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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** CANNISTRARO, VINCENT: FILES

**Withdrawer**

SMF 5/18/2009

**File Folder** AFGHANISTAN [10/26/1985-12/19/1985]

**FOIA**

F07-006/1

**Box Number** 1

DAUGHERTY

9

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
70787	CABLE	ISLAMABAD 23492	8	11/26/1985	B1
72287	NEWSPAPER	RE AFGHANISTAN (PARTIAL)	1	12/9/1985	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]
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- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

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Cannistraro  
9713

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 9, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK 

SUBJECT:

Presidential Letter to Ms. Patricia Johnson  
Regarding the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed Presidential letter (TAB A) prepared by the Department of State to Ms. Patricia Johnson about U.S. policy toward Afghanistan. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Sally Kelley for your signature.

Sestanovich, Covey, Tahir-Kheli, Mandel, Raymond and Cannistraro concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum at Tab I to Sally Kelley.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab I      Memorandum to Sally Kelley  
Tab A      Proposed Presidential Letter  
Tab B      Incoming Correspondence

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Ms. Patricia Johnson  
Regarding the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

We have reviewed and concur in the proposed Presidential draft letter (Tab A) prepared by the Department of State regarding U.S. policy toward Afghanistan.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8534537

Date December 5, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Council  
The White House

Reference:

To: The President From: Ms. Patricia H. Johnson

Date: September 14, 1985 Subject: Soviet Invasion of  
Afghanistan Concerns

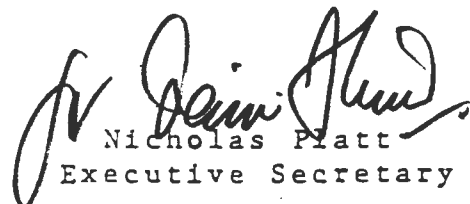
WH Referral Dated: November 21, 1985 NSC ID# 361224  
(if any)

           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.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:

  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

Dear Ms. Johnson:

The White House has asked me to reply to your recent letter about U.S. policy toward Afghanistan.

Our policy on Afghanistan embodies a strategy which calls for support to victims of Soviet tyranny, in addition to maintaining pressure on the Soviets to negotiate a political solution to the problem. Critical in this effort to help victims of the war has been our \$430 million in assistance to international organizations aiding the millions of Afghans who have sought refuge in Pakistan and elsewhere. Also important is a growing program of humanitarian assistance to Afghans inside their own country, begun last year with some \$8 million worth of food and medical supplies and destined to grow in the coming year to nearly double that amount. In close cooperation with the government of Pakistan, the United States is establishing a long-term program to carry this out as efficiently as possible.

The consistent course of United States policy towards Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion indicates to all concerned this government's commitment to seeking the speedy removal of Soviet forces. President Reagan put the matter bluntly in his recent address to the United Nations General Assembly: "until such time as ... negotiations result in definitive progress, America's support for struggling

democratic resistance forces must not and shall not cease."

We appreciate and share your interest in and support for the Afghan cause.

Sincerely,

Ann Higgins



8534537

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

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 21, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:  
ANNE HIGGINS

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 361224

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 14, 1985

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MS. PATRICIA H. JOHNSON  
ROUTE 38, BOX 2232  
LIVINGSTON MT 59047

SUBJECT: SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN CONCERNS

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

SALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

*need SIS  
1690 11/20/85*

8534537D #

001224

AF

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 85/11/19

Name of Correspondent:  Mr.  Mrs.  Miss Patricia A. Johnson

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

Subject: Soviet invasion of Afghanistan  
Concerns

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>Engl</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>85/11/19</u>	<u>IR</u>		<u>85/11/</u>
	<u>✓ DOS</u>	Referral Note:	<u>9</u>			
		Referral Note:	<u>85/11/21</u>	<u>IR</u>		<u>85/11/</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>AVH reply</u>			
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				
		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.

