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THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO 002

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 07, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE BARNEY FRANK

SUBJECT: REGARDING THE PLIGHT OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN THE U.S., IN PARTICULAR THE CASE OF TWO BROTHERS, AMANULLAH AND WAHIDULLAH BEING DETAINED IN BOSTON WHO THE IMMIGRATION AND *

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
WILLIAM BALL		ORG	87/05/07	WS	4890513
<i>INS</i>	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
<i>LA BALL</i>	REFERRAL NOTE: <i>at John Ballou</i>		<i>87/05/19</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>05/10/22</i>
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____		<i>A 87/07/24</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>08/10/24</i>
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				

COMMENTS: * NATURALIZATION SERVICES IS DEPORTING TO INDIA WHERE IN TURN THEY WILL BE DEPORTED BACK TO AFGHANISTAN TO AN UNCERTAIN FATE (LETTER NOT SIGNED - ALL PRINTED NAMES)

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 37 MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230 1240
MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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

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



U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

22 JUL 1987

Honorable Barney Frank
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Frank:

This refers to your letters dated May 6, and May 11, 1987, to the President, concerning Aman Ullah and Wahid Ullah, in which you list 41 other Members of Congress who are also concerned about these cases. A copy of this response is being sent to each Member of Congress listed in your letters.

Wahid Ullah was born on May 10, 1965 in Kabul, Afghanistan. Aman Ullah was born on March 2, 1965 in Kabul, Afghanistan.

On November 23, 1985, they attempted to enter the United States at New York, New York as transits without visas. Their destination was purportedly Toronto, Canada. Aman Ullah was in possession of a counterfeit Netherlands Passport in the name of Stefan Brogar. Wahid Ullah was in possession of a counterfeit Netherlands passport in the name of Walter Ludwig. The bogus documents were obtained in India for \$1,500 each.

They declined to withdraw their applications for admission and return to India. They were placed in exclusion proceedings and on September 22, 1986 the immigration judge ordered the Ullahs excluded from the United States. They filed appeals the same day and on March 10, 1987 the appeals were forwarded to the Board of Immigration Appeals. On March 30, 1987, they withdrew their appeals before the Board of Immigration Appeals. On May 11, 1987, a petition for habeas was filed. A temporary restraining order was issued by the United States District Court at Boston on May 11, 1987 for ten days. A hearing on the habeas was held on May 21, 1987. The temporary restraining order was extended for seven days. On May 28, 1987, the judge enjoined the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from moving the Ullahs until assurance is received from the Government of India that they will be accepted into India. The judge did not order them to be released.

On May 11, 1987, we contacted an official at the Embassy of India, Washington, D.C. regarding removal of the Ullahs to India. A letter was sent to that official on May 18, 1987 advising of our intention to return them to India. To date, we have not received a response. No action will be taken to effect the Ullahs' removal to India until we have received assurance from the Government of India that they will be accepted in that country.

Prior to their arrival in the United States in 1985, they had resided in New Delhi, India. Aman Ullah left Afghanistan for India in January of 1985 and was soon after registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at New Delhi and issued certificate number 2380. Wahid Ullah departed Afghanistan for India in June of 1983 and was registered with the UNHCR under certificate number 3066 in September of 1983. In April of 1985, they were issued visas authorizing their stay in India until April 1986.

I hope that this information is helpful.

Sincerely,



John R. Bolton
Assistant Attorney General

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 19, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ATTN: INS -- JOHN BOLTON

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 479913
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MAY 6, 1987
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE BARNEY FRANK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: REGARDING THE PLIGHT OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN
THE U.S., IN PARTICULAR THE CASE OF TWO
BROTHERS, AMANULLAH AND WAHIDULLAH BEING
DETAINED IN BOSTON WHO THE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION SERVICES IS DEPORTING TO INDIA
WHERE IN TURN THEY WILL BE DEPORTED BACK TO
AFGHANISTAN TO AN UNCERTAIN FATE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 13, 1987

Dear Mr. Frank:

Thank you for your letter of May 6 to the President concerning the plight of two Afghan nationals, brothers by the name of Aman Ullah (A207503252) and Wahid Ullah (A27503001).

We appreciate your bringing this matter to our attention. In an effort to be of assistance, we have forwarded your letter to the appropriate Administration officials for careful consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Barney Frank
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WLB:KRJ:JWR:jwr

cc: w/copy of inc to John Bolton, Congressional Relations,
INS -- for DIRECT

May 13, 1987

Dear Mr. Frank:

Thank you for your letter of May 6 to the President concerning the plight of two Afghan nationals, brothers by the name of Aman Ullah (A207503252) and Wahid Ullah (A27503001).

We appreciate your bringing this matter to our attention. In an effort to be of assistance, we have forwarded your letter to the appropriate Administration officials for careful consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Barney Frank
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WLB:KRJ:JWR:jwr

cc: w/copy of inc to John Bolton, Congressional Relations,
INS -- for DIRECT

8
BARNEY FRANK
4TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
BANKING, FINANCE, AND
URBAN AFFAIRS
JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN,
ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND
GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
AGING

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

May 6, 1987

479913
WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1030 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5931

DISTRICT OFFICES:
437 CHERRY STREET
WEST NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02165
(617) 332-3920

10 PURCHASE STREET
FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS 02722
(617) 674-3551

8 NORTH MAIN STREET
ATTLEBORO, MASSACHUSETTS 02703
(617) 226-4723

WFB
President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to you about an urgent matter of utmost humanitarian concern. As you may know, several Afghan nationals, who fled their homeland because of the Soviet invasion there, have been in detention since they arrived in this country in late 1985. While this treatment is disappointing, we have recently been made aware of an even more disturbing development in the case of two of the Afghans: brothers named Amanullah and Wahidullah, who are currently being detained in Boston.

