

## **AFGHANISTAN : a bibliographical overview**

### **BOOKS**

A War on Terror : Afghanistan and After - London : Pluto Press, 2004.

ISBN: 0745320864

Author:

Rogers, Paul

'This is a radical assessment of Bush's new policy, the way it has affected world security and the grave implications it holds for future peace, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world. Moving from the war in Afghanistan and its aftermath to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the continuing development of al-Qaida and its associates, through to the war on Iraq, the author presents a uniquely cogent week-by-week analysis of these rapid and traumatic events. In a world in which the US and other states of the Atlantic community are increasingly speaking a different language to that of the rest of the world, the author offers a vital critical assessment of the language of dominance and control as 'the New American Century' unfolds. For the US in particular, the post-9/11 world is one in which it is essential to maintain firm control of international security, extending to pre-emptive military action. In this book, the author demonstrates how futile, mistaken and deeply counterproductive that belief is, and points to the need for more effective routes to a just and secure world.'

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Beyond Reconstruction in Afghanistan : Lessons from Development Experience  
- New York : Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.

ISBN: 1403965110

Authors:

Montgomery, John Dickey, ed.

Rondinelli, Dennis A., ed.

'The interaction of failed states, terrorism and the need for 'nation-building' is at the top of the international agenda, with particular focus on Afghanistan and Iraq. This collection brings together top analysts to examine the goals and challenges facing efforts to reconstruct states that have collapsed into anarchy or have been defeated in war. Drawing on lessons from fifty years of past experience with post-conflict reconstruction and development around the world, the authors provide historical context, identify difficulties that can impede progress, and recognize the realistic limitations of ambitions to create new states. They assess ongoing development plans in a country devastated by more than a century of conflict. Throughout, particular attention is paid to the interaction of the goals of external and domestic actors, highlighting the importance of understanding the internal social, economic, and political environment of the society receiving assistance. The authors explore Afghanistan's economic, political, social and physical needs, assess the Interim Government's and international organizations' plans for reconstruction, and review the prospects for developing a peaceful and productive society in the future.'

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Ghost Wars : The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 - New York : Penguin Press, 2004.

ISBN: 1594200076

Author:

Coll, Steve

'For nearly the past quarter century, while most Americans were unaware, Afghanistan has been the playing field for intense covert operations by US and foreign intelligence agencies - invisible wars that sowed the seeds of the September 11 attacks and that provide its context. From the Soviet invasion in 1979 through the summer of 2001, the CIA, KGB, Pakistan's ISI, and Saudi Arabia's General Intelligence Department all operated directly and secretly in Afghanistan. They primed Afghan factions with cash and weapons, secretly trained guerrilla forces, funded propaganda, and manipulated politics. In the midst of these struggles bin Laden conceived and then built his global organization. The author tells the secret history of the CIA's role in Afghanistan, including its covert program against Soviet troops from 1979 to 1989, and examines the rise of the Taliban, the emergence of bin Laden, and the secret efforts by CIA officers and their agents to capture or kill bin Laden in Afghanistan after 1998. The book answers the questions so many have asked since the horrors of September 11 : to what extent did America's best intelligence analysts grasp the rising threat of Islamist radicalism ? Who tried to stop bin Laden and why did they fail ?'

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NATO and Afghanistan : Setting Conditions for the Future = L'OTAN et l'Afghanistan : quelles conditions pour préparer l'avenir ? - Rome : NATO Defense College, 2004.

20 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

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A Bitter Harvest : US Foreign Policy and Afghanistan - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 2003.

(US Foreign Policy and Conflict in the Islamic World)

ISBN: 0754636151

Author:

Lansford, Tom

'The 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States formed part of the larger legacy of American interaction in Afghanistan. From the end of World War II onward, American foreign policy had a significant impact on the conflicts that marked the twentieth century history of this troubled land. The role of the United States was magnified by the violence of the ongoing internal ethnic struggles and the external machinations of the superpower Cold War rivalry. This book presents a historical overview of the causes and legacy of Afghanistan's internal conflict; explores the role and influence of the actors involved, including the various ethnic and religious groups and external powers as the United States and the Soviet Union; provides the framework for a broader exploration of US policy toward Afghanistan. It concludes with an assessment of US policy and policy recommendations.'

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At a Crossroads in Afghanistan : Should the United States Be Engaged in Nation Building ? - Washington : Cato Institute, 2003.

12 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 81)

Author:

Atal, Subdoh

'Despite progress in the return of refugees and the prevention of humanitarian disasters, stability in Afghanistan is threatened by ethnic tension, feuding warlords, and violence perpetrated by regrouping elements of the Taliban and their allies. The United States is being asked to increase its level of commitment to rebuilding Afghanistan as a means of stabilizing the country, even as American troops battle the resurgent Islamic extremists who operate along the Afghan-Pakistan border. An increase in the US commitment to Afghanistan's reconstruction is unlikely to speed up that nation's progress toward stability and peace. With fighting between rival warlords still raging, and neighboring nations vying for influence in Afghanistan, American entanglement in Afghan civil affairs will only distract from the major goal of eliminating the anti-American forces that were instrumental in the 9-11 attacks. The United States can best aid Afghanistan by accelerating the war against Islamic extremists, paving the way for Afghans to reconstruct their own political and economic systems. The alternative - a US-imposed political structure - will only serve to increase anti-American sentiment. America's prior nation-building experiences suggest that external aid has a limited effect in the reconstruction of so-called failed states. Afghanistan provides a model for a broader policy framework wherein American intervention would be confined to eliminating national security threats rather than getting entangled in counterproductive nation-building exercises around the globe.'

URI: <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pfbriefs/fpb-081es.html>

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Confronting Afghanistan's Security Dilemma : Reforming the Security Sector  
- Bonn : Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2003.