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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

September 14, 1985

Dear President Reagan,

I recently had the opportunity to hear a lecture given by Karen McKay who heads up the "Committee for a Free Afghanistan." I was very impressed by her first-hand knowledge of conditions in that war-torn country. She has very recently been there, in fact last Spring, visiting the Mujahedin and conferring with General Safa.

Even before I heard Karen McKay's lecture, I had read a great deal concerning the plight of these brave people.

Mr. President, the American people need to know that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are fighting for us, here in America. If they lose this war to the Soviets, we, as a free nation will be in even greater peril than we already are.

I seriously object to the handling of this situation by the biased American press; and also I deplore the inaction of the State Department.

These brave people need weapons, food, medical assistance, warm clothing and other items in order to face this coming winter.

I wonder how our State Department would react if the same atrocities which are being performed on the Afghan people were taking place here in the United States, upon their wives and children. Then, the shoe would be on the other foot, wouldn't it?

Did you know that the Soviets have forcibly taken Afghan children to the Soviet Union in order to indoctrinate them, teaching them to hate their families, their nation, and to become spies?

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan almost six years ago was

one of the most outrageous attacks on world freedom in this century, and yet our "brave nation" did nothing.

I implore you to take this plea for Afghan assistance to the State Department. Congress has already shown that they favor assisting these people. The tie-up is the State Department.

I sincerely feel that it is in our best interest as a nation which is still free, by God's Grace, to support freedom for Afghanistan. You are a believer in God, and I know that you care, so I want you to know that I care also. I daily pray for your protection; for the protection of your office as president also, just as I daily pray for the nation of Afghanistan and its dear people.

Most sincerely,

Patricia A. Johnson

Rt. 38, Box 2232

Livingston, Mt 59047

recently had the opportunity to hear a lecture given by Karen Mc Kay who heads up the Committee for a Free Afghanistan. I was very impressed by her first-hand knowledge of conditions in that war torn country. She has very recently been there, in fact last Spring, visiting the Mujahedin and conferring with General Dada.

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PAKISTAN

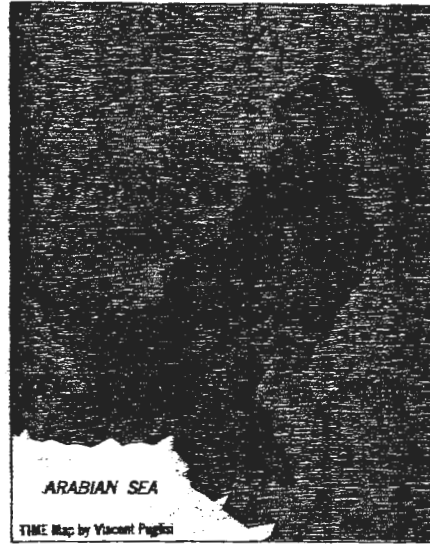
## Leaks in the Pipeline

*Some U.S. arms are not getting to Afghan rebels*

The conflict in Afghanistan is, in a sense, the biggest war in which the U.S. is currently involved—if only indirectly. Congress has secretly allocated \$470 million for the current fiscal year for the Central Intelligence Agency to help arm Afghanistan's anti-Soviet resistance fighters. But large amounts of military matériel purchased by the CIA and funneled through Pakistan reportedly are failing to reach the mujahedin guerrillas. Instead, for reasons that range from expediency to personal profit, arms are being appropriated, traded, sold or hidden by groups with access to the shipments. That includes Pakistan's armed forces, Afghan political parties based in Pakistan, rebel commanders and individual guerrillas.

In interviews with Pakistanis, Afghans and Westerners in Peshawar and Quetta, Pakistan's two gateway cities to Afghanistan, as well as in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad, evidence emerges that a large portion of the U.S. military aid—some claim as much as 50%—never reaches the mujahedin. Because of the secrecy that surrounds the pipeline (Pakistan denies that it exists), the figure is dif-

ficult to confirm. In Washington, Reagan Administration officials and members of Congress concede that shipments to Afghanistan are being skimmed, but there is sharp disagreement over how significant the losses are.



