mention that Ambassador Kirkpatrick, a member of the President's Cabinet, will be visiting Pakistan, and other countries in South Asia, this month, thereby underscoring the importance we attach to this vital region.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Mr. Ghani Eirabie,  
Special Correspondent,  
Pakistan Press International,  
Khaleej Times, Dubai,  
5535 Columbia Pike,  
Arlington, Virginia 22204.

#4806

RECEIVED

81 AUG 20 P 9: 03

JANET COLSON

*ja*

BUD NANCE

*ja*

DICK ALLEN

*WR 21*

IRENE DERUS

\_\_\_\_\_

JANET COLSON

*ja*

BUD NANCE

\_\_\_\_\_

KAY

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO VP

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CY TO MEESE

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CY TO BAKER

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CY TO DEEVER

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CY TO BRADY

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*looks dangerous, nonetheless ja*

**—**

*re typed 8/29/71*

SHOW CC

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4806

ACTION

August 18, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: DOUGLAS J. FEITH

SUBJECT: VP Response to Pakistani Journalist

Ghani Eirabie, a Pakistani journalist, has asked Peter Teeley, the VP's press secretary, to send him a few sentences that Mr. Eirabie can quote as "interview remarks" to reassure the Pakistani people of U.S. support.

State, which drafted the response for the VP at Tab A, recommends that Mr. Teeley rather than the VP should respond, drawing on the second paragraph of the draft. Lest an undesirable precedent for written interviews be set, State recommends also that Mr. Teeley make it clear that his language is not to be quoted as if it came from an interview with the VP.

Geoff Kemp and I concur in State's recommendations.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the memo to the VP at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

**SIGNED**  
8/28/81  
as changed  
8/27/81

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Vice President
- A Draft response
- B Background and incoming





8123449

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

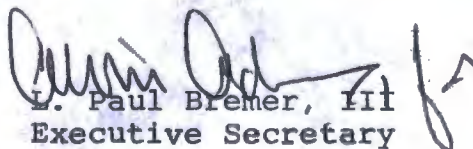
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

August 12, 1981

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State W/Exec 11/6/15  
BY dlb NARA DATE 1/17/2019MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD V. ALLEN  
THE WHITE HOUSESUBJECT: Suggested draft reply from the Vice President  
to Pakistani journalist Mr. Ghani Eirabie

Attached is a suggested draft reply from the Vice President to Pakistani journalist Mr. Ghani Eirabie. This is in response to Eirabie's July 30 letter to Press Secretary Teeley requesting a statement from the Vice President designed to reassure the Pakistani people of US support. We note that Eirabie would propose to use the Vice President's statement as if it came from a personal interview. We believe that this would stimulate requests for interviews from other foreign journalists (the Indians for example) and would set an undesirable precedent. In order to avoid this, we believe it preferable that Mr. Teeley respond to Eirabie, drawing on paragraph two of our draft reply from the Vice President, but making it clear to Eirabie that, while this paragraph can be attributed to the Vice President, it should not be reported as if it came in an interview with the Vice President.



L. Paul Bremer, III  
Executive Secretary

## Attachment:

1. Suggested draft reply from the Vice President to Pakistani journalist Mr. Ghani Eirabie.
2. Incoming correspondence.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

8123449

REFERRAL

To: Director, Secretariat Staff  
(S/S-S)  
Department of State, Room 7241  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Date: August 5, 1981

ACTION REQUESTED

- Draft reply for:
- Vice President's signature.
- Undersigned's signature.
- Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- Direct reply.
- Furnish information copy.
- Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- For your information.
- For comment.

NOTE

*Prompt action is essential.*

If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

Description:

1 Letter: \_\_\_\_\_ Telegram: \_\_\_\_\_ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

To: The Vice President's Press Secretary  
From: Ghani Eirabie  
Date: July 30, 1981  
Subject: Statement of support for Pakistan

By direction of the Vice President

*W.C. Atzert*  
W. C. ATZERT  
Staff Assistant

8123449

GHANI EIRABIE

*Special Correspondent*

*Pakistan Press International*

*Khalaj Times, Dubai*

5535 COLUMBIA PIKE

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22204

(703) 578-1697

July 30, 1981

Mr. Peter E. Teeley  
Press Secretary to the Vice-President  
The White House, Washington DC

Dear Mr. Teeley,

I deeply appreciate your letter of July 22. I would readily concede, the Vice-President has been exceptionally busy, with the budget monopolising most of his attention; and I believe I would be well advised to revert to my request for a meeting at a later date.

