Forum: Historical Security Council

Issue: The Soviet Afghan War, Panjshir Offensive, 16 May 1982

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Introduction

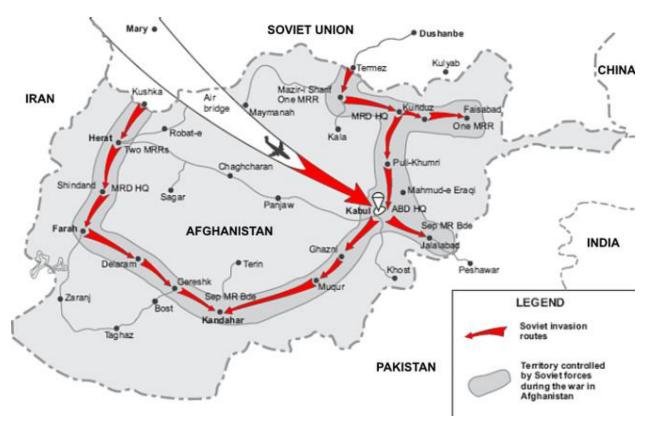
The Soviet-Afghan War had its origins dating back to the coup d'etat by the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1978. The PDPA was heavily reliant on the Soviet Union for military and financial assistance and the overthrow of the existing government resulted in the establishment of a quasi- Soviet satellite state. Measures by the Soviet backed government were extremely unpopular and the government's apparent inability to quell opposition and end the ongoing conflict in the country led to Soviet military intervention in December 1979. In the ensuing years, the conflict increased and on the night of 16 May 1982 it intensified when the Soviet and Afghan armies invaded the Panjshir Valley in order to eradicate domestic opposition. The Soviet Union invasion was the consequence of long-standing political instability in the country resulting from Afghanistan's close diplomatic ties with the USSR and the Soviet adherence to the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine: a USSR guarantee of military support to a "socialist" government threatened by insurrection. The Marxist-Leninist group, also known as the Afghan Communist Party, that came into power with the 1978 coup was opposed by many devout Muslims and anti-communists. At this time a rebel group was forming, known as the Mujahideen. This group attracted many followers and regional sporadic uprisings increased as rebellion spread across the country. The Mujahideen was led by Ahmad Shah Masoud, with the group being centrally located in the Panjshir Valley.

Since the Mujahideen were heavily situated in the Panjshir Valley, the group used its knowledge of the environment to their advantage to fight against the larger and more powerful Soviet and Afghan armies. This led to a significant amount of Soviet casualties throughout the first four Panjshir offensives. The Soviet and Afghan armies would enter the Valley expecting to be faced with direct combat, but the rebel group specialized in guerrilla warfare and ambushed the armies and destroyed their artillery. Throughout 1980 and 1981, there were four offensives conducted by the Soviet and Afghan armies. The only substantial advance was fought at Rokha in April 1980 but was lost at the end of that year on December 27th. Given the heavy losses, the Soviet Union and Afghan government realized that they needed to change their strategies. One of the main issues within the Afghan army was the large amount of resistance within its ranks, since many of the recruits were sympathizers with the Mujahideen. This weakened Soviet military advances since the Mujahideen received vital information referring to Soviet and Afghan plans beforehand and undermined any chance of a surprise attack.

Therefore in planning for the fifth offensive, a small council of the Soviet's 40th Army was established to create plans for a military advance, while the Afghan's were told of a

diversion plan. This led to the Mujahideen preparing for a similar combat strategy as pursued by the Soviets in previous offenses. In reality, the Soviets had a lot more in store. After immense amounts of artillery and aviation bombardment, the Soviets and Afghan armies entered the Panjshir Valley from many corners. Motorized rifle battalions attacked the main entrance of the Valley while 4,200 troops were airlifted into different parts of the Valley all the way up to the Pakistani border to capture strategic points and cut supply lines. This led to large amounts of casualties on both sides, as well as civilian casualties. The intensification of the war increased significantly and has escalated with the Soviet and Afghan armies now having a hold in the Panjshir Valley with bases located in the cities of Rukha, Bazarak, and Anava.

The Security Council is now being called upon to find a solution to the current escalation of fighting that has just occurred. While calling for peace is the main goal of this meeting, be aware of the veto threats that could occur from the USSR because of their direct involvement in the war, as well as the US because of their backing of the Mujahideen. This will be a very difficult task to solve, but the Security Council has persevered in the past and can hopefully come to a compromise for this discussion as well.