ARABIAN SEA

TIME Map by Vincent Puglisi

While a senior Pentagon official suggests that a seepage of up to 20% would be "normal for that area," he challenges the 50% figure. "I just don't believe it," he says. "It's all out of proportion to anything we've seen." By contrast, Washington Lobbyist Andrew Eiva, executive director of the Federation for American Afghan Action, says that his organization has found "up to 70% slippage" in CIA supplies. New Hampshire Republican Senator Gordon Humphrey, who heads the congressional caucus on Afghanistan, contends that the Administration simply does not know the extent of the leakage. The CIA has only "a handful" of people in Pakistan monitoring the pipeline. "That's not enough," says Humphrey. "It's impossible for them to know."

The pipeline, according to sources in Pakistan and in the U.S., is leaking in at least five different ways:

- ▶ The Pakistani military, which takes delivery of the arms shipments at Karachi and other ports of entry, is keeping some equipment for itself.
- ▶ Pakistani officers, sometimes in connivance with Afghan political leaders in Pakistan, sell some of the arms on the black market.
- ▶ Afghan leaders, whose exiled political parties serve as conduits for weapons to rebel field commanders, peddle equipment for personal profit.

**SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking  
Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.**

# If you

Box and 100's Box Menthol: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine; Soft Pack, Menthol and 100's Box: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine; 100's Soft Pack and 100's Menthol: 5 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine; 120's: 7 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Jan. '85. Slims: 6 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

► Mujahedin commanders trade weapons to raise the money needed to transport supplies across the Pakistan border to Afghanistan.

► Guerrillas returning to Pakistan from raids in Afghanistan frequently sell their weapons at the frontier, expecting that they will be re-equipped when they return to battle.

Concern is evident not only in Washington. Some Pakistanis are also alarmed that weapons destined for the mujahedin are winding up in the hands of feuding tribesmen, drug traffickers and common criminals in the perennially unsettled border areas of Pakistan's North-West Frontier and Baluchistan provinces. The ready availability of arms is adding to the turbulence of a region already disrupted by an influx of some 2 million Afghan refugees, growing agitation by agents of the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul, and an economic boom fueled by the war.

Nor are U.S.-supplied arms the only source of corruption. The heroin trade is a major business in the border provinces. Although most of the opium-poppy acreage is on the Afghan side of the border, many of the heroin-refining labs are located in Pakistan, where they are protected by tribesmen now heavily armed with weapons originally marked for Afghanistan. In the North-West

Frontier Province recently, a Pakistani narcotics agent investigating a heroin trafficker was stunned to discover that the drug trader had installed an anti-aircraft gun on his roof. Its probable source: the CIA arms pipeline.

Since it got under way in 1980, the covert U.S. arms operation has been con-

ducted through agents and front companies who buy Soviet-origin and Soviet-style military equipment in China, Egypt and other arms markets. The armaments are transported to Pakistan, usually by sea to Karachi. Once the goods arrive, an agency of the Pakistani armed forces takes charge, and the leakage begins. Pakistan already gets considerable U.S. military aid (\$1.6 billion in credits over the past five years). Still, the amount of equipment going to the Pakistani military is said to be so substantial that there are suspicions of a tacit understanding with Washington under which Pakistan can appropriate what it deems useful.

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a prominent political figure in the North-West Frontier, fears that Pakistan's border provinces could become another Lebanon. That worry is not so farfetched. Indeed, bombings and assassinations are almost a daily occurrence in Peshawar. Pakistan has been a fragile union of diverse ethnic and tribal groups since its birth in 1947. It also has a history of bitter fratricidal conflict. Against this background, the explosive mixture of arms, money and drugs could become a source of grave difficulties for the country. —By Marguerite Johnson.