Apparently, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has decided to deport them to India, where their journey to this country originated. However, it is our understanding that the INS has not received any assurances from the government of India that the brothers will be permitted to remain in India. In fact, there is a strong likelihood that Indian authorities would simply send them on to Afghanistan, where their lives would be at risk at the hands of the Soviet Union's puppet government in Kabul. This concern appears to be confirmed by information provided by the New Dehli office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Knowing of your concern for the plight of refugees around the world and considering the apparent failure of the INS to gain the necessary approval from the government of India, we urge you to order the INS not to deport Amanullah and Wahidullah. In addition, we urge you to order the INS to parole the two brothers immediately pending further action on the issue of Afghan refugees in this country. It would be a grave error to send them back to be punished or murdered by the communist government.

It would also be disturbingly ironic if, as we begin the process of opening our doors to millions of undocumented aliens so that they can enjoy legal status, we were to close the door in the face of these two Afghans and consign them to a dangerously uncertain fate. We urge you to take immediate action to prevent this ill-advised deportation from going forward.

Sincerely,

Rep. Barney Frank

Rep. Don Ritter

Rep. Joseph Moakley

The President
May 6, 1987
Page Two

Rep. Dave McCurdy	Rep. Jim Courter	Rep. Ed Towns
Rep. Daniel Akaka	Rep. Howard Berman	Rep. Robt. Lagomarsino
Rep. Jim Jeffords	Rep. James Clarke	Rep. Steve Gunderson
Rep. Bob Mrazek	Rep. Mario Biaggi	Rep. Edward Boland
Rep. Tony Hall	Rep. Mike Lowry	Rep. Gary Ackerman
Rep. Vic Fazio	Rep. Bob Garcia	Rep. Walter Fauntroy
Rep. Morris Udall	Rep. Barbara Boxer	Rep. Bernard Dwyer
Rep. William Lehman	Rep. Jim Moody	Rep. Pat Schroeder
Rep. Gerry Studds	Rep. Joe Early	Rep. Charles Wilson
Rep. Barbara Kennelly	Rep. David Bonior	Rep. Claudine Schneider
Rep. Les AuCoin	Rep. Matt Martinez	Rep. Mel Levine
Rep. Ed Feighan	Rep. Edward Markey	

ID # 488950
CO 002

**WHITE HOUSE
 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
 Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 87,05,04

Name of Correspondent: Anthony L. Campaigne

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Proposal from the National
 Committee for Human Rights
 in Afghanistan

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION	
			Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>ODL - Kojulis</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87,04,28</u>	<u>CHAV87,5,7</u>	<u>87,05,20</u> ^{AB}
<u>DO5 - Richard Schiffer</u>	Referral Note: <u>R</u>	<u>87,05,17</u>	<u>PR sent to Mohammad Zalmay</u>	<u>87,05,01</u>
<u>CVAT 28</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>87,05,04</u>		
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
 - C - Comment/Recommendation
 - D - Draft Response
 - F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
 - I - Info Copy Only/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: _____

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

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: _____ Individual Codes: _____

Prime Subject Code: _____ Secondary Subject Codes: _____

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 - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

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

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8713547

Date May 20, 1987

FOR: Mr. Frank C. Carlucci
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: Mr. Mohammad Zalmy
From: Richard Schifter
Date: March 12, 1987
Subject: Proposal from the National Committee for Human
Rights in Afghanistan

WH Referral Dated: May 12, 1987

NSC ID# (if any): 488950

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State. 5

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- The Department has no objection to the proposed
travel.
- Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

for Lydia Sullivan
Melvyn Levitsky
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1987

Mr. Mohammad Zalmy
President, National Committee
for Human Rights in Afghanistan
c/o Committee for a Free Afghanistan
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Suite 480
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Mr. Zalmy:

Mrs. Maseng of the White House kindly forwarded your proposal and letter of March 12 to me.

As I am sure you are aware, the U.S. Government is deeply committed to assuring the Afghan people the right to self-determination and is diligently working to bring about the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghan soil. This Bureau continues to monitor closely the situation of Afghans both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. We are in frequent contact with other human rights agencies and organizations which are attempting to alleviate the pain and suffering of the Afghan people. Please be assured that we shall continue to add our voice to those who speak out against Soviet violations of the basic human rights of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, this Bureau does not have discretionary funds to support the work of the various worldwide human rights organizations. I have enclosed a list of organizations and persons which you might contact to seek financial support for your work. We hope that your efforts along these lines will prove fruitful.

If we may provide any other form of assistance, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,



Richard Schifter
Bureau of Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

Enclosure: a/s

List of suggested organizations to contact

Mr. Leonard Sussman
Executive Director
Freedom House
48 East 21st Street
New York, NY 10010
(212) 473-9691

Ms. Jeri Laber
Executive Director
Helsinki Watch
36 West 44th Street
New York, NY 10036
(212) 840-9460

Ms. Laurie Wiseberg
Executive Director
Human Rights Internet
Harvard Law School
Pound Hall, Room 401
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 495-9924
As source of information, not funds

Mr. Jerome J. Shestack
President
International League for Human Rights
1600 Market Street
Suite 3600
Philadelphia, PA 19103
(215) 751-2000

or Ms. Nina Shea
Program Officer, ILHR
432 Park Avenue, South at 30th
11th Floor, Suite 1103
New York, NY 10016
(212) 684-1221

Mr. Sergey Padukov
President, USA Section
International Society for Human Rights
610 Main Street
Toms River, NJ 08753
(201) 341-1441

Mr. Shepard Forman
Director, Human Rights Office
Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017
(212) 573-5000

Dr. Dieter Dettke
Executive Director
Friedrich Ebert Foundation
806 15th St., N.W.
Suite 230
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 347-5570

Mr. Wolfgang Pordzhik
Konrad Adenauer Foundation
1330 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Suite 104
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-9137

Mr. Keith Schuette
Executive Director
National Republican Institute for
International Affairs
601 Indiana Ave., N.W.
Suite 615
Washington, D.C. 20014
(202) 783-2280

Mr. J. Brian Atwood
Executive Director
National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs
2000 M Street, N.W.
Suite 630
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 887-6151

Mr. Marc Plattner
Director of Program Development
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 15th St., N.W.
Suite 304
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 293-9072

Mr. William S. Moody
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
1290 Avenue of the Americas
Room 3450
New York, NY 10104
(212) 397-4800