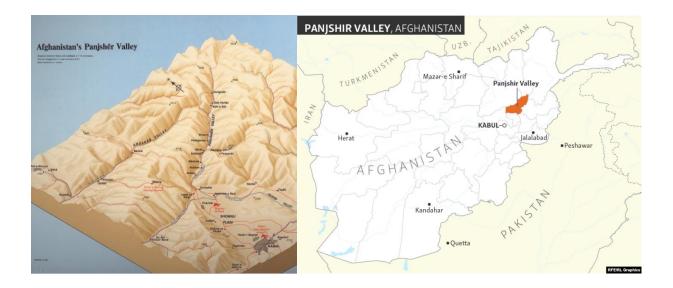


Map of the Soviet Union Invasion in December 1979

Definition of Key Terms

Panjshir Valley

The Panjshir Valley is located 70 kilometers North of Kabul, in the Hindu Mountains close to the Salang Pass. In June 1979 the Valley became a guerrilla stronghold for the Mujahideen, and was one of the main locations of a series of battles between the Mujahideen and the Soviet and Afghan armies throughout the years of 1980 to 1985, also known as the Panjshir offensives.



Salang Pass

The Salang Pass connects the city of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, to North Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and the Soviet Union. Throughout the war, it was highly dangerous with constant ambushes on the passage by the Mujahideen in order to gain supplies that were passing through the area. The Mujahideen would also attack and ambush Soviet and Afghan troops that would pass through the Salang Pass.

Mujahideen

The Mujahideen is a rebel group led by Ahmad Shah Masoud formed in opposition to the Afghan Communist Party. The rebel group consists of mostly devout Muslims, who were oppressed by land and social reforms made by the Afghan Communist Party, but also

included anti-communists. The term Mujahideen directly translates from Arabic to "those who engage in jihad". The Mujahideen is backed by the United States and is popular throughout the region at this time. This group is the main opposition to the Afghan armies throughout this war.

Proxy War

A proxy war is a war in which the opposite side uses a third party in order to fight without being directly engaged in the conflict. Throughout the second half of the 20th Century, the United States and Soviet Union were in a Cold War, where they used a series of wars in order to fight through proxies. In the case of the Soviet-Afghan War, the Soviet Union supported the PDPA, while the United States funded the Mujahideen in order to use Afghanistan to fight through a proxy. This proxy War, as well as the series of them throughout the Cold War, made resolutions on these issues in the Security Council very difficult because of the veto threats from the opposing sides of the United States and Soviet Union.

Guerrilla Warfare

Guerrilla Warfare is an alternate type of combat with fast-moving, small-scale actions usually operated by small organizations that aren't backed by governments. The Spanish word "Guerrilla" directly translates to "little war". This type of warfare commonly gives advantages to groups that have the underhand in the number of troops and resources, ultimately being the main strategy for the Mujahideen and rewarding with large benefits throughout the Soviet-Afghan War.

Background Information

Previous to the Panjshir V Offensive on May 16, Afghanistan has been constantly struggling with war and instability. Throughout the late 18th and early 19th century, Afghanistan became a buffer state between the British and Russian Empires, with hopes of becoming a colony for one of the empires. The British used India as a passageway in hopes of subjugating Afghanistan, but instead led to resistance from Afghanistan throughout the mid and late 19th Century with the beginning of the First and Second Anglo-Afghan war, also known as the

British-Afghan War, with both being British Victories. The tables turned by the Third British-Afghan War, from 1919 to 1921, with Afghanistan defeating the British because of their already weak army from being a part of World War I during this time, ultimately resulting in Afghanistan becoming an independent nation and began to undergo large socioeconomic reform under Amir Amanullah Khan. By 1926, Amanullah Khan declared Afghanistan as a monarchy, with himself as king. Throughout the monarch's reign, the inability for the country to unite the ancestral tribes and win their support for the central government resulted in ongoing political instability. This monarchy lasted until 1973, when the king at the time, Zahir Shah, was overthrown partly due to his failure to address economic challenges following a three-year drought. Thereupon, Mohammad Daoud Khan created the Republic of Afghanistan. While Daoud was not a committed socialist, his reliance on socialist factions and the Marxist-oriented People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) brought socialist ideals into his government.

