

**Towards an International History of the
War in Afghanistan
1979-1989**

International Conference

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DOCUMENT READER

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INTRODUCTION

Dear Participants:

We are pleased to present this "briefing book," which is intended to facilitate and enrich the discussions at our upcoming conference, "Towards an International History of the War in Afghanistan, 1979-1989." It consists of recently declassified U.S., Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian and (East) German documents that we hope will refresh memories, provide context and help anchor the conversation in the facts.

The compilation is by no means comprehensive, just as the conference will not be the final word on the events of 1979 to 1989. However, in selecting the materials, the editors made a substantial effort to plumb relevant official archives. Our goal was to emphasize materials that are either newly available or previously unpublished but at the same time incorporate other records that offer important insights into the crisis and the war. The briefing book comes in two volumes, one containing the U.S. documentation, the other the documents from the former Communist world archives. The documents contained in these two volumes should be read in sync with CWIHP e-Dossier No. 4 (a compilation of Russian and other documents published by CWIHP in its *Bulletin No. 8/9*), CWIHP Working Paper No. 40, "*The KGB in Afghanistan*," by Vasiliy Mitrokhin; and CWIHP Working Paper No. 41, "*Internal Dynamics in Afghanistan in the Fall of 1979 and the Soviet Response*" by Aleksandr A. Lyakhovskiy. Additional documents and translations will be made available to conference participants at the conference. All of the documents will also become accessible on the CWIHP website at <http://cwihp.si.edu>.

In compiling these documents, the editors received much appreciated cooperation and assistance from scholars, archivists and other colleagues from several countries, reflecting the multinational scope of this project. We are particularly grateful to Anatoly Chernyaev; Dennis Kux for contributing documentation on the U.S.-Pakistan summits; Alexander L. Lyakhovskiy for contributing documents from the Russian archives; Todd Rosa for contributing documents from the Carter Library; and the National Security Archive for documentation obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. The editors benefited greatly from the document reader compiled for the 1995 conference on "The Intervention in Afghanistan and the Fall of Détente," organized by the Norwegian Nobel Institute. For their contributions of documents, translations, support for printing expenses and editing, and/or sage advice, we also would like to thank the following:

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Note

Documents referenced "CWIHP e-Dossier" can be found in CWIHP e-Dossier No. 4 at <http://cwihp.si.edu>; they are not reprinted in this reader. Translations of the German documents (from the SED Archives) will be made available at the conference. All translations contained in this reader are draft versions only; please do not cite/quote without permission from the Cold War International History Project.

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- 174) 30 November: Note by HQ 40th Army and Chief Military Advisor in Kabul, "*The Number of Rebel Groups Which Have Come over to the Side of the Government and Entered into Negotiations*"
- 175) November: Secret Report, "*Counterrevolutionary Forces on Afghan Territory*"
- 176) November: Secret Memorandum by Yu. Vorontsov, V. Varennikov, V. Zaytsev, and V. Yegorov, "*On the Situation in Afghanistan*"
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- 180) January: USSR Council of Ministers Instruction Regarding the Transfer of Military Equipment to the DRA
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- 184) 13-14 January: Najibullah Assessment of the "Ahmad Shah Problem" During Shevardnadze's Visit.
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- 186) 24 January: Excerpt from Top Secret CC CPSU Politburo Minutes No. 146, "Measures in Connection with the Upcoming Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan" (signed by M. Gorbachev)

- 187) 26 January: Reply from Ahmad Shah Masoud to Vorontsov
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- 189) Late-January: Memorandum by Lieutenant General B. Gromov, "*The Procedure for the Withdrawal from the Republic of Afghanistan of the Formations and Units of the 40th Combined Arms Army*"
- 190) 14 February: "*Statement of the Soviet Military Command in Afghanistan on the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops*"
- 191) April: Report by the Soviet Embassy in Pakistan on the Military-Political Situation around Jalalabad
- 192) 26 July: CC CPSU Report on the Delivery of R-17 [Scud-B] Missiles to the Republic of Afghanistan
- 193) 2 September: Letter from Massoud to Soviet Ambassador Vorontsov
- 194) 1 November: Top Secret Instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers
- 195) 5 November: Letter from Najibullah to Gorbachev
- 196) 11 December: Letter from Gorbachev to Afghan Government

Undated additional documents

- 197) Table 108, 109, 110 relating to Soviet Casualties in Afghan War, undated
- 198) Soviet Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces General Staff Operations Groups in Afghanistan, 1979-1989
- 199) A List of Afghan Leader's Requests in 1979 for Soviet Troops, undated
- 200) USSR Ministry of Defense and General Staff Operations Groups in the DRA, undated

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- 201) Hafizullah Amin's Dossier
- 202) Babrak Karmal's Dossier
- 203) Muhammad Najib's Dossier
- 204) Dossiers of Alliance-7 Rebel Leaders
- 205) Dossiers of Rebel Field Commanders