Ms. Elizabeth McCormick
Rockefeller Family Association
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112
(212) 247-3700

Dr. Hillel Fradkin
The John M. Olin Foundation
460 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022
(212) 486-7220

Mr. Bert B. Lockwood, Jr.
Urban Morgan Institute for Human Rights
College of Law
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, OH 45221
(513) 475-4307

Mr. Morton Sklar
American Bar Association
Human Rights Committee
P.O. Box 568
Garrett Park, MD 20896
(301) 946-4649

Committee on International Human Rights
Association of the Bar of New York
42 West 42nd Street
New York, NY 10036
(212) 759-1053

Amb. Christopher Van Hollen
Executive Director
American Institute for Islamic Affairs
4900 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 966-5633

Rev. Blahoslav Hruby
Religion in Communist Dominated Areas
475 Riverside Drive #448
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2481

Dr. Hayden Williams
President
Asia Foundation
2301 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 223-5268

Mr. Thomas Kahn
Assistant to the President
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5304

8713547

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 12, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: RICHARD SCHIFTER

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 488950
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 12, 1987
TO: MARI MASENG
FROM: MR. ANTHONY L. CAMPAIGNE
PRESIDENT
THE MERCY FUND
2812 WOODLAND DRIVE, NW
WASHINGTON DC 20008

SUBJECT: PROPOSAL FROM THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RITA BUREIKA
STAFF ASSISTANT
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

FROM: ROBERT M. KRUGER
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT *RMK*

SUBJECT: Proposal from the National Committee for
Human Rights in Afghanistan

As we discussed, it appears as if the president of the Mercy Fund sought to forward the attached proposal from the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan to Ambassador Schifter at the State Department. I assume he sent the request to Mari Maseng in the hope that she would transmit it to Ambassador Schifter.

At your request, I am returning these materials to you for your handling. Please let me know if we can of further assistance in this matter.

Attachment

*Pat, I do not
know who
CVAT 28 is*

*MS
Loretta*

*P.S.
anyway this
should go to
State or not?*



8713547

488950

THE MERCY FUND, 2812 WOODLAND DRIVE N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20008
TELEPHONE 202/745-7544 TELEX 279675 WASH

March 12, 1987

Mrs. Mari Maseng
Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
West Wing, Second Floor
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ambassador Schifter,

Enclosed is a proposal Judge Zalmy asked me to forward on to you as he did not have your address.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me. I, obviously, have no idea how this project might fit with other people's funding plans. Our organization, unfortunately, does not have the funds to help them.

Sincerely,



Anthony L. Campaigne
President

ALC/nah

National Advisory Board

Gordon J. Humphrey
U.S. Senator New Hampshire
Chairman
Senate Task Force
on Afghanistan

William Bradley
U.S. Senator, New Jersey

Christopher Dodd
U.S. Senator, Connecticut

Paul Simon
U.S. Senator, Illinois

Malcolm Wallop
U.S. Senator Wyoming

Denny Hundeshagen
President
German Afghanistan Committee

Habib Mayar
President
Afghan Community in America



December 11, 1986

To whom it may concern:

Judge Mohammad Zalmy, the President of the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan (NCHRA), has actively served the interests of the Afghan people and all humanity by his tireless efforts on behalf of his people. Judge Zalmy and his colleagues from Pakistan and Afghanistan have contributed to the flow of news and information on Soviet atrocities and human rights violations since the invasion by the Soviet Union in December of 1979. Judge Zalmy, in particular, has contributed to enlightening the American public to the genocide being committed by the Soviets. During his recent stay in the United States, he was able to present a program on the human rights situation in Afghanistan at the prestigious Boston University.

I highly endorse the efforts of Judge Zalmy, his Committee and all those who are helping to bring to light the tragic story which has been unfolding in Afghanistan. The continued publication of reports on human rights violations by the NCHRA, as well as the contributions made to scholarly journals on this subject have been excellent and these efforts are laudatory.

The work of Judge Zalmy and his Committee, while being done for the people of Afghanistan are, in fact, services being performed for all freedom-loving peoples.

Sincerely,

Saul S. Geffer
Director
Afghan Media Staff



JUDGE ZALMY TO SPEAK ON UNREPORTED SOVIET ATROCITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

**Senators Gordon Humphrey and Paul Simon and
Congressmen Charles Wilson, John Porter, Barney Frank,
Don Ritter and the Committee for a Free Afghanistan**

invite you to a
FORUM
with Judge Mohamman Zalmy

**Mohammad Zalmy, former judge of the capital city of Kabul,
has documented Soviet human rights violations in Afghanistan
since the war began. Zalmy will speak on:**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1986
11:00 AM
CAPITAL BUILDING
ROOM H 140**

**For more information contact the Committee for a Free Afghanistan,
214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Suite 480, Washington, D.C. 20002,
Tel No. (202) 546-7577**



Committee for a Free Afghanistan

(Member of the Coalition for Peace through Strength)

210 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 480, Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 544-7577

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- Harvard University
- Jeffrey Green
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- John Gannon
- American Conservative Union
- The Hon. G. L. Hartmann
- Joel Heiser
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- The Hon. Charles F. Latham
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- Col. Eugene "Bud" McDonald USA (Ret.)
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- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer USA (Ret.)
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- College Republican National Committee
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- Howard Phillips
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- The Hon. Joel Pritchett
- Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL)
- Sen. Neal Simon (D-VA)
- Mal. Gen. James K. Stanger USA (Ret.)
- U.S. Council for World Policy
- Cabot Corporation
- Attorney at Law
- Rep. Samuel C. Stratton (D-VA)
- Rep. Gerald B. Stinson (R-VA)
- The Hon. Tom Tamm
- Dr. Jack Wheeler
- Freedom Research Foundation
- Rep. Charles Wilson (D-TX)

Mohammad Zalmay

Mohammad Zalmay is currently the President of the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan, based in Peshawar, Pakistan. Prior to the invasion Mr. Zalmay served as a judge of the city of Kabul. He was a graduate of the Kabul School of Islamic Law in 1966 and received further instruction in Judiciary Law at George Washington University.