But as the Vice-President's canvas of interest extends to a wider field including foreign affairs, I would take the liberty of making a suggestion whatever it be worth.

The rapidly mounting Soviet pressure on Pakistan through stepped-up military activities in Afghanistan, the economic and security implications of the presence of 2.5 armed Afghan refugees on Pakistan soil, the threat of the Russians exercising their right of pursuit and Pakistan's present lack of capacity to defend herself, should be beginning to fray the Pakistani nerves.

The delay in finalising the Pak-American military negotiations is not helping any.

I figure the situation calls for a strong re-iteration of the support USA has already promised Pakistan. The timing is important; and time is now.

It may sound self-serving but I sincerely believe that a few sentences of reassurance by the US Vice-President conveyed to the common people of Pakistan through a mass media representative, rather than routine diplomatic channels, may make a greater impact.

In response to the kind offer in the last para of your letter I would like to make a suggestion: please draw up a para or two on behalf of the Vice-President re-affirming strong US support to Pakistan in her moment of tension and uncertainty and mail it out to me which I could run as though an interview. I am convinced, re-iteration of even the old assurances, perhaps couched in stronger language and reflecting the sincerity of purpose this Administration projects, would help promote greater understanding between the erstwhile allies.

With warmest regards,

*Ghani Eirabie*  
(Ghani Eirabie)

A

B

RECEIVED 13 AUG 81 09

TO ALLEN

FROM BREMER

DOCDATE 12 AUG 81

ATZERT, W

05 AUG 81

EIRABIE, GHANI

30 JUL 81

039180

KEYWORDS: PAKISTAN

SUBJECT: LTR REQUESTING STATEMENT FM VP SHOWING US SUPPORT OF AFGHANISTAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO ALLEN TO VP DUE: 17 AUG 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

KEMP

FEITH

COMMENTS

REF# 8123449

LOG

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( C / )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<u>Allen</u>	<u>X 8/20</u>	<u>for signature</u>		<u>1/80</u>
	<u>C 8/28</u>	<u>OLVA ref memo to VP</u>		<u>YK, DF</u>

DISPATCH et 8/28/81 via Sit room folder WATCH FILE W/H

*EF*  
MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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FO 005-03  
September 10, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *gk*  
SUBJECT: Appointment with Sayed Ahmed Gailani

I concur in that you should not meet with Gailani. I too received a letter which I replied to on August 31 (see Tab A) saying I would see him. However, I will do so outside the White House.

Attachments

- Tab A - Kemp ltr. Aug. 31 to George <sup>x</sup>Brunot re Gailani
- B - Incoming correspondence dated Aug. 24 from Brunot re Gailani

8/31/81 Geoffrey Kemp admit to George Brunot attached

NIA # 8105168

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 31, 1981

Dear Mr. Brunot:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 24. I look forward to meeting with Sayed Ahmed Gailani and suggest he call me upon his arrival to set up a meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely



Geoffrey Kemp

Mr. George Brunot  
NTS Executive Bureau  
Flurscheideweg 15  
6230 Frankfurt a. M. 80  
West Germany



**NTS** Union des Solidaristes Russes  
Alliance of Russian Solidarists,  
Bund Russischer Solidaristen

George Brunot  
Flurscheideweg 15  
6230 Frankfurt a. M. 80  
West Germany

Mr Geoffrey Kemp  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

August 24, 1981

Dear Mr Kemp:

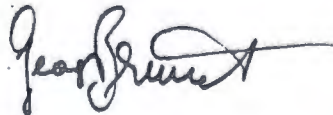
Among the principal figures which inspire and guide the Afghan resistance to the Soviet drive towards the Persian Gulf is Sayed Ahmed Gailani, leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan.

Mr Gailani plans to visit the United States in October. The object of this visit is to inform of the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the Afghan struggle.

Sayed Ahmed Gailani has asked the NTS to help him organize his schedule. The NTS, an organization of Russian opposition active in the USSR, in Eastern Europe and in the West for a number of years, has a close working relationship with NIFA.

Mr Gailani will greatly appreciate an opportunity of meeting you during his visit to Washington.