74 p.; 30 cm.

(BICC Brief ; 28)

Author:

Sedra, Mark, ed.

'From 4-11 June 2003, BICC hosted a e-conference on 'Afghanistan : Assessing the Progress of Security Sector Reform, One Year After the Geneva Conference'. The conference focused on three aspects of the security sector reform process : military reform; police reform; and the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants. The dialogue resulted in 36 policy recommendations on how to refocus and reenergize the security sector reform process and address rising insecurity.'

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Democracy and Islam in the New Constitution of Afghanistan - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2003.

ISBN: 0833033581

'Reports on a conference held to identify ways in which the new constitution of Afghanistan could help put the country on the path to a strong, stable democracy characterized by good governance and rule of law. The participants identified practical ideas for those involved in drafting the constitution, particularly about the treatment of Islam.'

URI: <http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF186/CF186.pdf>

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The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan : Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region - New York : Palgrave, 2002.

ISBN: 0312295847

Author:

Nojumi, Neamatollah

'On September 11, 2001, the world looked in horror at one of the most nefarious acts of terrorism in history. The author explains how Afghanistan became the base for radical fundamentalism and provides a critical understanding of how internal divisions and the devastating effects of foreign involvement undermined the resilience of Afghanistan's communities, led to the rise of the Taliban, and now present a unique challenge to international efforts at nation building. As the cycle of yesterday's allies becoming today's enemies turns once again, the book provides crucial insight into the tangled interactions of domestic, regional, and international politics that have bedeviled outsiders, plagued Afghans, and that threaten, absent judgement based on insight, to be quagmire for the United States in the years ahead.'

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The Afghans - Oxford, UK : Blackwell, 2002.

(The Peoples of Asia)

ISBN: 0631198415

Author:

Vogelsang, Willem J.

'In the 1960s and 1970s Afghanistan was depicted in the media as the romantic haven of nomads and a resort for hashish-smoking hippies; in the 80s it was seen as a country where brave warriors fought against the 'evil' Soviet empire, and in the 90s was redrawn as a semi-feudal land ruled by warlords and Islamic fundamentalists. In September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States thrust the country to the fore of global politics. This book brings together these different outside perspectives to form one coherent story, telling the dramatic history of the land and peoples of Afghanistan from prehistoric times to the present day. The book discusses a wide variety of subjects including the Indo-Iranian invasions of the second millennium BC, the Persian Achaemendis, Alexander the Great, the Islamic conquest, the Mongols and the rise of the kingdom of Afghanistan in the eighteenth century. The author pays special attention to recent developments , including the Soviet occupation of the country and subsequent events that led to the dramatic crisis of late 2001. Much of the description of the contemporary period is based on the author's own experience of events. The history also draws on a wide variety of other sources, including archaeological, historical and linguistic materials.'

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The Afghanistan Wars - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.

ISBN: 0333802918

Author:

Maley, William

'A whole generation has grown up in Afghanistan knowing only war. The US-led operation to crush the anti-modernist Taliban movement and Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaida was simply the most recent in a series of interrelated struggles which for nearly a quarter of a century devastated much of the country and ruined the lives of millions of people. This book provides a meticulously documented account of these waves of conflict. It explores in detail the roots of Afghanistan's slide into disorder in the late 1970s, how the Soviet Union came to the rescue of unworthy clients and was then sucked into a quagmire, the frightening consequences of state breakdown and self-interested meddling by Afghanistan's neighbours in the period after communist rule collapsed, and the rise and fall of the Taliban. Incisive and informative, the book mounts a compelling case for partnership with the Afghans as they seek to reassemble their lives.'

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Afghanistan : A Short History of its People and Politics - New York : HarperCollins, 2002.

ISBN: 0060505087

Author:

Ewans, Martin

'Reaching back to earliest times, the author examines the historical evolution of one of today's most dangerous breeding grounds of global terrorism. After a succession of early dynasties and the emergence of an Afghan empire during the eighteenth century, the nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a fierce power struggle between Russia and Britain for supremacy in Afghanistan that was ended by the nation's proclamation of independence in 1919. A communist coup in the late 1970s overthrew the established regime and led to the invasion of Soviet troops in 1979. Roughly a decade later, the Soviet Union withdrew, condemning Afghanistan to a civil war that tore apart the nation's last remnants of religious, ethnic, and political unity. It was into this climate that the Taliban was born. Today, war-torn and economically destitute, Afghanistan faces unique challenges as it looks toward an uncertain future. The author carefully weighs the lessons of history to provide a frank look at Afghanistan's prospects and the international resonances of the nation's immense task of total political and economic reconstruction.'

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The Lessons of Afghanistan : War Fighting, Intelligence, and Force Transformation - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2002.

(Significant Issues Series ; vol. 24, no. 4)

ISBN: 089206417X

Author:

Cordesman, Anthony H.

'This study seeks to provide an initial assessment of the war in Afghanistan and the lessons to be drawn in terms of war fighting, intelligence, and force transformation. The Afghan conflict is anything but a conventional war : it is asymmetric warfare fought by different sides with different goals and perceptions using radically different methods - and fought as a theater battle in a broader global struggle against terrorism. Asymmetric wars tend to be highly adaptive, and this war is both regional and global in scope. It is also a struggle fought in a context where it may come to interact with other conflicts such as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian struggle and a possible US effort to drive Saddam Hussein from power. So, while it is easier to draw lessons than to validate them, this study begins that process.'

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Challenging the Warlord Culture : Security Sector Reform in Post-Taliban Afghanistan - Bonn : Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2002.