Judge Zalmay has documented Soviet human rights violations since the war began. He has compiled a compendium of these violations based on first-hand accounts published in three volumes.

Judge Zalmay has testified before recent hearings in Oslo, Norway this past March. He has provided a significant amount of information and help to Barnett Rubin and Joel Labor of Helsinki Watch Committee and to Felix Kravtsov, who authored three documents of Soviet human rights violations for the United Nations.

In addition, Judge Zalmay has in-depth information on the Soviet's attempt to destroy the Islamic religion including the recent destruction of the Great Mosque at Herat and the Soviet's campaign of terror including the recent massacre at Darami-Nor in the Ningahar Province where the Soviets systematically killed 350-400 villagers.



Your contributions are tax-deductible

Judge Mohammad N. Mahir Zalmy
President
National Committee for Human
Rights in Afghanistan
c/o 147-05 Sanford Ave
Apt. 6A
Flushing, N.Y. 11355
Tel: 718 886 5346

Jan. 10, 87

An appeal to the USA
concerned authorities
on Afghanistan.

Dear friends:

The Soviets direct military invasion of Dec. 79 in Afghanistan was a flagrant violation of the inalienable right to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan. This shameful military invasion also harshly violated the most established and widely recognized international laws, including the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international treaties in this aspect.

The continuous military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet invading forces is a further violation of the noted right. The brutalities of the Soviet forces along with that of the installed regime against the innocent people of Afghanistan have absolutely been in contrast with the internationally accepted human rights standards.

Notwithstanding the fact that the shameful military invasion was condemned by world opinions and the Soviet has been demanded to withdraw from Afghanistan, but not only the Soviet paid no attention to the world's opinion she shamefully continues to occupy the country. The Soviet pretention of being invited by the Kabul regime to send her so-called limited military contingents to defend Afghanistan against so-called foreign intervention received no one and she still persists on her initial pretention and continues to launch the worst cruel brutalities against the innocent civilian populations of the country.

The Mujahid people of Afghanistan have realized the fact that unless forcing the Soviet to withdraw from Afghanistan, there is little choice to do other wise.

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The committee has met with and helped the Helsinki Watch in preparing its reports about the problems of human rights in Afghanistan.

The ^{/committee} has met several international journalists and radio-correspondents and has made radio and TV interviews.

The committee was represented by my-self at the Oslo Conference on Afghanistan, March 14-15, 86.

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Since August 86, when I entered the USA, I have represented the committee to various universities and colleges as well as to several radio and TV networks making speeches and giving conferences about the situation of human rights in Afghanistan and consequently explaining the brutalities of the Soviets against the people of Afghanistan.

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- I have given a press conference at the Capitol Hill sponsored by the US Congressmen.
- I have given a conference at the Boston University.
- I have given a conference at the Islamic and Arabian Development Studies Centre, North Carolina.
- I have given a conference at the State University of North Carolina.
- I have given a conference at the Duke University, N.Ca.
- I have given a conference at the Wake Forest University of North Carolina.
- I have made various interviews with VOA in Wash. and WMCA, N.Y. and just recently an interview with CBN TV on Afghanistan.
- I have attended the White House conference on the International Human Rights Day, Dec. 10, 86
- I have attended the Human Rights Conference held at the US State Department where I had a panel and I delivered my speech about the situation of human rights in Afghanistan.

Objects of
the appeal:

Dear friends:

I entered the United States under the Section 207 (c) (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, along with my family of 5 / my wife and my four children /, seeking resettlement for my family - safety, security, education and healthy growth of my children as every one has the right to live, the right to safety, health and education etc. To this aim I had my plan to resettle my family, find some financial support for further work, in connection with our Jihad, and return back to resnawar-pakistan to continue my fighting against the Soviets.

Since August, 86, when I entered the USA, I have contacted some US agencies, that I knew, have been concerned about the problem of Afghanistan. I have briefed them the current situation of the country and I presented them a proposal for some financial aid to my committee and my work. But, unfortunately, some of them did their own business and labelled my work as being involved in political activities. Some others accused me of having quitted the work and saying "will not return back to work". Some other said that they have not such fund for such work that I and my committee is doing.

I should honestly mention that my committee and I will never quit fighting the Soviets till the full independence of our country. We should never get involved in any private business. We should never be involved in any political activities as I stated above that my work and my committee is a non-political organisation and is not affiliated with any particular political party or any political group. My work is a part of our nation-wide Jihad against the Soviets.

The mentioned labelling and accusations originally driven from the KGBs agent infiltrated the US agencies in Peshawar-Pakistan making propogandas against the wellknown Afghans to passify their struggle against the Soviets.

Dear friends:

War needs sufficient war equipments and war economy. It is almost impossible to continue the war and win the war with^{out} having the proper equipment and the war economy. That was why I contacted some of the US agencies in Washington for getting some support for my committee and my work. I should thank Sanetor Hamphrey of the US Congress and Mr. Saul Geffer of the USIA for their recommendations and their appreciations to my work.

Dear friends:

If the USA authorities, in their policy behavior, are to be influenced by the KGBs' propogandas then it-self would be an indirect help to the Soviets. If the US authorities support some people and withhold their support from some one-else then this would bring some discrimination which is absolutely against the US policy. I am of the belief that the US is much willing to give support to the Afghan resistane and there fore I hope the US would recognize that believing the KGBs' propogandas and or making discriminations would not serve anything but the Soviets interests and would harm the US interests.

In the light of the above briefings I would like to once again apply for some financial support for committee and for work which would enable us to continue our fighting against the Soviets and to continue our work for human rights and democracy. The budget of my committee and my work is briefed on the following page.

If there is any question, please do not hesitate to ask for further information. I will be looking forward to you.

Sincerely yours

Judge Zalmy
Judge Zalmy.

Monthly and Annual
Budget.

Overhead
Expenditure:

- Office Rent, Utalities,..... US \$ 1,000.
Postage, Tel. Telegram, US \$ 500.
Stationary and MiscellaneousUS \$ 200.