Reported by Ross H. Munro/Peshawar and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



Mujahedin gather matériel bound for the Afghan war  
*Appropriated, traded or sold by nearly everyone.*

# Smoke

*please try Carlton.*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 12, 1985

TO: JOCK COVEY  
JACK MATLOCK  
STEVE SESTANOVICH  
SHIRIN TAHIR-KHELI  
VINCE CANNISTRARO  
JOHNATHAN MILLER

FROM: ELISE NEIL/WALT RAYMOND

SUBJECT: AFGHANISTAN RADIO ADDRESS

ATTACHED FOR YOUR COMMENTS/CONCURRENCE, IS  
THE STATE DRAFT RADIO ADDRESS WHICH HAS  
BEEN PROPOSED. PLEASE GET YOUR COMMENTS  
TO US ASAP--BY COB TODAY, THE 12TH.  
THANKS!

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL RADIO ADDRESS  
ON AFGHANISTAN

Today, I would like to talk to you about a subject of particular importance to this country and to me personally - Afghanistan. For six years, the Afghan people have been fighting for those very ideals upon which our great nation was founded - freedom, independence, and devotion to God. During this holiday season of reverence and renewed faith in miracles, it is particularly fitting that we should remember, honor, and pray for those brave men, women, and children who are fighting in the remote mountains of Afghanistan for their freedom as a people and as a nation. It is in itself a miracle that, after six relentless years of being subjected daily to the full ~~force~~ <sup>BRUTALITY</sup> of the Soviet Union's most modern instruments of war, the military impasse continues and the mujahidin - the holy warriors- fight on.

Faith laughs at impossibilities and says, "It shall be done!" Nowhere is this more evident than in Afghanistan, where despite six years of unending destruction, massacre, and mutilation, the Afghan spirit and will to resist remain unbroken. The Soviet Union can never ~~impose a military solution~~ <sup>DESTROY A FREE PEOPLE</sup> ~~on a people~~ who refuse to be subdued by terror <sup>AND</sup> ~~or~~ force of

arms.

We Americans have always responded with courage and generosity whenever overwhelming danger called for an immediate all-out national effort. The war being fought in Afghanistan seems distant and non-threatening to most of us, but it is not irrelevant or unimportant. Despite the lack of front-page news of the war, we must not allow Afghanistan to fade from our consciousness. The Soviet Union is counting on outlasting the Afghans and those of us who support their fight for freedom. By prolonging the war and suppressing news about the atrocities which are daily visited on the Afghan people, the Soviet Union is hoping and waiting for the world's attention-span to slip, for our outrage to wane, and for our support to dwindle. We cannot permit this to happen. We must force the Soviet invader to consider the only feasible and lasting solution, which is a ~~negotiated settlement.~~ <sup>COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS.</sup> After six years of untold destruction and hundreds of thousands of casualties, it is clear that further bloodshed will not ~~achieve a Soviet triumph;~~ <sup>CONSOLIDATE A SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AN</sup> it will only prolong Afghanistan's agony. <sup>INDEPENDENT COUNTRY</sup>

In extensive discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, I made it clear that the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan will continue to be a serious obstacle to the improvement of our relations. Although we seek a wider

dialogue on issues of global concern, we cannot and will not remain silent on Afghanistan. As long as the Soviets pursue *AGGRESSION,* ~~they must face the fact that free people everywhere will oppose them.~~ they must face the fact that free people everywhere will oppose them.

The Soviet Union has always *claimed to support independence movements.* ~~proclaimed itself in favor of people fighting for their independence.~~ Nowhere is the will for independence stronger and more unanimous than in Afghanistan and nowhere could the Soviet Union give a more genuine pledge of its sincerity in supporting justice, human dignity, and the principle of national liberation. A sixth round of UN sponsored negotiations aimed at achieving a political settlement is scheduled to begin on December 16. Let us hope and pray that the Soviets will translate their words into deeds by agreeing to ~~discuss the withdrawal of~~ their forces from Afghanistan and the consequent restoration of the *independence and* basic rights of the Afghan people. *LET THE PRACTICE OF RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF A NEIGHBORING NATION BEGIN.*

For our part, the United States is prepared to serve as a guarantor of a comprehensive settlement which includes genuine withdrawal of Soviet forces within a fixed timetable and encompasses the key points contained in seven UN resolutions on Afghanistan.