(BICC Paper ; 25)

Author:

Sedra, Mark

'The overarching question that this paper addresses is : how can the security sector be reformed to curtail the power and influence of the warlords and challenge the underlying culture of warlordism that is so deeply ingrained in Afghan society ? The study focuses on three specific elements of the security reform agenda that have been prioritized by stakeholders in the Afghan reconstruction process because of their significance to ongoing efforts to restore a basic level of security and stability to the country. These three pillars are : the reconstruction of a broadly representative national armed forces, the creation of a national police force, and the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs on the regional and national level. Comprehensive security sector reform is not limited to these pillars. Quite the contrary, they should serve as a foundation upon which further reform initiatives, such as judicial and prison reform, can be developed. This report aims to identify and assess the plans established to address the three pillars, the progress made thus far in the implementation of these plans, and the challenges that face the reform process at various levels.'

URI: <http://www.bicc.de/general/paper25/paper25.pdf>

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Military Intervention in Afghanistan : Implications for British Foreign and Defence Policy - [s.l.] : British American Security Information Council, 2002.

(BASIC Paper ; 40)

Author:

Warren, Jenny

'The British Government's decision to join the United States in its 'war on terrorism' raises a number of key issues regarding the formulation of its foreign and defence policy which need to be publicly debated, including the decision to wage war, the rationale for military intervention, the role and conduct of troops deployed abroad, the place of coercion and conflict prevention in asserting British national interests, and the nature of the 'special relationship' with the United States.'

URI: <http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Papers/BP40.htm>

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Afghanistan : A New History - London : RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.

ISBN: 0415298261

Author:

Ewans, Martin

'Sir Martin Ewans, former Head of the British Chancery in Kabul, puts into an historical and contemporary context the series of tragic events that have impinged on Afghanistan in the past half century. The book examines the roots of these developments in Afghanistan's earlier history and external relationships, as well as their contemporary relevance, internally, regionally and globally. The book reviews in detail the emergence of the Taliban, its ideology and its place within Islam, and examines Afghanistan's relevance for several issues of global concern, notably the nature of Islamic extremism, the international drugs trade and international terrorism. This new edition also discusses the fall of the Taliban and ends with an analysis of the country post-Taliban.'

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Fundamentalism Reborn ? : Afghanistan and the Taliban - London : Hurst, 2002.

ISBN: 1850653607

Author:

Maley, William, ed.

'This book traces the Taliban movement's origins, its rise to power, and the tensions and contradictions which made it impossible to accommodate within the modern international system. It exposes some of the misunderstandings which led various powers, including the United States, to believe that the Taliban could bring peace to Afghanistan and permit its reconstruction after years of destructive conflict. It also highlights steps that can be taken to assist the Afghan people to recover from the consequences of the fragmentation of their society, and its subordination to an anti-modernist force of a kind unprecedented in Afghanistan's recent history. This is a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the history, ascendancy, and decline of the most dramatic manifestation of Islamic fundamentalism since the Iranian revolution.'

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Afghanistan's Endless War : State Failure, Regional Politics, and the Rise of the Taliban - Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2001.

ISBN: 0295980508

Author:

Goodson, Larry P.

'Going beyond the stereotypes of Kalashnikov-wielding Afghan mujahideen and black-turbaned fundamentalists, the author combines Taliban interviews and field research with concise analysis to explain what has been happening in Afghanistan in the last twenty years, and why the future of Afghanistan matters. Illuminating Afghanistan's myriad cleavages along ethnic, religious, social, and geographical faultlines, the author examines the devastating course of the Afghan war. He charts its utter destruction of the country, from the deaths of more than two million Afghans and the dispersal of some six million others as refugees to the complete collapse of Afghanistan's economy, which today has been replaced by monoagriculture in opium poppies and heroin production. The Taliban now uneasily control roughly 80 percent of the country but themselves show increasing discord along ethnic and political lines. As it has been through the ages, Afghanistan remains the vital crossroads connecting Central, South, and Southwest Asia. It is the linchpin to trade in the potentially oil-rich new states of Central Asia. The Taliban's role in exporting political Islamism adds fuel to an already incendiary situation in the region. All of Afghanistan's neighbors - Pakistan, Iran, India, Russia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia, even Turkey and China, along with the United States - jockey to manipulate its internal affairs in their own interests. What happens in Afghanistan will continue to affect stability and security in an increasingly important region of the post-Cold War world.'

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Afghanistan : Crisis of Impunity : The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fueling the Civil War - New York : Human Rights Watch, 2001.

'The civil war in Afghanistan, a geopolitical battleground during the cold war, is once again being sponsored by outside parties : Pakistan, Iran, Russia, and other neighboring countries, with the United States and India working in other ways to influence the war's outcome. A country whose main economic activity is as a global arms market and smuggling hub is threatening to become, again, a theater of geopolitical competition. Meanwhile, the humanitarian toll of twenty years of fighting has not figured prominently in international policy on Afghanistan. Instead, several members of the Six Plus Two contact group, the six countries bordering Afghanistan, plus Russia and the US that are nominally committed to negotiating an end to the war, are providing military and material support to Afghan parties that have committed gross violations of the laws of war. The general outlines of the delivery of military support to both sides in Afghanistan are well known to experts monitoring the situation but not to a wider public. In light of the possibility of broadening military sponsorship of the warring factions, Human Rights Watch has investigated the delivery of arms and other forms of military aid to both sides and the impact of this aid on human rights. This report details the nature of military support provided to the warring parties, the major transit routes used to move arms and other equipment, the suppliers, the role of state and nonstate actors, and the response of the international community. The implications of foreign military assistance go beyond Afghanistan, as the war also poses a threat to regional security : armed groups in neighboring Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are obtaining military support from the well-supplied Afghan factions.'