Salaries:

Administration
and employees US \$ 5,000.
Travels and
Intertainment US \$ 1,000.

Monthly Total: US \$ 1,700.

Annual Total: US \$ 92,400.

It should be mentioned that the above budget is prepared for both Peshawar Office and inside the country activities for our personels working ~~in~~ clandestinely.

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C0002

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Antony L. Campaigne

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Proposal from the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan

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>OPL - Kojelis</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87.4.28</u>	<u>TR</u>		<u>@ 87.05.07</u>
<u>Bob Krueger</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>87.05.04</u>	<u>TR</u>		<u>@ 87.05.07</u>
	Referral Note: <u>May 7 87 Rmk memo to Rita Bureika</u>	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note: _____	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note: _____	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note: _____	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
 - C - Comment/Recommendation
 - D - Draft Response
 - F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
 - I - Info Copy Only/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: _____

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

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: 2 Individual Codes: 4.200 4.800 _____

Prime Subject Code: C0002 Secondary Subject Codes: _____

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 - 0 - Unknown
 n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
 n - 2 - Nancy
 n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence**
 n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
 n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

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

ID # 488950
CO 002

**WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 87,05,04

Name of Correspondent: Anthony L. Campaigne

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Proposal from the National
Committee for Human Rights
in Afghanistan

ROUTE TO:		ACTION	DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>ODL</u>	<u>Kojelis</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87,04,28</u>		<u>NAN 87 5, 7</u>
<u>DOS - Richard Schifter</u>		Referral Note: <u>R</u>	<u>87,05,17</u>		<u>870507</u>
<u>CUAT 28</u>		Referral Note: <u>R</u>	<u>87,05,04</u>		<u>870507</u>
		Referral Note: <u>May 787 Rmk memo to Lita Bureika</u>	<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note:			

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RITA BUREIKA
STAFF ASSISTANT
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

FROM: ROBERT M. KRUGER
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT 

SUBJECT: Proposal from the National Committee for
Human Rights in Afghanistan

As we discussed, it appears as if the president of the Mercy Fund sought to forward the attached proposal from the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan to Ambassador Schifter at the State Department. I assume he sent the request to Mari Maseng in the hope that she would transmit it to Ambassador Schifter.

At your request, I am returning these materials to you for your handling. Please let me know if we can of further assistance in this matter.

Attachment



488950

THE MERCY FUND, 2812 WOODLAND DRIVE N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20008
TELEPHONE 202/745-7544 TELEX 279675 WASH

March 12, 1987

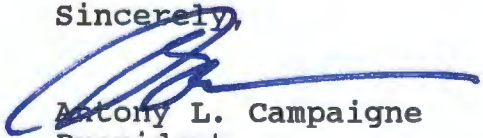
Mrs. Mari Maseng
Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
West Wing, Second Floor
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ambassador Schifter,

Enclosed is a proposal Judge Zalmy asked me to forward on to you as he did not have your address.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me. I, obviously, have no idea how this project might fit with other people's funding plans. Our organization, unfortunately, does not have the funds to help them.

Sincerely,



Anthony L. Campaigne
President

ALC/nah

National Advisory Board

Gordon J. Humphrey
U.S. Senator, New Hampshire
Chairman
Senate Task Force
on Afghanistan

William Bradley
U.S. Senator, New Jersey

Christopher Dodd
U.S. Senator, Connecticut

Paul Simon
U.S. Senator, Illinois

Malcolm Wallop
U.S. Senator, Wyoming

Denny Hundeshagen
President
German Afghanistan Committee

Habib Mayar
President
Afghan Community in America



December 11, 1986

To whom it may concern:

Judge Mohammad Zalmy, the President of the National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan (NCHRA), has actively served the interests of the Afghan people and all humanity by his tireless efforts on behalf of his people. Judge Zalmy and his colleagues from Pakistan and Afghanistan have contributed to the flow of news and information on Soviet atrocities and human rights violations since the invasion by the Soviet Union in December of 1979. Judge Zalmy, in particular, has contributed to enlightening the American public to the genocide being committed by the Soviets. During his recent stay in the United States, he was able to present a program on the human rights situation in Afghanistan at the prestigious Boston University.

I highly endorse the efforts of Judge Zalmy, his Committee and all those who are helping to bring to light the tragic story which has been unfolding in Afghanistan. The continued publication of reports on human rights violations by the NCHRA, as well as the contributions made to scholarly journals on this subject have been excellent and these efforts are laudatory.

The work of Judge Zalmy and his Committee, while being done for the people of Afghanistan are, in fact, services being performed for all freedom-loving peoples.

Sincerely,

Saul S. Geffer
Director
Afghan Media Staff

Judge Mohammad N. Mahir Zalmy
President
National Committee for Human
Rights in Afghanistan
c/o 147-05 Sanford Ave
Apt. 6A
Flushing, N.Y. 11355
Tel: 718 886 5346

Jan. 10, 87

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concerned authorities
on Afghanistan.

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If there is any question, please do not hesitate to ask for further information. I will be looking forward to you.

Sincerely yours

Judge Zalmy
Judge Zalmy.

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Expenditure:

- Office Rent, Utilities,..... US \$ 1,000.
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JUDGE ZALMY TO SPEAK ON UNREPORTED SOVIET ATROCITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

**Senators Gordon Humphrey and Paul Simon and
Congressmen Charles Wilson, John Porter, Barney Frank,
Don Ritter and the Committee for a Free Afghanistan**

invite you to a
FORUM
with Judge Mohamman Zalmy

**Mohammad Zalmy, former judge of the capital city of Kabul,
has documented Soviet human rights violations in Afghanistan
since the war began. Zalmy will speak on:**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1986
11:00 AM
CAPITAL BUILDING
ROOM H 140**

**For more information contact the Committee for a Free Afghanistan,
214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Suite 480, Washington, D.C. 20002,
Tel. No. (202) 546-7577.**



Committee for a Free Afghanistan

(Member of the Coalition for Peace through Strength)

214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 480, Washington, D.C. 20002 • (302) 544-7577