Previous to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1953, Daoud Khan was the prime minister of Afghanistan, a cousin of the king. He created ties between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union in order to gain economic and military assistance. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev established exceptionally close allies with Afghanistan in 1956. The Afghan Communist Party, also known as the PDPA, formed in 1965 with the leaders being Babrak Karmal and Nur Mohammad Taraki. The PDPA had split in 1967 into two factions: the Parcham, led by Babrak Karmal, who supported Daoud's leadership, and the Khalq, led by Noor Taraki, which opposed Daoud's government. The Afghan military, primarily composed of Khalqis, left Daoud's support base weak. The situation worsened when Daoud's cabinet, half of which was made up of Parcham ministers, targeted Islamic opponents, forcing them to seek refuge in Pakistan. Once Daoud consolidated his power, he began removing pro-Soviet Parcham officials from his government, aiming to reduce Afghanistan's dependence on the USSR. This shift led him to build closer ties with the United States, while still maintaining Soviet relations, ultimately alienating the Parcham and weakening his regime.

Seeing Daoud's vulnerable position, Taraki led the Saur Revolution on April 28, 1978, overthrowing Daoud and assuming the role of prime minister, with Karmal as deputy. Concerned that Taraki's socialist agenda would bring Afghanistan further under Soviet influence, the Carter administration debated whether to recognize his government or cut diplomatic ties. Ultimately, the U.S. recognized Taraki's government as a means to curb Soviet influence, and sent Ambassador Adolph Dubs to Afghanistan. However, relations soured after

Dubs was kidnapped and executed by Shia insurgents, leading to a breakdown in U.S.-Afghan ties.

In 1979, Hafizullah Amin replaced Karmal amid accusations of Parcham efforts to destabilize Taraki's rule. Amin purged the Parcham from key government positions, while violent reforms aimed at spreading communism through rural Afghanistan, including mass arrests of Hazaras and Islamic groups, sparked widespread rebellion. Unable to quell the uprisings, the Afghan government turned to the USSR for help, signing the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation for military support. As civil war loomed, the USSR began to deploy troops to Bagram Air Base, concerned about Taraki's ability to manage the crisis. Amin interpreted this as an attempt to bolster Taraki's power and called for his execution to consolidate his own control.

After Taraki's death, the USSR increased its military presence along the Afghan border and realized by late 1979 that the Afghan military was incapable of handling the unrest. Consequently, the USSR intervened directly, installing Karmal as a puppet leader. This invasion caught the Carter administration off guard, given its significant financial costs to the USSR, prompting a rapid shift in U.S. policy toward Afghanistan. The 1980 Carter Doctrine replaced the previous view of Afghanistan as a buffer state, with the U.S. committing to defend Persian Gulf oil and warning against further Soviet encroachment in the Middle East. This policy was linked to the broader geopolitical context, including the Iranian Revolution, and the possibility of communist expansion into U.S.-aligned Pakistan, leading to U.S. sanctions on the USSR. The 1980 grain embargo, while politically symbolic, had minimal economic impact on the Soviet Union.

Major Countries, Key Players, and Organizations Involved

Afghanistan:

Afghanistan was the battlefield to the Soviet-Afghan War. The Afghan people experienced large casualties, whether they were a soldier in combat or a civilian. Afghanistan experienced immense amounts of political, economic, and safety instability during this time, as well as the periods before and following the war. Since Afghanistan was caught in a Civil War, almost all of their resources went into the resolving of this war, as well as creating different diplomatic relations, whether it was the government itself creating relationships with the Soviets or of the Mujahideen and their diplomatic connections with the United States, Saudi Arabia,

Pakistan, and more. Overall, Afghanistan's security and stability is the forefront of this discussion in the Security Council when looking at the Soviet-Afghan War.

Throughout the war, the Afghanistan government was run by Babrak Karmal, who came into power when the Soviets invaded in 1979. Karmal was put into power because of his compliances with the goals of the Soviets and their military plans for the war. Some of the key Afghan Military Leaders and Commanders include General Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, General Shahnawaz Tanai, and General Mohammad Rafie. General Mohammad Aslam Watanjar was originally one of the young Afghan officers involved in the Saur Revolution, but following the revolution he grew in the ranks of the PDPA with constantly switching roles, and serving as a guide for the Soviets when they invaded Afghanistan. General Shahnawaz Tanai served as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces who commanded the Afghan National Army throughout the war. General Mohammad Rafie served as Minister of Defense from 1979 to 1984 and 1986 to 1988.