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Reaping the Whirlwind : The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan - London : Pluto Press, 2001.

ISBN: 0745312748

Author:

Griffin, Michael

'This book provides the first comprehensive profile of the Taliban in the twenty-first century. Drawing on numerous interviews with key protagonists, conducted over a period of several years, the author provides a fascinating eyewitness account of the Afghan conflict. The author explains the origins and beliefs of the Taliban movement, its religious and political ethos, and the character of its particular brand of so-called Islamic fundamentalism. Crucially, the author examines the controversial nature of the Taliban's international links with the US, Saudi Arabia, and other vested interests. The author also explores the Taliban's connections with Osama bin Laden, drug barons and drug dealers, and the CIA's ambiguous relationship with what is often viewed as an international Islamist conspiracy.

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L'ombre des taliban - Paris : Autrement, 2001.

ISBN: 2746701731

Author:

Rashid, Ahmed

'L'auteur nous plonge au coeur de ce mouvement islamiste extrême et secret qui fait peser une menace inattendue sur l'Asie centrale, le Moyen-Orient et le monde. Il met en scène la tumultueuse histoire du mouvement des taliban depuis sa soudaine et spectaculaire apparition en 1994, analysant ses racines historiques, idéologiques et géopolitiques. Il en dégage le sens et l'impact. Précis et vivant, ce livre se lit comme l'incroyable roman vrai d'une histoire tragique dont la conclusion n'est pas écrite.'

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La révolution afghane : des communistes aux taleban - Paris : Karthala, 2000.

ISBN: 2845860439

Author:

Dorronsoro, Gilles

'Depuis plus de vingt ans, l'Afghanistan est plongé dans une interminable guerre civile. Au coup d'Etat communiste de 1978 et à la violence des jeunes élites urbaines a répondu la révolte de la société, mobilisée au nom du jihad contre un gouvernement athée et, bientôt, contre l'occupant soviétique. Des centaines de 'commandants' a la tête de groupes de combattants mènent alors la lutte contre le pouvoir soviéto-afghan. Le retrait soviétique, achevé en 1989, puis l'effondrement du régime communiste n'ont pas ramené la paix. La guerre a désormais pour enjeu la redéfinition et le contrôle du pouvoir central. Loin des habituels lieux communs sur les 'guerres ethniques', ce livre a pour but de montrer comment une société essentiellement rurale et non industrielle a connu une mutation accélérée dans et par la guerre. En particulier, l'échec des projets modernistes - communiste et islamiste - a permis l'émergence, en 1994, du mouvement des Taleban, qui ont su capitaliser la lassitude de la population pour instaurer un Etat fondamentaliste dominé par les religieux. Le nouveau pouvoir, par un illusoire retour au passé, tente aujourd'hui d'imposer un ordre moral puritain à une société rétive, donnant une forme inédite aux processus de modernisation qui, inéluctablement, s'affirment.'

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Taliban : Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia - London : Tauris, 2000.

ISBN: 1860644171

Author:

Rashid, Ahmed

'The presence of Osaman bin Laden and his terrorist bases in Afghanistan have brought the Taliban into sharp focus as the most radical and extreme Islamist movement in the world today. Little is known about the Taliban because of the deep secrecy that surrounds the organization, its leaders and aims. The geo-strategic implications of Taliban expansion are already creating severe instability in Russia and Central Asia. The Taliban has become a major player in the 'New Great Game' - harking back to the late nineteenth-century British and Russian confrontation in the region - involving competition between Western oil companies, manipulation from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran, and covert operations by the CIA. The prize : access to the new oil fields and transit routes for oil pipelines, not to mention the allure of the narcotic trade.'

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The Taliban Phenomenon : Afghanistan, 1994-1997 : With an Afterword Covering Major Events since 1997 - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 2000.

ISBN: 0195792742

Author:

Matinuddin, Kamal

'This book gives a comprehensive account of the origin of the Taliban movement and the reasons for its phenomenal success. The impact of the ethnic divide on Afganistan's future, the repercussions of the Taliban's extreme religious views on Pakistan and other neighbouring countries, and Pakistan's Afghan policy after the emergence of the student militia has been critically analysed.'

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The Taliban : Ascent to Power - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 2000.

xiv, 158 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0195795601

Author:

Gohari, M. J.

'Many hold the view that Islam discourages freedom of thought and action. This seems to be borne out by common perception which sees Muslims as fundamentalist, radical and militant. In this book, M. J. Gohari describes the rise of a controversial movement which has been widely criticised by the West : the Taliban in Afghanistan. Dr. Gohari describes the historical background of the movement in Afghanistan, outlines the context for rapid ascent to power of the Taliban, explains what the movement stands for, and analyses how it affects various groups in Afghan society. He also discusses the impact of the Taliban on Afghanistan's neighbours and what he calls 'the Taliban-UN dilemma'. Gohari concludes with a short chapter on the life and views of Bin Laden, which serves to demistify that elusive radical.'

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The Lessons of the Soviet/Afghan War - London : Brassey's Defence Publications, 1991.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 259)

ISBN: 0080417787

Author:

Roy, Olivier

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The fall of Afghanistan : an insider's account - Washington : Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988.

ISBN: 0080347010

Author:

Ghaus, Abdul Samad

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Gorbachev's Afghan gambit - Cambridge, MA : Institute for Foreign Policy, 1988.

(National security paper ; 9)

ISBN: 0895490870

Author:

Eliot, Theodore L.

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Afghanistan : The Great Game Revisited - New York : Freedom House, 1987.

ISBN: 0932088163

Author:

Klass, Rosanne, ed.

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Afghanistan : l'occupation soviétique - Bruxelles : GRIP, 1987.