I enjoin you, as the leader of this great nation, to help me

ensure that the struggle in Afghanistan does not become the "forgotten war." We, for whom the achievement of freedom has come dear, will do what we must to preserve it from assault. Until such time as the Soviet Army withdraws from Afghanistan and the Afghan people are given the opportunity to determine their own destiny, America's support for Afghanistan's freedom fighters must not and will not stop.

and the support  
of free nations  
everywhere



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8552 ADD-ON/2

December 13, 1985

FILE:  
AFGHAN

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*  
SUBJECT: Afghanistan Radio Address

In accordance with our November 5th request, the Department of State had provided us with a draft radio address on Afghanistan (Tab II). Following your note, we have received NSC Staff comments and attached to this memo is the NSC Staff concurred, edited and approved text (Tab I). Furthermore, we have run this through the speechwriters. It is now ready to go subject West Wing judgment.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the text at Tab I for a Radio Address.

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

Jock Covey, Jack Matlock, Steve Sestanovich, Shirin Tahir-Kheli, Vince Cannistraro and Johnathan Miller concur. *(all concurred in draft)*

Attachments

Tab I NSC Staff Text  
Tab II Draft Radio Address

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL RADIO ADDRESS

ON AFGHANISTAN

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Faith laughs at impossibilities and says, "It shall be done!" Nowhere is this more evident than in Afghanistan, where despite six years of unending destruction, massacre, and mutilation, the Afghan spirit and will to resist remain unbroken. The Soviet Union can never impose a military solution on a people who refuse to be subdued by terror or force of arms.

We Americans have always responded with courage and generosity whenever overwhelming danger called for an immediate all-out national effort. The war being fought in Afghanistan seems distant and non-threatening to most of us, but it is not irrelevant or unimportant. Despite the lack of front-page news of the

war, we must not allow Afghanistan to fade from our consciousness. The Soviet Union is counting on outlasting the Afghans and those of us who support their fight for freedom. By prolonging the war and suppressing news about the atrocities which are daily visited on the Afghan people, the Soviet Union is hoping and waiting for the world's attention-span to slip, for our outrage to wane, and for our support to dwindle. We cannot permit this to happen. We must force the Soviet invaders to consider the only feasible and lasting solution, which is a complete withdrawal of their troops. After six years of untold destruction and hundreds of thousands of casualties, it is clear that further bloodshed will not achieve a Soviet triumph; it will only prolong Afghanistan's agony.

In my discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, I made it clear that the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan will continue to be a serious obstacle to the improvement of our relations. Although we seek a wider dialogue on issues of global concern, we cannot and will not remain passive while Afghanistan is occupied. As long as the Soviets pursue aggression, they must face the fact that free people everywhere will oppose them.

The Soviet Union has always claimed to support independence for all peoples. History shows a different picture, of course. But if at any moment the Soviets want to find a way out, we will put no obstacles in their way. I think it's safe to say that no one will. A sixth round of UN sponsored negotiations aimed at

achieving a political settlement is scheduled to begin on December 16. If the Soviets want progress in these negotiations, it's clear what has to be done: they have to discuss a timetable for withdrawal of their forces from Afghanistan and the consequent restoration of the basic rights of the Afghan people. Otherwise, those talks will be meaningless.

For our part, the United States is prepared to serve as a guarantor of a comprehensive settlement which includes genuine withdrawal of Soviet forces within a fixed timetable and encompasses the key points contained in seven UN resolutions on Afghanistan.