Yours sincerely,



George Brunot  
NTS Executive Bureau

Encl.: "The Enemy Within", National Review, July 10, 1980  
"Russians Against Invasion of Afghanistan", Soviet Analyst, Feb 6, 1980  
"Afghan Psywar", Soldier of Fortune, May 1981

# 5168

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81 SEP 11 A 7: 28

JANET COLSON

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DICK ALLEN

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IRENE DERUS

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JANET COLSON

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PETER

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CY TO VP

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Comments:

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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84151	NOTE  ON NSC ROUTING FORM	1	8/27/1981	B1

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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]
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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.

AUG 27 1981

5168

**NTS** Union des Solidaristes Russes  
Alliance of Russian Solidarists  
Bund Russischer Solidaristen

Flurscheidweg 15  
6230 Frankfurt a. M. 80  
West Germany

Dr Richard V. Allen  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

August 24, 1981

Dear Dr Allen:

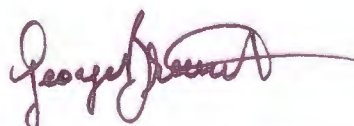
The leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, and the Chairman of the Afghan Alliance, Sayed Ahmed Gailani, plans a visit to the United States in October.

Mr Gailani has asked the NTS to help him organize his schedule for this visit. The NTS, an organization of Russian opposition active in the USSR, in Eastern Europe and in the West for a number of years, has a close working relationship with NIFA.

Mr Gailani will greatly appreciate an opportunity to inform you personally of the political, military and humanitarian state of the Afghan struggle, as well as of the joint NIFA/NTS propoganda actions in Afghanistan.

With my very best regards,

Yours sincerely,



George Brunot  
NTS Executive Bureau

Encl.: "The Enemy Within", National Review, July 10, 1980  
"The Protracted Conflict", National Review, May 29, 1981  
"Russians Against Invasion of Afghanistan", Soviet Analyst, Feb 6, 1980  
"Afghan Paywar", Soldier of Fortune, May 1981

# The Enemy Within

LENNART FRANTZELL

TO THE PEOPLE of the Ukrainian city of Dnepropetrovsk, the drab, nondescript building at 101 Chicherin Street was just another government office. In April 1976, however, a *samizdat* document pinpointing it as a psychiatric prison began to circulate in the city. Whoever had printed the leaflet was very well informed about conditions inside the prison, and gave the names both of dissidents held there and of doctors who violated their medical oath by practicing there. The two-page document was signed "NTS."

Each day in the early afternoon—5:40 A.M. Moscow time—people in Siberian towns like Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, and Krasnoyarsk can tune their short-wave sets to 7,150 khz, 9,630 khz, or four other wave-lengths and hear, heavily jammed by the Soviet transmitters around Vladivostok, a program which begins: "Govorit Narodno Trudovoi Soyuz—Govorit NTS."

The man who one morning in early April 1978 faced the Leningrad City Court had the pallid, stoic look common to all prisoners in the USSR. Leonid Yakovlevich Lubman—a 42-year-old economist—was sentenced to 15 years in jail for allegedly passing state secrets to "an agent of the infamous NTS."

On June 2, 1976, a horde of KGB agents arrested a man in a grey overcoat outside the gates of the Likhachev auto plant in Moscow as he was passing out leaflets urging the workers to strike. During interrogation the man—Vladimir Deriugin—admitted to having been an NTS member since 1961.

On March 18, 1980, the U.S. State Department held a press conference about an explosion at a Soviet germ-warfare plant in Sverdlovsk 11 months earlier. As the State Department saw it, the incident was extremely serious:

*Mr. Frantzell is a freelance writer who specializes in Soviet and Chinese affairs.*

it indicated that the Soviets apparently had contravened the U.S.-Soviet Biological Warfare Treaty. The information about the blast had been spirited out of the USSR by the NTS.

The Narodno Trudovoi Soyuz (National Labor Alliance) is a non-Communist Russian political organization founded in Belgrade in 1930 to offer a democratic alternative to the Soviet Communist Party. In terms of the political spectrum, the NTS is positioned between the European Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties.

The new NTS quickly began to dispatch agents into the USSR, and the first NTS men caught by the Soviet secret police, Pyotr Iroshnikov and Mikhail Florovsky, were shot in December 1934. The early years were a period of mounting casualties—and of heroic feats. Boris Olennikov, E. Peraladov, and I. Kobylkin crossed into the Soviet Union from Manchuria and made their way across Siberia to Moscow. After completing their mission they returned the way they had come, only to be arrested on the Chinese border. They were shot in Irkutsk.