(GRIP Informations, 0771-1786 ; 12)

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Afghanistan : The Soviet War - New York : St. Martin's Press, 1985.

ISBN: 0312009232

Author:

Girardet, Edward

'The Soviet war in Afghanistan has raged for nearly six years. It has ravaged the country and forced nearly five million Afghans to flee their homeland, creating the world's largest refugee problem. This book, based on five clandestine trips into Afghanistan with the resistance, reports on why the war has been so savage and why the resistance so determined. It examines why the Soviets invaded in 1979 and what they seek to defend. Are they simply trying to prop up a tottering Marxist government or is the real Soviet objective the economic pillage of Afghanistan's natural resources ? This is a book in the finest tradition of war reporting from the front line. It paints a vivid portrait of a poor country struggling for independence against Soviet aggression. It is also an indictment of the West's failure to assist the Afghans in their resistance. The description of the heroic work of the French doctors inside Afghanistan and other relief workers involved with the refugees is in sad contrast to the neglect of the Afghan cause shown by Western governments.'

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Red flag over Afghanistan : the Communist coup, the Soviet invasion, and the consequences - Boulder, CO : Westview., 1984

ISBN: 0865314446

Author:

1. Hammond, Thomas Taylor

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Afghan resistance : danger from disunity - London : Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1984.

24 p. : map ; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 161)

Author:

- Hyman, Anthony, 1946-

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Afghanistan's role in Soviet strategy - London : Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1980.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 118)

Author:

1. Rees, David, 1928-

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The Global significance of the occupation of Afghanistan by the U.S.S.R. - Washington : US International Communication Agency, 1980.

## ARTICLES

Brok, Elmar

Gresch, Norbert

Afghanistan : Lehren für ein Zusammenwirken von NATO und EU im internationalen Krisenmanagement.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 53. Jg., Nr. 7, Juli 2004, S. 12-14.

Important steps towards the reconstruction of and state-building in Afghanistan have been taken. In January 2004, the constituent Loya Jirga has adopted a constitution. Elections are scheduled for fall of 2004. However, they will take place only if the security situation is going to be improved and elections in the more remote provinces are possible to be held in a safe and secure environment. The increase in the number of PRTs could contribute to supporting the confidence of the people in the state-building process. At the international Afghanistan Conference in Berlin on 31 March/1 April 2004 the political perspectives for the country were possible to be demonstrated by having the elements of security, reconstruction, and democratization tied up in a compact package. Afghanistan must remain on the top of the agenda of NATO and EU. This is also a test to show how Europe is going to handle the new threats in the 21st century.

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Benini, Aldo A.

Moulton, Lawrence H.

Civilian Victims in an Asymmetrical Conflict : Operation Enduring Freedom, Afghanistan.

JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 41, no. 4, July 2004, p. 403-422.

Like other wars, recent Western military interventions have entailed loss of civilians in the affected countries. As a result of the 'Revolution in Military Affairs', Martin Shaw makes two claims likely to recur in debates on such wars. The first is that those losses were much smaller than the loss of life as a result of previous misrule and oppression. The second is that during these interventions civilians suffered only accidental 'small massacres'. Using victim figures from 600 local communities exposed to hostilities during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the authors test Shaw's claims. They model community victim counts as a function of potential explanatory factors via zero-inflated Poisson regression. Several historic as well as concurrent factors are significant. Moreover, totals work out considerably higher than those offered by previous researchers. These findings are important to several aspects of the new way of war : as a reminder that harm comes not only from direct violence but from indirect effects of munitions; underreporting of civilian losses as a likely systemic feature; and distributions of victims as mediated by histories of war of which Western interventions may be final culminations.

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Ahmed, Samina

Warlords, Drugs, Democracy.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2004, p. 15-17.

Elections in Afghanistan have been postponed until September as a result of security worries and the low level of voter registration achieved so far. Democratic progress there might be a useful asset for American President George Bush in his re-election bid, but serious long-term international attention is needed to prevent a return to chaos and civil war.

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Rubin, Barnett R.  
(Re)Building Afghanistan : The Folly of Stateless Democracy.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 103, no. 672, April 2004, p. 165-170.

Unlike Iraq, in Afghanistan an international consensus supports common goals for the entire operation, providing a test of whether the 'international community' is capable of effective joint action to make societies secure, even when their insecurity threatens the whole world. So far the results indicate that governments and international institutions are not up to the job.

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Gannon, Kathy  
Afghanistan Unbound.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 83, no. 3, May - June 2004, p. 35-46.

Two and a half years after the fall of the Taliban, Afghanistan is once more lapsing into bloody chaos. Although President Hamid Karzai is strong on paper, he is weak in fact. The drug trade is surging, the Taliban are creeping back, and real power rests in the hands of the country's many warlords. Instead of disarming the militias, Washington is using them to hunt the remnants of al Qaeda and the Taliban. But ordinary Afghans are paying the price.

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Maloney, Sean M.  
Afghanistan : From Here to Eternity ?  
PARAMETERS, vol. 34, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 4-15.

The author analyzes America's efforts in Afghanistan and determines we cannot afford to let the situation devolve. The article recounts two years' worth of American-led successes, including the destruction of al Qaeda's base and its Taliban shield. He cautions America to strengthen its resolve in support of the Afghan people if we are to avoid the dire predictions of pundits voicing erroneous Vietnam analogies.

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Hilali, A. Z.

Soviet Decision-Making for the Intervention in Afghanistan and Its Motives.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 16, no. 2, June 2003, p.  
113-144.

The Soviets decided in 1979 to intervene in Afghanistan as part of their global strategy to reduce the influence of the United States, China and Pakistan, and to achieve long-term multi-dimensional foreign policy objectives which were necessary to maintain global domination and to expand the communist ideology. The Soviets proclaimed that they had the right to intervene in the client state to maintain its status quo, which was threatened by domestic upheavals. However, the Soviet Union was unsuccessful in achieving its perceived objectives and ultimately lost political influence and prestige in the world.