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- Rep. Paul Simon (D-IL)**
- Mal. Gov. John K. Stansbury USA (Ret.)**
U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan
- College Republicans**
Ambassador of Law
- Rep. Ronald S. Wyden (D-OR)**
- Rep. Gerald D. Solomon (D-PA)**
- The Hon. Paul Tamm**
- Dr. Jack Wheeler**
Formerly President of United States
- Rep. Charles Wilson (R-TX)**

Mohammad Zalmy

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#

ID # 492962

052

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C0002

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

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Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 87, 10, 20

NSC for draft response

COCAMA

Name of Correspondent: Dr. Armand Hammer

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: finding a solution to the war in Afghanistan

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CS Bakl</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87 10 20</u>	<u>HB</u>	<u>88 01 07</u>
<u>COCAMA</u>	A	<u>87 10 27</u>		<u>88 01 07</u>
<u>99 DOS</u>	D	<u>87 10 29</u>	<u>CSBAKI</u>	<u>87 12 22</u>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/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: _____

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

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: _____ Individual Codes: _____

Prime Subject Code: _____ Secondary Subject Codes: _____

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 - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

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

January 7, 1988

Dear Armand:

Thank you for your recent letter containing ideas for a solution to the Afghanistan problem and also for the report of your travels to Moscow, Kabul, and Islamabad. It is unfortunate that Mr. Gorbachev offered no breakthroughs on the Afghanistan question at the Summit. I would welcome your insight into his current thinking based on your discussions with him during the Summit.

I agree with you that the situation has reached a crucial point at which a political solution may be possible. I believe that Mr. Gorbachev is in a position to take the necessary steps to bring about a settlement, but it is up to him to take these steps and present a realistic timetable at the next Geneva round.

We are unsure just how much the Soviet signals reflect a serious interest in moving forward quickly toward an Afghanistan solution and to what extent they are merely "public relations." Whatever the case, we will continue to impress on Moscow the fact that Soviet actions in Afghanistan will continue to figure importantly in our relations. If Moscow seriously commits itself to reaching a settlement, we are prepared to be helpful.

1988 could be a good year for the Afghan people. All it would take is a Soviet commitment to match their words with deeds. Anything you can do to encourage the Soviets in this direction would be welcome.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Chief of Staff to the President

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

HHB/NSC/DOS/CAD/AVH/emu (pc2-12HHB)

cc: Lorraine Camarano, 61 OEOB

CLEARED WITH NSC

ok for typing
luc

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUGGESTED DRAFT

Corrections = _____
Needs ABC
Clearance
cleared
luc

Dear Armand:

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AKS/DOS/COM/ *luc* *INSC*

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~~settlement in Afghanistan would go far to improve the Soviet~~
~~Union's relations with us.~~ All it would take is a Soviet
commitment to match their words with deeds. Anything you can
do to encourage the Soviets in this direction would be
welcome.

redundant

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Chief of Staff to
the President

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

8731284

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

OCTOBER 29, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:
HOWARD BAKER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 492962

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED OCTOBER 20, 1987

TO: HOWARD BAKER

13992

FROM: MR. ARMAND HAMMER
CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE
OFFICER
OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATIONS
10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
SUITE 1500
LOS ANGELES CA 90024

SUBJECT: FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE WAR IN
AFGHANISTAN

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

*Said there would be
no problem in receiving
response later in month.*

JB

{ SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8731284

Date DEC 22 1987

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

REFERENCE:

To: Howard Baker
From: Armand Hammer
Date: October 20, 1987
Subject: Finding a solution to the war in Afghanistan

WH Referral Dated: October 29, 1987
NSC ID# (if any): 492962

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

Michael R. Engstrom for
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

~~SHIRAZ~~ DR

PLS RETURN TO BOB/AHT ASAP

THE NSC CONCURS AS IS ~~AS AMENDED~~ ✓

FOT

PAUL S STEVENS

OFFICE OF HOWARD BAKER'S CORRESPONDENCE
REQUEST FOR CLEARANCE - COMMENTS

TO: *Ralph Bellamy / NSC*

DATE DUE:

ASAP

TYPE OF RESPONSE:

Multiple Mailing

Form Reply

One-Time Reply

SUBJECT:

Attached draft for Howard Baker's signature

REQUESTED BY/ADDRESSED TO:

Howard Baker / Dr. Armand Hammer

BACKGROUND:

Ideas for solution to Afghanistan problem and reports on his travels to Moscow, Kabul and Islamabad

SIGNATURE:

Louaine B. Canorano

DATE:

1/4/88

Howard Baker's Correspondence
Old Executive Office Building
Room 61
(202) 456-6600

Your Recommendation/Comments:

SIGNATURE:

D. Ross

DATE:

1/4/88

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION

10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • SUITE 1500

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

(213) 208-8800

492962

ARMAND HAMMER
CHAIRMAN AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

20 October 1987

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Howard:

Referring to the conversation held some time ago in your office with John Whitehead and Frank Carlucci, enclosed herewith please find a copy of the written report I made today to John Whitehead and to Mike Armacost of my recent travels to Moscow, Kabul and Islamabad. I am convinced that a solution to the terrible war in Afghanistan can be found in the near term, but it will require the full persuasive powers of the President himself. The Soviets want to withdraw, and the President can "clinch the deal" at the summit.

If the President could add an Afghanistan settlement with full withdrawal of Soviet troops to his list of accomplishments, particularly with the signature of the INF agreement, he will surely go down in history as one of the greatest leaders this nation has ever had. As you will see from my letter to John Whitehead, Senator Pell believes that an Afghan settlement will do much to assure Senate passage of the INF treaty, once submitted.

I stand ready to assist in any way and would welcome the opportunity to brief the President and you on this situation and my perspectives for a true breakthrough for peace.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Armand

Enclosures

cc: The Honorable
John Whitehead

AH:rdj
OCJT0082

P.S. I would appreciate your limiting distribution of the enclosed as much as possible.