Igor Khlobystov crossed the border with little difficulty and settled down outside Moscow. In 1942 he was mobilized and fought against the Germans, ending up with the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany. Back in civilian clothes, he settled in Gorky, where he and the NTS group he had recruited were later arrested.

In World War II the NTS set up underground groups in the areas of the USSR occupied by the Germans, and also operated among the Russian prisoners of war captured by the Wehrmacht. The Germans at first sought to use the organization for their own ends, but soon realized that the NTS wanted a Russia free not only of Stalin, but of Hitler as well. Several hundred NTS men in occupied Europe were rounded up by the Gestapo in 1944 and dispatched to concentration camps.

Reconstituted in 1974, the NTS for a while provided Western intelligence with agents for operations inside the USSR. This cooperation was ended in the 1960s, however, after several NTS members were betrayed by double agents in the British and West German secret services.

Today the NTS operates out of Paris, with a total active membership in the West of around five hundred. A 1969 KGB estimate of uncertain reliability put twenty to 25 NTS members in Australia, a dozen in Belgium, five or six in Italy, twenty to thirty in France, and two to three hundred in West Germany (*L'Humanité*, September 12, 1969). To these figures must be added sizable groups in Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Israel, the United States, and, of course, the USSR itself. The NTS operates a radio station in Taiwan and a publishing house in Frankfurt. Its propaganda section smuggles Russian-language newspapers, magazines, and books into the USSR. A clandestine section supervises the work of the NTS moles behind the Iron Curtain.

THE NTS has become one of the best-informed sources on the Soviet Union. As early as 1937 the organization published Ivan Solonevich's *Russia in Chains*, one of the first descriptions of the Gulag Archipelago. The NTS monthly, *Possev*, has published, among other scoops, a series of lists of Russians kept under surveillance by the KGB, and has even been able to lay its hands on a police report on Nikolai F. Artamonov-Shadrin, the CIA double agent kidnapped by the KGB in Vienna in 1975.

How effective is the NTS? The special editions of NTS publications printed on thin paper are, we know, read fairly widely in the USSR, and frequent Soviet press attacks on the organization bear eloquent witness to the importance the Soviet security organs attach to it. By operating within the USSR, the NTS provides Soviet citizens with an alternative to resigned acceptance of the regime of emigration: direct political action to change the system. As popular frustration with the increasingly scandalous performance of the Soviet economy steadily increases, the KGB is becoming more and more nervous, and the NTS more and more upbeat. □

**T**HE LATE John Foster Dulles used to talk about the "roll-back," although how he proposed to get Stalin, or even Khrushchev, to agree to evacuate the new Soviet empire in Eastern Europe remained obscure. The term became unfashionable when Hungary exploded and all the West did was stand idly by.

Subject as always to correction, I am not aware that even Dulles at his most evangelistic meant the "roll-back" to include the USSR itself. Alas, Communism continued to spread and so, despite the great Sino-Soviet rift, did the Soviet empire.

It has long been apparent that the process will continue inexorably, whatever the temporary or tactical setbacks suffered by the Soviet leadership, as for instance when sensible men like Anwar el-Sadat and General Siad Barre decide they can do without Soviet advisors. I mean, to be more precise, that it will continue inexorably, unless and until the Soviet system itself collapses.

The most exhilarating new factor on the world scene is the possibility, for the first time since the failure of Winston Churchill's Archangel expedition of 1918-19, that the Soviet regime may indeed be facing collapse (if we are sensible enough to help instead of hinder the process of dissolution). The unthinkable is with us, and the policy-planning departments of Western foreign ministries and intelligence services ought to start thinking about it, right now.

---

## Sorting Out the Poles

---

Poland is the bone that threatens to choke the Soviet bear. There is some evidence that the Soviet leaders had decided to "sort out" the Poles by force at the end of March, probably by extending the duties of the Warsaw Pact forces that had been exercising on Polish soil. Dire warnings came from the White House, just before President Reagan stopped a bullet, and Brezhnev told the assembled satraps in Prague that the Poles could do their own sorting out.

Some idea of what the Soviets meant by sorting out had emerged when po-

lice, heavily bolstered by KGB men, beat up Solidarity workers at Bydgoszcz on March 21. Infiltration, penetration, provocation: those are the standing orders. Somehow, Solidarity must be destroyed, for the notion of an independent source of workers' power in a "workers' state" is intolerable.