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Khamagaev, Alexander

Afghanistan : An Ethnopolitical Portrait : A Unitary or a Federal State ?  
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 4, 2003, p. 132-139.

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Kabulov, Z.

Afghanistan : The Difficult Road to National Revival.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 4, 2003, p. 80-86.

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Ruiz Palmer, Diego A.

The Road to Kabul.

NATO REVIEW, Summer 2003, 4 p., accessed 05/09/03.

NATO's April decision to take responsibility for the command, coordination and planning of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan was groundbreaking. It was also embedded in decisions taken by Alliance leaders in Prague to be prepared to support or lead operations and deploy forces wherever NATO decides. The original ISAF was established by UNSCR 1386 of December 2001 with a mandate to assist the Afghan Transitional Authority maintain security in and around Kabul. Since its creation, it has been led by the United Kingdom, Turkey and currently Germany and the Netherlands with contingents from NATO members, Partner countries and New Zealand. In future, the North Atlantic Council will provide political direction to the operation, in close consultation with non-NATO force contributors. SHAPE will assume the strategic responsibility of operation headquarters and host the ISAF international coordination cell, while AFNORTH will act as the operational-level Joint Force Command headquarters between SHAPE and ISAF headquarters in Kabul. The ISAF commander will be able to draw on specialised assets in areas such as strategic planning, without having to deploy them into Afghanistan, which may, in due course, allow the Alliance to consider expanding ISAF's tasks.

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Haider, Ejaz

Arc of Instability.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2003, p. 25-26.

Afghanistan could either be one end of a growing arc of instability through the Middle East or an early example of gradual, democratic post-conflict nation building. Cross-border tribal loyalties and control of remote areas in Pakistan may well be decisive.

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Rubin, Barnett R.

Transnational Justice and Human Rights in Afghanistan.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 3, May 2003, p. 567-581.

Like other societies emerging from protracted conflict, Afghanistan confronts a legacy of past crimes and violence. Communist rulers, Soviet occupiers, rural resistance fighters, Islamist parties, the Taleban movement, Pakistani volunteers, al-Qaeda members, power-seeking warlords, and the anti-Taliban coalition all contributed more or less to the litany of abuses since 1978. Almost no one in the society has been untouched, and almost no one with any power has clean hands. For these very reasons, caution and care are necessary. Demobilizing and reintegrating tens of thousands of irregular militia, as well as creating new security forces are the necessary conditions for the rest of the peace-building agenda, and, as shown by the author's first-hand experience in the Bonn negotiations over the post-Taliban succession, raising the issue of past crimes prematurely may lead fighters to revert to previous modes of behaviour. He argues for a careful start that emphasizes documenting the scale of the abuses with an emphasis on the suffering of the victims rather than the guilt of the perpetrators, in order gradually to support an Afghan debate on how to reconcile the society with its history.

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Shaw, Geoff

Spencer, David

Fighting in Afghanistan : Lessons from the Soviet Intervention, 1979-89.

DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 19, no. 2, June 2003, p. 177-188.

The authors draw lessons from the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Through their experience in Afghanistan, the Soviet armed forces developed operational and tactical procedures that Western armies had developed in Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and elsewhere. The lessons learned are of more than passing interest, the authors argue, because Soviet objectives were similar to the Allied objectives in Afghanistan today.

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Schetter, Conrad

Der zerbrechliche Frieden in Afghanistan.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2003, S. 31-34.

A little more than a year after the breakdown of the Taliban regime and the establishment of a transitional government, disillusionment and hopes for Afghanistan's future keep a balance. On the one side, the Afghan government succeeded in establishing itself in Kabul within the past year and the presence of more than 1,100 Afghan and international NGOs manifests the good will of the international community to press on Afghanistan's reconstruction. On the other side, armed conflicts and violent clashes are still occurring in Afghanistan. This extremely tense situation is being additionally aggravated by the bad socio-economic conditions. The permanent state of war caused the total devastation of the entire country. Hereditary burdens of the wars are approximately 1.5 million civilian and military casualties, more than ten million antipersonnel mines, an illiteracy rate of over 60 percent, and the flight of up to 6.5 million people to Pakistan and Iran.

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Schlenker, Manfred

Erfahrungen aus dem 2. ISAF-Kontingent in Afghanistan.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2003, S. 14-20.

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Rubin, Barnett R.

Armstrong, Andrea

Regional Issues in the Reconstruction of Afghanistan.

WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 31-40.

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Biddle, Stephen

Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 31-46.

The stunning success of the combination of special operations forces, precision weapons, and indigenous allies in Afghanistan has led some to laud the 'Afghan model' as the future of warfare. Others dismiss it as an anomalous product of local circumstances. But neither position is wholly correct. On closer inspection, the conduct of the war was not as revolutionary as people think.

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Feichtinger, Walter

Ein Jahr 'Krieg gegen Terror' in Afghanistan : 'alter' Krieg mit neuen Waffen ?

OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 2, März - April 2003, S. 163-172.

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Day, John

After Afghanistan : The Role of Air Power.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 6, December 2002, p. 38-43.

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Fenenko, Alexei

Washington's 'Annihilation Strategy' in the Afghan Operation.

CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2002, p. 7-19.