The rebel group, also known as the Mujahideen, is run by Ahmad Shah Masoud and has some major military leaders, including Jalaluddin Haqqani, Bismillah Khan Mohammadi, and Mohammad Qasim Fahim. Jalaluddin Haqqani who was an internationally sponsored insurgent fighter in the 1980s during the Soviet-Afghan war. Reagan referenced him as a "freedom fighter" for his efforts throughout the Soviet-Afghan War. Bismillah Khan Mohammadi was originally a PDPA Parcham member, but after the Soviet invasion, he switched to the Mujahideen resistance. He was a subordinate commander of Massoud in the Panjshir, being very active in coordinating defensive positions and counter attacks throughout the Soviet-Afghan War. Mohammad Qasim Fahim was a close associate of Massoud and helped in both military and intelligence functions throughout the Panjshir Offensives. These people, along with many others, were significant in the Mujahideen resistance movement, especially in the Panjshir Offensives.

Pakistan:

Although not being a part of any combat and active in the war, Pakistan played a large role throughout the war in other ways. In 1979, the U.S. began providing covert aid to Afghan militants, with Pakistan acting as a conduit through its intelligence agency, ISI. Pakistan's involvement became central to the CIA's operation, as arms and training for the Mujahideen

were provided through Pakistan. Without Pakistan's support, it would have been impossible for the U.S. to provide the necessary arms, ammunition, and training to the Afghan Mujahideen. The collaboration between the U.S. and Pakistan was vital in sustaining the resistance against the Soviet forces and played a significant role in the eventual Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. They also took in a multitude of Afghan refugees. By 1982, there were around 2.8 million afghans that had sought asylum in Pakistan, with more to come throughout the rest of the war. Pakistan was vital to ensure civilian safety during the large amounts of bombings and overall combat between the Soviet and Afghan armies and the Mujahideen.

United States:

The United States was the main contributor for the Mujahideen. Although they did not engage in direct combat, unlike the Soviet Union, they were the major funder of the Mujahideens' supplies. There was more than 20 billion dollars of US funds sent to arm and train the Mujahideen. These immense amounts of funding were vital to the Mujahideen's cause and fight against the Afghan and Soviet Union armies. The United States was funding the Mujahideen because they wanted to ensure that the Soviet Union would not use Afghanistan to gain a significant hold on the region surrounding Afghanistan, including the Persian Gulf and the sea lines and ports of the Indian Ocean.

The US had two main administrations in government throughout the Soviet-Afghan war. These included the Carter and Reagan administrations. The Carter administration, previous to the invasion, was intensely watching the buildup and state of the Afghan government. When the invasion finally occurred, the administration vowed to protect Middle Eastern oil supplies located in the Persian Gulf, as well as creating economic sanctions and trade embargoes against the USSR. During this time, they also boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics. At this point was when the aid to Afghanistan from the United States began. The Carter Administration hoped for the Soviet invasion to be as short as possible, and the sanctions and boycotts were an attempt of making that hope a reality. Ronald Regan replaced Carter as US President in 1981, creating the "Reagan Doctrine" that had the Mujahideen and other anti-communist groups as the centerpiece. Reagan's goal was to increase the funding enough for the Mujahideen to be able to hold against the Soviet troops for long enough that it was too much of a costly occupation and would have to be withdrawn. This led to Reagan reconciling relationships with Pakistan that were previously cut by the Carter administration in 1977 by offering a six-year economic military

aid package. Pakistan became the United States' main passageway of aid to the Mujahideen following this alliance.

Soviet Union:

The Soviet Union was single handedly the most involved third party in this war. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and continued to occupy up until 1989. Throughout the war, there were 115,000 Soviet troops sent to Afghanistan to be active in combat against the Mujahideen. The Soviets gave their people, resources, arms, money, and much more to this war and cause as a whole. They were a pivotal part to the Afghan government's cause, as well as the escalation of the situation throughout the 80s.