The trouble is that even the underhand methods of the police state are not necessarily going to work. The Polish United Workers' Party is in disarray. Prime ministers and Party bosses have succeeded one another with bewildering speed. The Poles are patriots and Catholics, not (except by lip service) Communists. And the Polish armed forces are, from the Soviet standpoint, a liability.

Brezhnev's dilemma, then, is this. If he orders an invasion, he risks a total American (and at least a partial West European and Japanese) freeze on transfers of technology and easy credits. If the freeze were kept up for the duration of President Reagan's term, the vision of a totally Soviet-dominated world by 1985 would turn to ashes. But if he doesn't order an invasion, the contagion of the Polish example will spread, first to other satellites, and at last to the USSR itself.

What will the Soviets *do*, if first the European empire, then the USSR itself, becomes ungovernable? There are two schools of thought. One argues that the danger of a Soviet nuclear strike, to assert supremacy while the going is good, will become acute. The other, that the regime will turn inward, allowing the external empire to disintegrate and returning to Stalinist repression in the internal empire of the Soviet republics.

It is against this background that the enormous amounts of effort and money being expended by the KGB and the International Department of the Party's Central Committee, to campaign for unilateral Western disarmament and to prevent the deployment of the new generation of American weapons, make sense. This again has a close bearing on whether or not to invade Poland. For if an invasion were ordered, the deployment of the new weapons could be accelerated (although the faint-hearted

Dutch, Belgians, and West Germans could waver rather than stiffen).

It is this entirely new situation that ought to be studied, closely, constantly, and with strategic intent. At this point, too, our friends of the NTS deserve to be listened to attentively.

"NTS" is the Russian abbreviation for the Popular Labor Alliance of Russian Solidarists. Formed in 1930, the NTS has survived Stalin's murderous attentions and the losses of treachery and betrayal. It is the only nationwide clandestine resistance movement inside the USSR.

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## Enemies Within

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Today the NTS is convinced that, in addition to the visible dissidents (of whom Andrei Sakharov is the most distinguished current example, since Solzhenitsyn was expelled), there is a large but muted opposition within the Soviet regime itself. That such an opposition does exist is a demonstrable fact. Every now and then, a member of it takes advantage of a foreign journey to defect to the West. How many more lack the nerve to make the break? That is where the figuring gets imprecise.

Can this internal opposition, within the privileged elite, be used when the apocalypse dawns? It is hard to say. These are people who have a stake in the set-up and who have done well out of the regime, in terms of dachas, private cars, and access to restricted shops. They have turned silently against the regime because they are scared of the logical end results of a policy of expansionism. On the other hand, they have no desire to lose their privileges. So they keep quiet and nurse their cynicism.

Could they become vitally important at the point of collapse? Or is it not more likely that they would simply be swept away as the czarist aristocracy was, in a general upheaval that would consign Brezhnev or his successor to the "dustbin of history"?

Frankly, I do not pretend to know the answer. What I am sure of is that this is the kind of roll-back that should engage our cogitation. □

# Russians Against Invasion of Afghanistan

The criticisms of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have not been restricted to the peoples of the Western democracies. Among Russians in the USSR and in exile who have spoken out against this abuse of their country's power has been the anti-Soviet emigré organisation NTS, (*Narodno-trudovoi soyuz* — known in English as the Union of Russian Solidarists) which has launched a vigorous campaign. It appears to be operating on three fronts: in Afghanistan, in the Western democracies and in the USSR itself.

It is attempting to persuade the Afghan insurgents to see their liberation struggle as part of a world-wide struggle against Soviet-Communist aggression rather than a war against Russians.

It is urging Western countries to take a firm, united stand against the Kremlin's ambitions;

It is encouraging fellow-countrymen in the USSR to oppose the brutal policies being pursued by the CPSU in their name.

On 18 January the NTS Executive Committee issued a statement on the invasion which summarizes the issues involved and concludes with an appeal to Russians in responsible posts to take action to prevent their leaders continuing on their present dangerous course. The statement points out that the Afghan people no more called for Soviet "help" than did the Hungarians in 1956 and the Czechs and Slovaks in 1968. There have already been heavy casualties among Soviet troops and there will be more because of the hostility of the population and the suitability of the Afghan terrain for guerrilla warfare.

Anti-Russian feeling has spread among other Muslim peoples, and the overwhelming majority of the world's governments voted for the UN General Assembly Resolution condemning Soviet aggression. East-West trade has suffered, the Moscow Olympics are threatened and the ratification of SALT-2 indefinitely postponed. The arms race has been accelerated and US-Chinese cooperation given greater incentive. The Russian Solidarists continue: "Such is the price that our country has paid for the occupation of Afghanistan."