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION

10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • SUITE 1500
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024
(213) 879-1700 • (213) 208-8800

ARMAND HAMMER
CHAIRMAN AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

DETERMINED TO BE
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect. 3.3(c)
BY NARA dr DATE 4/22/2017

20 October 1987

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable John Whitehead
Deputy Secretary of State
The Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

I am pleased to report personally to you on my visits last week to Moscow, Kabul, and Islamabad as well as to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. This letter shall briefly outline my efforts, as a private citizen, with regard to promoting peace in Afghanistan. As you know, I am to see Mike Armacost tonight in Washington and I will report fully to him as well.

First, let me remind you that none of us should take seriously accounts of discussions printed in newspapers. At best, contexts are not correct, and at worst entire statements are misquoted. In the heat of the moment, with press crews abundant in Kabul, Moscow, and Israel, I may have spoken too freely which may have caused some misunderstandings.

I believe you know that I am serious about helping to "bridge the gap" as best I can. We both know that private citizens can sometimes pass messages and float hypotheses for solutions which diplomats from governments may find difficult or impossible. Sometimes these efforts can provide information to governments involved and bring about public attention which can help solve a problem.

In my latest round of meetings, I have found the situation at a crucial point. Either both sides will soon come to accommodation or positions will harden in such a way that the war will continue for the foreseeable future. I genuinely believe that the Soviets want to withdraw. But they will not withdraw without a face-saving victory. We should remember our own experience with Viet Nam; President Nixon stated his intention to withdraw in the 1968 campaign, but we did not fully disengage for five more years. The result, as we know, was disastrous for us.

The Soviets will try to avoid the same disaster. They are trying to rally around Najibullah and he is doing his

20 October 1987

best to legitimize himself. However, I told Mr. Shevardnadze that Najibullah must go, because he is hated as the symbol of foreign intervention and destruction of the nation. He may be sincere in his efforts to change the country in a way he sees as positive, but it has not and will not work. I believe that Mr. Shevardnadze understood what I said, which was after I had met Najib and other Afghan leaders personally, but I am not sure he is ready to take this step, but Mr. Gorbachev may do so.

I believe Mr. Shevardnadze sees the role of Zahir Shah as central to a settlement. While he would like very much to see the former King join the Najib coalition, I believe he knows that this will not happen. He was very interested in my continuing contacts with the King, but declined expressly to allow any direct Soviet contact with him or his son-in-law, General Wali, saying this could damage them with the bulk of the Afghan people, particularly the resistance and the refugees. The Soviets want to keep the King pristine, which tells me that they are keeping their options open. Finally, I am sure they do not want to contact the King at this time for fear publicity would undermine their efforts to legitimize Najibullah.

Significantly, Mr. Vorontsov said he sees for the first time a serious diplomatic interest on the part of the U.S. in settling the war. He said that Shultz and Shevardnadze had had very substantive discussions on the subject which will be followed up in Moscow this week. He then anticipates a visit to Moscow by Mr. Armacost for detailed discussions, which he feels will be very productive, since polemics have, in his opinion, been laid aside.

From the Pakistani side, I saw dramatic changes since my last visit to President Zia in June. The Pakistanis are more confident than ever before that the resistance can hold its own. As Yaqub-Khan said, the Soviets lose a guerrilla war if that war becomes a stalemate because it proves that the guerrillas can attack anywhere with impunity. In short, resistance military successes demonstrate clearly that Najibullah does not have control. The resistance will soon, I understand from non-Pakistani sources, be able to shell Kabul. When this happens, the face of the war will change.

The Pakistanis have also become far more security conscious. Since June, a large fence has been erected around the national capitol building in Islamabad. There are new check points throughout the city at which cars are stopped and searched for bombs. The movement of the Afghan refugees has been restricted by the Pakistanis. Still, bombings continue throughout Pakistan, so while the resistance grows more confident and successful, so more do the Pakistanis themselves suffer at the hand of Afghan-inspired terrorism.

20 October 1987

President Zia gave me a complete proposal from his perspective of how to settle the situation, which I agreed to put on paper, have him review (which he did) and then submit to the Soviets, which I have. The essential difference today over past stands is that the Pakistanis admit that Zahir Shah would readily be the choice of the Afghan people as the leader of the transition government. Further, they are willing to allow the Loi Jerga (Grand Assembly) to occur in Pakistan, but want to assure that the Soviets will accept its outcome which will undoubtedly be Zahir Shah. Upon hearing informally from the Soviets of a date certain for withdrawal to commence and complete, they will put the Loi Jerga into motion and ask the United Nations for a peace keeping force to avoid a blood bath and assure disengagement in a manner acceptable to the Soviets.

The Pakistanis are absolutely opposed to the proposition that Najibullah would hold a Loi Jerga in the near future in Kabul. They say this would spoil the value of the Jerga, which the Pakistanis have saved up to now as the ultimate legitimizing political solution. As an attempt to maintain control of the situation and to move toward a political settlement, the Pakistanis have avoided establishing a government in exile or any other political force which cannot easily compromise with the Soviets.

If Najib uses the Loi Jerga to install himself permanently, any future Jerga in Pakistan will be called into question. This will merely serve to harden positions, and leave the only solution to the battlefield. I have told the Soviets that I believe a Najibullah-inspired Jerga would prove destructive to the peace process and I have encouraged them to wait for any major future political moves until after Mr. Vorontsov visits Islamabad, which he said he would do in the near future. For their part, the Pakistanis look forward to receiving him.

I presented the enclosed proposal, with some detailing as above, to Soviet Charge Kutovoy this morning. He was keenly interested and promised to have it in Moscow tonight. He also asked if the Pakistanis could show an act of good faith. I suggested that the resistance accept a short term genuine cease fire of say ninety days, in return for withdrawal of say 30,000 Soviet troops during that period. That would allow both sides to show real movement, and give the diplomacy a chance to work. While I know some would object, I do believe this is a viable program, if the United Nations can introduce observers to verify the withdrawal and the cease fire.

I believe too that if a solution is to be found, it will be in the next months. After that, both sides will be too hardened to solve the problem for the near term. I hope

20 October 1987

that Secretary Shultz and Minister Shevardnadze can come to some agreement in this regard. If not, it could be left to the summit where Mr. Gorbachev could be persuaded by President Reagan to add his stamp of approval.