During this time, the Soviet Union was run under Leonid Brezhnev and ultimately made the decision to invade Afghanistan. This was the first time that the Soviet Union had military involvement in a region outside of the Eastern Bloc and showed Brezhnev's goals of expansion of Communist governments globally. Some significant military leaders throughout the fifth Panjshir Offensive of the Soviet-Afghan War include General Norat Ter-Grigoryants and Major Aushev. There were 12,000 Afghan and soviet soldiers led by General Norat Ter-Grigoryants and were able to advance their battalion in the Panjshir Valley against the Mujahideen. Major Aushev led a motorised rifle battalion that helped save a Soviet paratrooper regiment from the Mujahideen defenses, and ultimately captured the city of Rukha. This success led to Aushev being awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. These military leaders were necessary for the advancements made by the Soviet Union by 16 May 1982.

Iran:

Iran was also a large refugee hub for Afghan citizens fleeing the war. In 1982, although not as many as Pakistan, they still got around 1.5 million refugees. The war also contained a large number of Iranian volunteers trained by the Iranian government who fought in the war alongside the Mujahideen. Along with volunteers, Iran sent supplies, such as arms and ammunition, to the Mujahideen.

China:

During this period, China was one of the main suppliers of arms to the Mujahideen. This aspect must be considered in the light of both countries being considered "allies" given their adherence to "Marxist-Lenisit doctrine". The military support of the Mujahideen placed China at odds with Russian policy, ambitions and potentially its forces.

United Nations:

The United Nations Secretary-General from 1982 to 1991, Javier Perez de Cuellar, was highly involved in the situation in Afghanistan. Starting in April 1981, he began visiting Pakistan and Afghanistan to continue negotiations started by the previous Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim. He was highly involved in negotiations with all sides of the conflict, including the United States, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union. Mr. Perez de Cuellar was also present and took part in the negotiations regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1988. This along with the attempts of resolutions from the Security Council, as well as two successful resolutions in 1980 and 1981 by the General Assembly regarding this conflict, shows the large involvement of the United Nations on this topic.

Timeline of Events

Date	Description of event
1921	Afghanistan officially gained its independence and began to undergo a series of socioeconomic reforms under Amir Amanullah Khan.
1926	Amanullah declares Afghanistan as a monarchy and himself as king (his reign lasts until 1929)
1947	The Islamic state of Pakistan is formed, having a long and very uncontrollable border with Afghanistan.
1953	Mohammed Daoud Khan, cousin of the king, becomes prime minister and begins relations with the Soviet Union.

1956	Afghanistan becomes close allies with the Soviet Union while the Soviets are under Premier Nikita Khrushchev.
1965	The Afghan Communist Party secretly forms with leaders Babrak Karmal, a part of the Banner (Parcham) Party and Nur Mohammad Taraki, a part of the People's (Khalq) Party.
1968	The Brezhnev Doctrine was formed by the Soviet Union.
1973	Daoud overthrows the last king in a military coup. Creates the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, naming himself president, and abolishes the monarchy.
1978	Afghanistan Government Overthrown with the murder of Daoud in a communist coup, Taraki takes the role of president, with Kamal being deputy prime minister.
1979	Taraki was killed on 14 September. In December, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and placed Karmal as Prime Minister.
1980	Mujahideen rebels united against Soviet and Soviet-backed Afghan Army. Panjshir Offensives 1-3 also occur during this year.
1981	Panjshir Offensive IV
1982	Panjshir Offensive V. Around 2.8 million Afghans fled to Pakistan, with another around 1.5 million fleeing to Iran.

Previous & Possible Solutions

Geneva Accords 1988:

The Geneva Accords of 1988 were the agreements settling the situation in

Afghanistan and accomplished a multitude of issues with the war. They were signed on 14 April by the United States, Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The Accords created a bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan to cover two main factors, which included the voluntary return of Afghan refugees that fled during the war and principles of mutual relation, especially the non-interference and interventions with each other. As well as international guarantees signed by the United States and Soviet Union, as well as more agreements for Afghanistan and Pakistan covering the relationships regarding the Afghan War and the country's instability. Although all these agreements were necessary to be resolved, the most significant thing the Geneva Accords accomplished was the Soviet Union's agreement to the removal of their troops from Afghanistan on 15 February 1989, officially ending the Soviet-Afghan War. The United States continued to supply arms to the Mujahideen, although they had a previous agreement from December 1985 that they would stop supplying as soon as the Soviets withdrew. Although the Soviet Union withdrew, the Civil War still raged on because of the lack of the Mujahideen present for the agreements made by the Geneva Accords, with it finally coming to a close with the Mujahideen taking over in 1992 after the previous government collapsed from lack of popular support, territory, and international recognition.