## **Danger of world war**

The NTS statement maintains that the Soviet invasion was a direct consequence of the coup which overthrew the Daoud government in April 1978. For defensive purposes the pro-Soviet Daoud government should have been perfectly acceptable for the Kremlin, and officers of the Soviet High Command who knew the situation in Afghanistan gave warning that should a communist coup be encouraged the USSR would be committed to sending more than "advisers" to keep the communists in power. To hold

the country large military units would have to be stationed at all strategic points.

Did events get beyond the control of the gerontocratic Politburo? If this be the case, points out the NTS, then "we are dealing with an unrestrainable system, armed to the teeth and guided by an aggressive ideology of world communist domination". A new act of aggression against Iran, Pakistan, Finland or Yugoslavia could develop into another world war. If, however, the Soviet regime foresaw all these consequences, then this expansionist policy will lead to further aggression against Iran and Pakistan. The statement continues:

"Our country was not threatened by anyone. The United States was prepared to make greater concessions in both the matters of disarmament and closer cooperation. Western Europe wished to promote trade and technological links. The building up of China's military potential would have taken many long years, since the West was making no great efforts to speed it up. The assertion by the Soviet Government that the occupation of Afghanistan was undertaken in the interests of our country's security is false.

"The world situation has changed drastically. Never since the Second World War have we been so close to a new war. By its actions the Soviet Government is pushing the democratic countries to the point beyond which they would have no choice but to take up arms and fight. The democracies "swallowed" Hitler's aggressions one after the other, but when Hitler invaded Poland they began to fight back. Why are the lessons of history not being learned?

## **'Change course' appeal**

"Totalitarianism and foreign aggression are inseparable. The Soviet Government is not accountable to anyone. There is no free public opinion in our country, which could influence the government. Our people are deprived of the legal right to change this government through elections. And this government is dragging our country into a war, a war on two fronts, against the West and against China. In order to avert a catastrophe, to preserve our statehood, to defend our place in the world, it is necessary to stop the criminal policies now being pursued against the interests of our country and of our people before it is too late.

"We appeal first and foremost to those forces in government circles to whom the interests of Russia and its people are dear, to those who can grasp the levers of power, to those who have arms. Use the opportunities before you and take power into your hands. It is vital that you steer foreign policy on a new course towards peace. You will have the

support of the people".

How effective is the NTS? The organisation claims to have many agents operating clandestinely in the USSR and is known to be active in smuggling banned literature into the USSR. The NTS has been repeatedly attacked in the Soviet press and there have been several well-documented attempts by KGB assassins to murder its leaders living in Western countries.

Formed in the 1930s by young exiles, the NTS aims to establish "a legal and ordered democracy" in

Russia, if necessary by revolution. During the war the declared policy of the Russian Solidarists was to fight "neither for Hitler nor Stalin" but they did support a "Russian Army of Liberation" under the command of General Vlasov. Opposition to the Soviet regime has ensured new recruits for the organisation since the war, and the bitter counter-attacks of the CPSU suggest that the Soviet leaders do not lightly dismiss the threat it presents to their control over the Russian people.

## *USSR Casualties Mount in Foreign Adventures*

*The Soviet troops in Afghanistan have suffered heavy casualties, which American sources estimate at some 2,500 killed or wounded. On 24 January seven Soviet advisers were killed in an ambush in Aleppo, bringing the total Soviet deaths in Syria this year to twelve. Richard Sims discusses the growing number of Soviet casualties suffered as a direct result of Moscow's expansionist policies.*

By RICHARD SIMS

Moscow's traditional Third World policy has been to link Asian and African countries to the Soviet system through friendship and commercial treaties, backed up where necessary by logistic support and armed personnel. The use of East Germans, Cubans, Vietnamese and even North Korean surrogates in this connection is well known. The invasion of Afghanistan highlights a greater willingness on the

the counter-insurgency campaign in Kurdistan during August 1974 several Soviet pilots were killed.