Finally, I gave President Zia a letter from Senator Pell which said in essence that if the President will help to unify the resistance factions and move toward peace, the Senator will have an easier time looking toward a long term relationship with Pakistan. The Senator made clear that his objection to the nuclear proliferation issue remains, but that the nations could work together more completely if the Afghanistan issue is settled. (The President told me that the mujahideen had, two days before our meeting, agreed to unify. As you know, they selected as their first unity leader Younis Khalis, a "fundamentalist.") President Zia seemed pleased by the letter from Senator Pell, a copy of which is enclosed.

I had lunch with Senator Pell today and he was heartened to learn of the progress made. He also feels, as do I, that the successful removal from Afghanistan of Soviet troops will help insure Senate support of an INF treaty. We concur that the broader the summit, the more likely the Senate will be to ratify an INF treaty.

A gap still exists, but we must work together to bridge it. President Reagan will go down in history as the man who signed the first ever nuclear arms reduction agreement. He can also make history as the man who brought peace to Afghanistan and the Soviet withdrawal from that nation. I want to support his efforts and those of his trusted associates.

In that regard, I will continue to work as a private citizen to aid the cause of peace. I expect to see Mr. Gorbachev personally in November and will discuss the Afghanistan issue with him. I will keep you and the Department fully apprised of my activities which are intended to support those of my government.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Enclosures
AH:rdj
OCJT0080

PLAN FOR PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

Following is the proposal for settlement of the Afghanistan war as related to Dr. Hammer by President Zia-ul-Haq and Minister Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan. This is to be transmitted by Dr. Hammer to Minister Eduard Shevardnadze prior to the meetings next week in Moscow between Messrs. Shevardnadze and Shultz.

There are two "baskets" of agreements to be arranged simultaneously. The first consists of the four Geneva documents, all of which have been agreed to except for the timetable and date certain for commencement of Soviet withdrawal. The second consists of the details of the political and military settlement in Afghanistan.

In order to break the deadlock, the Soviets and the Pakistanis would agree between their diplomatic representatives on the substance of the documents and framework for peace. This would be a private understanding, with no signature of documents. From this explicit basis of understanding the two sides can proceed toward peace.

The framework and order of events:

1. Mr. Vorontsov visits Islamabad as soon as possible.
2. At that time, he should give an informal conditional indication to Minister Yaqub-Khan of a time table for Soviet withdrawal of the shortest possible duration. He should also give an informal conditional indication of the date certain for commencement of that withdrawal. This would take the form of an oral agreement, in place but not signed until all of the following steps are taken. The conditions to the agreement are below.
3. With regard to non-interference and non-intervention, the existing instruments, negotiated in Geneva, already cover this with the United States and the USSR as guarantors.
4. The Soviet Union and Pakistan ask the United Nations to form Observer and Peace Keeping forces to uphold the terms of the agreements and to prevent any "bloodbath" or power vacuum in the aftermath of the Soviet withdrawal.
5. A Loi Jerga is called, to occur in Pakistan, in which all Afghan constituents are represented (the formula is in place to include 320 representatives). Those

PLAN FOR PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

18 October 1987

Page 2

constituent elements which will form the new government are the muhajerin (refugees), mujahideen (resistance) and the PDPA. The Jerga elects leadership to form a transition government which will take power as the Soviets withdraw. Both the Soviets and the Pakistanis agree that the people must choose their leader; the time honored Afghan process is the Loi Jerga. Therefore, both the Pakistanis and the Soviets must agree in advance that the Loi Jerga expresses the will of the people. While the people will freely choose their leadership, undoubtedly the former King, Zahir Shah, will be the overwhelming choice.

6. The Loi Jerga is the design for a diplomatic breakthrough. Therefore, the Loi Jerga must be called only after consultations and agreement of its legitimacy by Pakistan and the Soviet Union.

7. After the former Afghan King Zahir Shah is elected as the transition government head, he will form a transition government to assume power as the Soviets withdraw.

8. The instruments would be signed once Zahir Shah and the transition government are approved by both Pakistan and the USSR.

NOTES:

1. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan would participate fully in the Jerga and so in the outcome. Its participation would be according to the plan for distribution of Jerga representation.

2. Once the transition government is in place, Najibullah would step down from his current positions. The PDPA would nonetheless be represented in the transition government, but not by Najibullah.

3. The leadership of the seven mujahideen groups in Peshawar will unite in the immediate future and choose one permanent chairman.

4. The transition government need not include principles from either the Najib regime or from the Peshawar seven.

AH:rdj
OCJT0075

CLAIBORNE PELL, RHODE ISLAND, CHAIRMAN

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GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, STAFF DIRECTOR
JAMES P. LUCIER, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

September 30, 1987

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to urge that you undertake a concerted effort to bring about a reconciliation among the groups of the Afghan resistance as a crucial precondition to negotiations that could establish a neutralist, non-aligned regime to govern Afghanistan in the wake of a Soviet withdrawal.

While Soviet aims remain uncertain, it seems clear that stability in Afghanistan cannot be attained without an accommodation among the several groups now actively combatting the Red Army and the Soviet-supported government in Kabul. Because of Pakistan's crucial role in supporting the Afghan resistance, your influence on the various factions could well prove decisive in bringing about the necessary compromises.

I freely acknowledge having been a critique of your regime with regard to the pace of democratization and efforts to develop a Pakistani nuclear weapon. These issues will remain, and I personally intend to continue to call for your government's adherence to its nuclear non-proliferation commitments. Assuming those commitments are met, however, I believe that your role in fostering an accommodation among resistance forces in the context of an Afghan settlement would greatly enhance Pakistani prestige and do much to set U.S.-Pakistani relations on the sound footing needed for continuing long-term cooperation.

My friend Armand Hammer has been encouraged by Soviet and U.S. leaders to visit Afghanistan to discuss a possible settlement, and I trust that you and he might have fruitful discussions based upon his findings in Kabul.

With every good wish.

Ever sincerely,



Claiborne Pell
Chairman

His Excellency
Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq
President of the
Islamic Republic of Pakistan