The 'annihilation strategy' that the United States used in Afghanistan came as a result of a dramatic technological breakthrough in the arms sphere. Success in Afghanistan, achieved as a result of a breakthrough in space-based weapons guidance technology, marked a transition from the previous 'revolution' into a new quality, when the weakening of the enemy's military capacity is replaced by the complete destruction of its armed forces. These trends suggest that the first quarter of the new century will be marked by the evolution of a new local conflict strategy wherein priority will be given to space based guidance and adjustment of air strikes while the nuclear deterrence threshold will be progressively lowered through the use of tactical charges and possibly even anti-missile technology. At the same time, this trend changes the political conflict management system per se. Sure, expanding weapons capabilities and transition to unilateral 'annihilation' action elevates the existing superpower to the rank of an incontestable political leader. These trends could eventually lead to a search for a more adequate response to its breakthrough in the military sphere. So the events in Afghanistan can be seen to be raising the key question of the modern security system : will the 'annihilation' model remain but a means of fighting international terrorism or is it going to become standard practice of state interaction in regional conflicts ?

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Marsden, Peter

Afghanistan : The Reconstruction Process.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January 2003, p. 91-105.

In this article the author focuses initially on the degree of support provided by the international community to the interim administration of Afghanistan and notes that the pledges made at the Tokyo Conference do not equate to the per capita levels of funding made available for other recent emergencies. He draws attention to the inter-relationship between security and funding for reconstruction and comments that the recent decision of the US government to join with others in agreeing to finance work to upgrade the major highway system is very timely in shoring up the regime in the wake of the recent assassination attempt on Hamid Karzai. He stresses that the international community needs to provide sustained support to the new government if it is to survive. He also analyses the complex relationship between the administration and the aid community and reports on the calls by the government to be given the major part of the resources allocated by international donors and to be supported to take the lead in determining policy and strategy. The author notes the nature of the Afghan economy and the potential for reconstruction, taking into account the economic impact of the conflict, the progress made by the aid community since 1992, the humanitarian crisis arising from the drought of 1999-2001 and the large scale, mainly involuntary, return of refugees from Pakistan and Iran since March 2002. He comments on the fact that the agricultural economy cannot support its population, on the need for economic safety valves in the form of migration to Pakistan and Iran, on the availability of camps for internally displaced people, and on urbanization. In concluding the author is both optimistic and cautious, noting the fragility of the situation, but also acknowledging that the international community is taking timely action to address it through reconstruction assistance although it remains reluctant to give sufficient priority to security provision.

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Marten, Kimberly Zisk

Defending Against Anarchy : From War to Peacekeeping in Afghanistan.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 35-52.

If Washington does not reevaluate its current approach, Afghanistan's postwar stability might prove short-lived. Here's a look at what kind of peacekeeping force is needed in Afghanistan, how it would operate, and why the United States should lead it.

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Taheri, Amir

Afghanistan : gagner la guerre, perdre la paix ?

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 97, automne 2002, p. 189-196.

The United States won the war in Afghanistan, but are they now losing the peace ? The US military intervention was initially supposed to be short. But troops are still in the field, and their continued presence is raising concerns among other powers. Washington is suspected of seeking to make Afghanistan into a cornerstone of its diplomacy in Central Asia. The Americans are also thought to be intending to use the country to deliver oil from Kazakhstan and other neighboring states. This strategy is risky since it would require the emergence of conditions that will prove very difficult - and perhaps impossible - to achieve. It supposes a strong central power in Kabul, whereas this power is traditionally weak in a bitterly divided country. Only a federal solution combined with the withdrawal of US troops will avoid yet another bloody civil war.

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Afghanistan.

PERCEPTIONS, vol. 7, no. 1, March - May 2002, Whole Issue.

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Balaj, Barbara

Rebuilding Afghanistan.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 90-94.

Afghanistan desperately needs help. After two decades of civil war it has one of the most appalling records of any country in the world. Some 70 % of the population are malnourished; 64 % are illiterate. Infant mortality is one of the highest on the globe. What are the IMF, World Bank, and the EU doing about this ?

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Cryer, Robert

The Fine Art of Friendship : Jus in Bello in Afghanistan.

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 37-83.

The armed conflicts in Afghanistan have been surrounded by an almost unprecedented level of public debate relating to the law of armed conflict. This article seeks to provide an assessment of both the ground and air campaigns by the Coalition and their Afghan allies, primarily the Northern Alliance. Taking as its point of departure the idea that how someone (the Coalition) treats their friends (Afghan civilians) and how that person's friends (currently the Northern Alliance) treat others reflects back upon them, this article evaluates the Coalition and Northern Alliance campaigns in Afghanistan. The nature of the various conflicts is investigated, as is, for the air campaign, the targeting process and weapon choice of the Coalition. In relation to the ground war, the actions of the Northern Alliance/United Front and the Coalition are subjected to scrutiny, in particular from the point of the rules relating to surrender and the treatment of detainees. The article identifies some areas of concern, although nothing attributable to the Coalition rising remotely close to the level of the shocking attacks on the United States on September 11.

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Hawkins, William R.

What Not to Learn from Afghanistan.

PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 24-32.

The author bases his thesis on the principle that it is the combined arms team that will be required to win decisive victories in the future. The author's insightful review of the history of airpower warns against radically changing the US forces based on the lessons of the Balkans and Afghanistan. Those advocating the restructuring of the US military toward lighter forces, whether in the Clinton 'peacekeeping' mode or for the current anti-terrorism operations, must realize the difficulty in rapidly upgrading forces to meet a greater threat. Hawkins concludes that it would be foolhardy to dismantle the military forces that have demonstrated their ability to counter America's adversaries.

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Ottaway, Marina  
Lieven, Anatol  
Rebuilding Afghanistan.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 653, March 2002, p. 133-138.