In the Vietnam conflict Soviet military advisers played a similarly discreet but direct military role. North Vietnamese anti-aircraft missile men worked under instructions from Soviet military advisers and it is unlikely that the advisers escaped without casualties. Currently Moscow's military advisers are active in guerrilla suppression operations in Cambodia and

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# **SOVIET ANALYST**

A FORTNIGHTLY COMMENTARY

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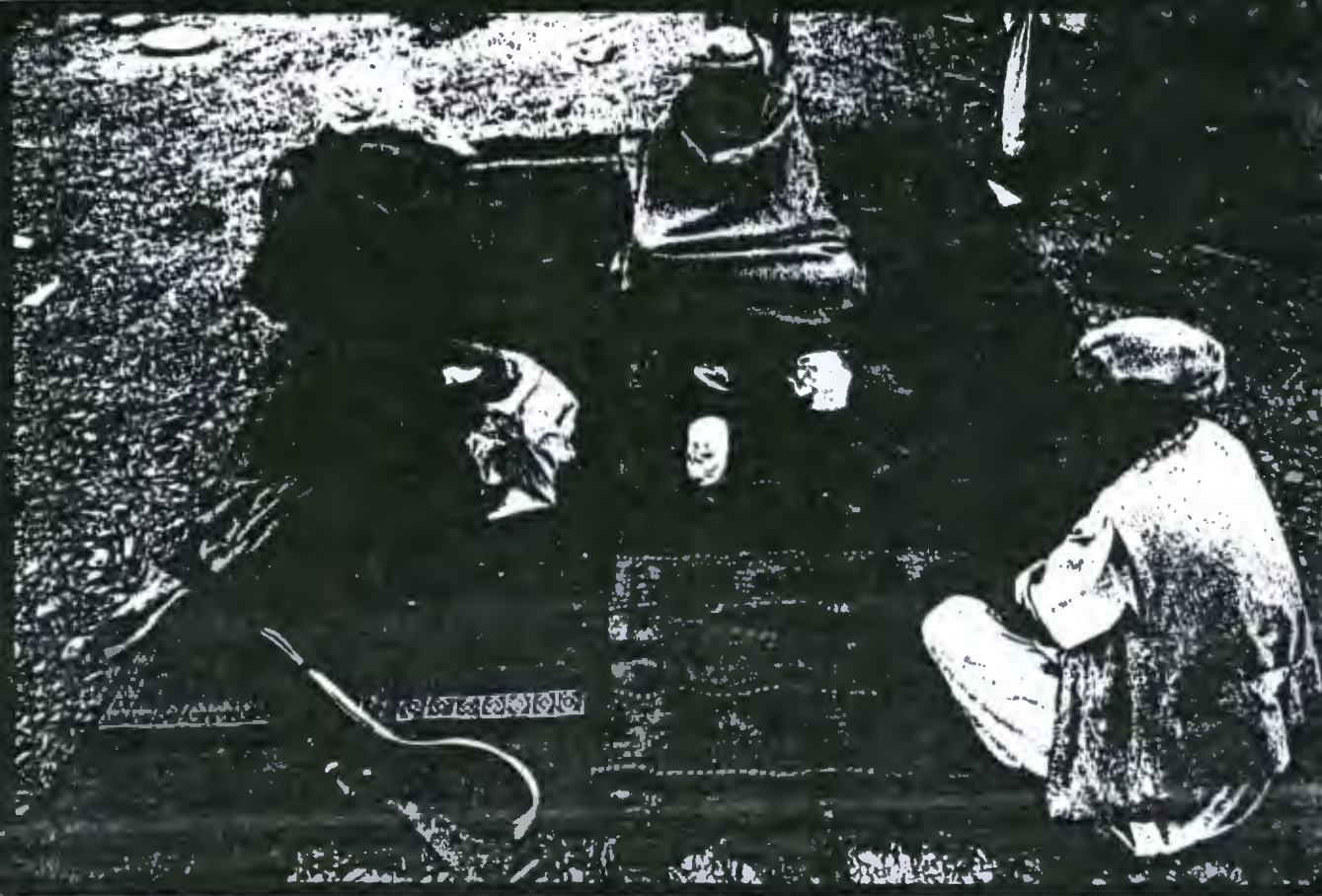
THE STALIN HERITAGE

RUSSIANS AGAINST INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

USSR CASUALTIES MOUNT IN FOREIGN ADVENTURES



USA  
of  
1981  
MAY 1981



### AFGHAN PSYWAR

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** *The Afghan Freedom Fighters wage psychological as well as guerrilla warfare against their Russian invaders. Psywar posters mysteriously appear tacked or pasted on the walls of buildings in cities occupied by Soviet troops.*