Although this document was vital to the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, the goal of the Security Council simulation is to see if we can create this resolution at the 16 May of 1982 point, instead of having to be elongated all the way to 1988. Overall, it is a very vital document with the content it covers for considering what to be considered when writing a resolution on this topic, but it cannot be directly referenced since it happens after the time period.

General Assembly Resolutions:

Following the Soviet invasion, the United Nations Security Council debated the issue at the General Assembly's request but could not reach a consensus due to the USSR's veto. Therefore, the task was given to the General Assembly. Ultimately ending up in having passed two non-binding resolutions, A/RES/35/37 and A/RES/36/34. These resolutions were made on 20 November 1980 and 18 November 1981; therefore, they have been implemented during the time of this 16 May 1982 Security Council meeting.

Efforts by UN Special Representatives, initially Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and later Diego Cordovez, aimed at establishing an indirect dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, this was complicated by the deep mistrust between the two governments. The Afghan government viewed the Mujahideen as proxies for Pakistan, which publicly supported the Afghan people's right to self-determination against the communist regime. Pakistan's involvement was driven by concerns over Soviet influence in Afghanistan and its longstanding border dispute with Afghanistan over Pashtun-majority regions.

Humanitarian and Refugee Efforts:

While considering how to resolve the political and economic state of Afghanistan itself, it is important to keep in mind the large amounts of fleeing refugees, as well as the humanitarian issues of Afghanistan. By 1982, there were over 5 million refugees that had fled to surrounding countries, especially Pakistan and Iran. This leads to economic pressure and pressure on resources from these countries in order to provide for these millions of refugees fleeing to their country. Therefore, a way to make easier access to resources for these refugees is a necessity. Another issue regarding the refugees is how they are being treated in these countries they are seeking asylum in. According to the Human Rights Watch, there had been abuses, including murder, imprisonment, torture, and attacks on refugees attempting to return back to Afghanistan, occurring within Pakistan but Pakistani authorities refused to investigate them. The question of the refugees' conditions as well as safety should also be largely considered when writing one's resolution. Furthermore, the people that are staying within Afghanistan are struggling with access to basic humanitarian needs, and this war has already been raging on for four years and is intensifying with no end in sight. Because of this, access to humanitarian aid is a necessity for these Afghan citizens. These issues of refugees and access to basic necessities should be considered when writing a resolution in the Security Council, but ensure that it is not one's main focus.

Questions to Consider

- 1. How can we achieve internal stability within Afghanistan, both economically and politically?
- 2. How can we achieve assurances that there will be no further external intervention by

- either of the parties?
- 3. How will we address the issue of refugees and need for humanitarian efforts due to the conflict?
- 4. Is my state allied or aligned with the Soviet Union, United States or neither?
- 5. What is the best way to structure and frame peace talks so that both sides are willing to and interested in participating?
- 6. What ways can one's state request for the possible withdrawal of USSR troops in the region without being in threat of a veto?

Sources for Further Research

https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n80/009/43/pdf/n8000943.pdf: A United States draft resolution in the Security Council from 10 January 1980 on the Soviet-Afghan War. This resolution ended up being vetoed by the USSR.

https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/nl8/002/39/pdf/nl800239.pdf : A draft resolution made on 6 January 1980, created by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, and The Philippines. This resolution also ended up being vetoed by the USSR.

https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/399/55/pdf/nr039955.pdf: This is a resolution on 9 January 1980 by the Security Council that called the General Assembly to an emergency meeting to create a resolution covering the Soviet-Afghan War. They were called because of the inability of the Security Council to pass a resolution with the constant vetoes from the Permanent 5 members.

https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/390/56/pdf/nr039056.pdf: This is the first General Assembly resolution that passed covering this topic. It is resolution A/RES/35/37 made on 20 November 1980 and it is also non-binding. It called for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, generally deploring the Soviet intervention on the basis of state sovereignty, generally addressing humanitarian aid for Afghan refugees and introducing the idea of non-intervention agreements as a means of conflict deterrence.

https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/406/60/pdf/nr040660.pdf: This is resolution A/RES/36/34, the second passed resolution from the General Assembly on the Soviet-Afghan

War which built upon proposed solution in A/RES/35/37. Although this resolution was successful by passing, it is non-binding and therefore it can not be ensured that it is implemented.

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