Let me ask your help in ensuring that the struggle in Afghanistan does not become the "forgotten war." We, for whom the achievement of freedom has come dear, will do what we must to preserve it from assault. Until such time as the Soviet Army withdraws from Afghanistan and the Afghan people are given the opportunity to determine their own destiny, America's support and the support of free nations everywhere for Afghanistan's freedom fighters must not and will not stop.



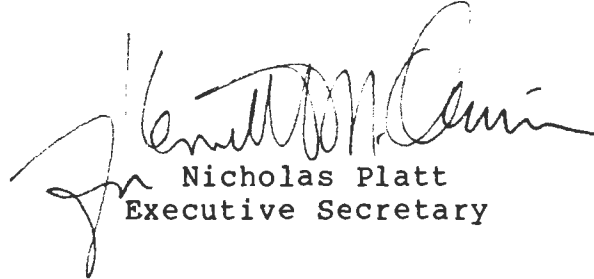
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 30, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Presidential radio address and proclamation on  
Afghanistan

As requested in your memorandum of November 5, attached are proposed texts for: (1) a Presidential radio broadcast on Afghanistan; and (2) a Presidential proclamation for release on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. VOA will be pursuing with you the idea of making a tape of the proclamation, read by the President, for use in their broadcasts.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Nicholas Platt".

Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As Stated.

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL RADIO ADDRESS  
ON AFGHANISTAN

Today, I would like to talk to you about a subject of particular importance to this country and to me personally - Afghanistan. For six years, the Afghan people have been fighting for those very ideals upon which our great nation was founded - freedom, independence, and devotion to God. During this holiday season of reverence and renewed faith in miracles, it is particularly fitting that we should remember, honor, and pray for those brave men, women, and children who are fighting in the remote mountains of Afghanistan for their freedom as a people and as a nation. It is in itself a miracle that, after six relentless years of being subjected daily to the full force of the Soviet Union's most modern instruments of war, the military impasse continues and the mujahidin - the holy warriors- fight on.

Faith laughs at impossibilities and says, "It shall be done!" Nowhere is this more evident than in Afghanistan, where despite six years of unending destruction, massacre, and mutilation, the Afghan spirit and will to resist remain unbroken. The Soviet Union can never impose a military solution on a people who refuse to be subdued by terror or force of

arms.

We Americans have always responded with courage and generosity whenever overwhelming danger called for an immediate all-out national effort. The war being fought in Afghanistan seems distant and non-threatening to most of us, but it is not irrelevant or unimportant. Despite the lack of front-page news of the war, we must not allow Afghanistan to fade from our consciousness. The Soviet Union is counting on outlasting the Afghans and those of us who support their fight for freedom. By prolonging the war and suppressing news about the atrocities which are daily visited on the Afghan people, the Soviet Union is hoping and waiting for the world's attention-span to slip, for our outrage to wane, and for our support to dwindle. We cannot permit this to happen. We must force the Soviet invader to consider the only feasible and lasting solution, which is a negotiated settlement. After six years of untold destruction and hundreds of thousands of casualties, it is clear that further bloodshed will not achieve a Soviet triumph; it will only prolong Afghanistan's agony.

In extensive discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, I made it clear that the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan will continue to be a serious obstacle to the improvement of our relations. Although we seek a wider

dialogue on issues of global concern, we cannot and will not remain silent on Afghanistan. As long as the Soviets pursue a military solution, they must face the fact that free people everywhere will oppose them.

The Soviet Union has always proclaimed itself in favor of people fighting for their independence. Nowhere is the will for independence stronger and more unanimous than in Afghanistan and nowhere could the Soviet Union give a more genuine pledge of its sincerity in supporting justice, human dignity, and the principle of national liberation. A sixth round of UN sponsored negotiations aimed at achieving a political settlement is scheduled to begin on December 16. Let us hope and pray that the Soviets will translate their words into deeds by agreeing to discuss the withdrawal of their forces from Afghanistan and the consequent restoration of the basic rights of the Afghan people.