*This is the translated text of one of them brought back by SOF Special Correspondent Jim Coyne. It is a joint effort of the Afghan Islamic National Front and the Popular Labor Union — descendants of White Russians exiled from their homeland after the Soviet revolution in 1919. Its Russian name is Narodno Trudovoy Soyuz Rossiyskih Solidaristov, generally known by the initials NTS.*

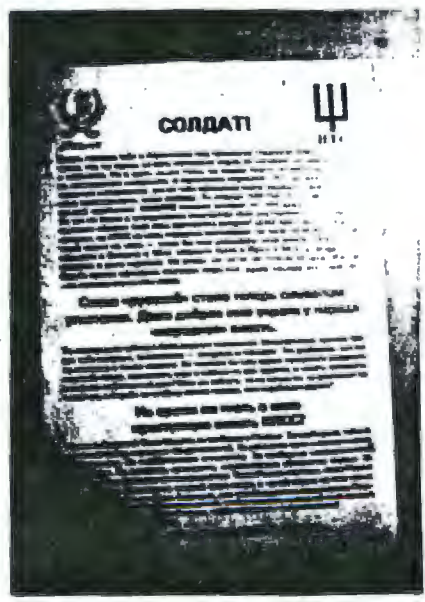
*NTS activists live in several European countries — but maintain contacts inside the Soviet Union itself.*

#### AFGHAN ISLAMIC NATIONAL FRONT: NTS SOLDIER!

Soviet power sent you into Afghanistan under the slogan, "Fraternal Assistance." They lied to you. They said you were going save the Afghan people from the Chinese, the Americans and the Zionists. But through the viewport of your tank and the sight of your machine gun you see not foreign interventionists, but Afghan partisans. What you were told was foreign intervention is in fact the Afghan people defending their land *from you*. You see how the Afghan peasant strikes against you, with *what kind* of eyes every youth looks at you. Didn't your grandfather-partisans strike against Hitler's occupation forces in this way? Didn't

your father burn the enemy soldier with such a gaze?

At home they can scarcely make ends meet, but the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] doesn't pity the millions of people, doesn't pity the thousands of lives — nor your life. It



only wants to extend its power still further. They sent your father to Hungary in '56, your brother to Prague in '68, and now you see yourself in the role of chastiser. The struggle against the Afghan partisans brings neither glory nor honor to Russia: it only places a still more disgraceful hand on our people.

THE WORD "RUSSIAN" HAS NOW BECOME A SYMBOL OF OPPRESSION. EVEN THE GOOD NAME OF "PEOPLE'S" POWER HAS BEEN STOLEN FROM THE PEOPLE.

You now find yourselves in a desperate situation. Failure to fulfill your orders burdens you with death — death and disgrace. The more you look into it, the more you see yourselves in such a trap. Hasn't the time come for us to put an end to arousing a worldwide conflagration, to put an end to the game of war on two fronts and begin to set our own house in order? If one must perish, isn't it better, isn't it more worthy, to perish in the struggle for freedom of one's own people, than for the enslavement of others?

#### ISN'T IT TIME TO STRIKE THE CRIMINAL POWER OF THE CPSU IN THE NECK?

The People's Labor Union struggles for a free Russia. For free, secret and equal choice of popular representatives. For equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. For economic initiative. For free professional unions. For spiritual, cultural, economic renewal of the country. For the right of national self-determination. Such a Russia will come. Such a Russia is not beyond the mountains. Therefore, do not give up your life in a strange land in the name of strange interests. Save it for the future, for the liberation and revitalization of the Homeland. Pull out of Afghanistan homeward, to reveal the truth of this dirty war, to embrace your near and dear ones, to preserve a pure conscience!

Popular Labor Union

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8105168

RECEIVED 31 AUG 81 18

TO ALLEN

FROM BRUNOT, GEORGE

DOCDATE 24 AUG 81

KEYWORDS: AFGHANISTAN

AA

GAILANI, SAYED AHMED

VISIT

SUBJECT: REQUEST APPT W/ ALLEN IN OCT

*also ltr to King*

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN

DUE: 04 SEP 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KEMP

COLSON

GREGG

STEARMAN

FEITH

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COMMENTS

REF#

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ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>Allen</i>	<i>IX 9/10</i>	<i>for information</i>		
	<i>C 9/14</i>	<i>noted by RVA</i>		<i>gk</i>
	<i>9/31</i>	<i>King ref ltr to Brunot</i>		

DISPATCH *done by Kemp's etc*

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