For our part, the United States is prepared to serve as a guarantor of a comprehensive settlement which includes genuine withdrawal of Soviet forces within a fixed timetable and encompasses the key points contained in seven UN resolutions on Afghanistan.

I enjoin you, as the leader of this great nation, to help me



ensure that the struggle in Afghanistan does not become the "forgotten war." We, for whom the achievement of freedom has come dear, will do what we must to preserve it from assault. Until such time as the Soviet Army withdraws from Afghanistan and the Afghan people are given the opportunity to determine their own destiny, America's support for Afghanistan's freedom fighters must not and will not stop.

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION  
ON AFGHANISTAN

The Soviet attempt to subjugate Afghanistan has failed. Since December 27, 1979 when a massive Soviet force crossed the Afghan frontier to support a faltering Marxist regime, the Afghan resistance has grown increasingly effective. The puppet regime Moscow props up in Kabul has failed to gain even a modicum of popular support. The Soviets and their Afghan surrogates have increasingly resorted to singularly barbaric methods of waging war in their effort to crush this war of national liberation. In the past year, independent observers have provided credible reports of indiscriminate air and artillery bombardments against civilian areas, savage reprisals against noncombatants accused of supporting the resistance, and the calculated destruction of crops and irrigation systems in areas of strategic importance. The Soviets, moreover, continue to ship thousands of young Afghans to the Soviet Union for re-education in summer camps, universities, and specialized institutions.

The Afghan people, for their part, are unswerving in their determination to resist the invader. The resistance fighters are more numerous, better armed, and more effective than ever

before. Unable to trust Kabul regime forces to counter enhanced resistance fighting capabilities, the Soviets have begun using their own troops in a more active combat role, but the effort has availed them little. Last summer, when fighting was at its peak, resistance forces repeatedly attacked Soviet lines of communication, convoys, barracks, and facilities, and mounted their largest, longest, and best coordinated offensive operation of the war. The resistance has also drawn together into an alliance, which can present Afghanistan's cause to the world in unambiguous terms and coordinate all aspects of the liberation struggle.

Since 1980, the United States has strongly advocated the need for a negotiated political settlement, the only reasonable alternative to the bleak prospect of an open-ended military struggle. Seven United Nations resolutions passed by growing and overwhelming margins since that year clearly indicate the United States is not alone in this view. These resolutions call for the withdrawal of foreign troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's independent and non-aligned status, self-determination, and the voluntary and safe return of refugees. Ambassador Walters' fine speech at the U.N. was a ringing endorsement of the courage of our friends in Pakistan in bringing this resolution forward.

The United States reiterated its ongoing support of the U.N.-sponsored talks during the recent meetings with Soviet officials in Switzerland. We also indicated that Afghanistan remains an obstacle to an overall improvement in our relationship as long as Soviet forces remain in a country they have now occupied for six years. Although the United States certainly welcomes every suggestion that the Soviets are prepared to back U.N.-led peace efforts, we will, as always, await positive developments on the ground and a positive indication of Soviet willingness to negotiate troop withdrawal.

The victims of this war also command American attentions. The United States has played, and will continue to play, a major role in efforts to alleviate the suffering of the two to three million Afghan refugees now living in Pakistan. To this end, we have spent over \$430 million since 1980. Concern over the deteriorating conditions inside Afghanistan, prompted largely by the increasingly widespread Soviet reprisals against civilians suspected of opposing the regime, led us to allocate almost \$25 million this year and last in a program which aids the brave people who remain inside.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan six long and bloody years ago, few of us knew much about that distant land and its gallant people. That certainly has changed, as the

Afghan people, in their determination to defend their liberty, have added new chapters to the long annal of human courage in the face of tyranny. Forged in a similar crucible two centuries ago, the United States stands squarely on the side of the people of Afghanistan and will continue its support of their heroic struggle in the cause of liberty.