In the past several decades, the international community has relied on three approaches to deal with countries that descend into chaos. It has supported strongmen capable of reimposing order by force; it has given up in despair, leaving the country to sort out its problems as best it can; and, most recently, it has embarked on ambitious projects to reconstruct the country in the image of a modern secular, multiethnic, and democratic state. None of these approaches should be used in Afghanistan.

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Bearden, Milton  
Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 6, November - December 2001, p. 17-30.

The first engagement in the new war on terrorism - with Osama bin Ladin in Afghanistan - poses severe challenges for the United States. Rooting out bin Ladin's network will require military success in a country that the Soviet Union could not conquer in ten years of trying, as well as support from unstable surrounding nations. Washington may be tempted to try to oust the Taliban regime, but doing so could rekindle Afghanistan's brutal civil war. The United States must proceed with caution - or end up on the ash heap of Afghan history.

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Delcorde, Raoul

Geopolitique de l'Afghanistan.

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 86-92.

L'Afghanistan est un espace enclavé qui a, pourtant, été un verrou stratégique convoité par ses voisins. La variété des ethnies, que l'on regroupe entre Pachtouns (environ 40% de la population) et non-Pachtouns a rendu toujours délicat l'exercice du pouvoir à Kaboul. Les luttes fratricides entre Moudjahidin après le départ des troupes soviétiques facilitèrent l'arrivée des Taliban, soutenus par le Pakistan. Ceux-ci aggravèrent la division et la fragmentation du pays sur des bases religieuses et tribales et enfoncèrent le pays dans une économie de contrebande. Avec l'installation de bases du groupe Al-Qaïda, le régime des Taliban a pu bénéficier du soutien armé de Ben Laden : isolé, ce régime s'est radicalisé puis s'est trouvé en confrontation directe avec les Etats-Unis et une large partie de la communauté internationale. L'Onu et l'Union européenne réfléchissent déjà à l'avenir de ce pays, après le départ des Taliban. Il faudra recomposer la délicate texture ethnique, trouver des formules acceptables pour les Afghans et reconstruire ce pays abîmé par vingt années de guerre et de troubles.

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Rashid, Ahmed

The Taliban : Exporting Extremism.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 6, November - December 1999, p. 22-35.

Across one of the world's most sensitive regions, radical Islam and repressive politics are gaining ground. As they consolidate their power over Afghanistan, the Taliban are starting to destabilize the entire surrounding area - and beyond. Muslim fundamentalists from around the globe study revolution under their tutelage, rebel armies find sanctuary on their turf, and the drugs and other goods that are smuggled out of the country are undermining the economies of Afghanistan's Central Asia neighbors. The Great Game has changed, and the West must learn the new rules.

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Khalilzad, Zalmay

Byman, Daniel

Afghanistan : The Consolidation of a Rogue State.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 65-78.

It is imperative that the US initiate a proactive offensive on the Taliban, whose agenda presents a significant threat to its national security and moral leadership. By aiding the Taliban's victims, supporting moderate Afghans, and elevating the importance of Afghanistan at home, the US can implement a policy that will prevent this group from further consolidating its power and asserting itself as an uncontrollable rogue state.

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Niedermayer, Hermann

Vingt ans de guerre en Afghanistan : un couvercle difficile à sceller.

REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 34, été 1999, p. 196-207.

L'Afghanistan est en conflit depuis vingt ans. La lutte contre l'occupant soviétique dans les années 80 s'est aujourd'hui muée en guerre civile entre factions afghanes. Le départ des Soviétiques et une alliance entre les Moudjahidin permirent d'espérer une stabilisation du pays. Cependant, les intérêts économiques - transit du pétrole et du gaz d'Asie centrale - attisèrent les convoitises et contribuèrent à la reprise des combats. Un mouvement émergent, les Taliban, soutenu par des puissances étrangères, parvint rapidement à contrôler la majeure partie du territoire afghan. Ces derniers, par leur prosélytisme religieux, constituent une menace pour la stabilité régionale : en cette fin de siècle, le radicalisme sunnite semble prendre l'ascendant sur l'intégrisme chiite iranien.

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Hilali, A. Z.

Afghanistan : The Decline of Soviet Military Strategy and Political Status.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1999,  
p. 94-123.

Afghanistan is a tribal, religious and traditional country and has always resisted foreign domination. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan provoked the Afghans to liberate the country from Soviet occupation. They have proved themselves a hard nut to crack. The 'Evil Empire' proved unable to snuff out the flame of freedom and stifle the indomitable courage of the Afghan warriors. Thus, Afghanistan was an unachievable political and military target for the Soviets. Strategically, the Soviet tactics failed and their performance was incompetent and ineffective. The war also proved the competency and credibility of Western weapons over Soviet military technology. Consequently, the Soviets learned a hard lesson. The war was surely an unwanted drain on the Soviet budget. It became a 'bleeding wound' which eventually contributed to the collapse of the empire and its ideology.

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Rubin, Barnett R.

Afghanistan under the Taliban.

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 625, February 1999, p. 79-91.

A wide-ranging look at the origins of Afghanistan's new rulers, and the regional - and American - response to their rise in power.

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Barry, Michael

Afghanistan : les seminaristes de la guerre.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 74, hiver 1996 - 1997, p. 69-96.

The (provisional) victory of the Afghan Taleban raises a number of questions as to the nature of a bloody conflict which has cast a shadow over the country for the last four years. Do the Taleban represent some kind of return to the Middle Ages, or is their victory one of the 'pure' provinces against a 'corrupt' city ? Or is it a planned offensive by Islamic extremists ? But the very complexity of the Afghan situation resists such simplistic explanations. Economic concerns implicating both regional powers and the United States add to the problems of a country already riven by ethnic divisions. Particularly relevant to an understanding of recent events in Kabul is the mutually hostile relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan that has reigned for the past fifty years, on account of the Pashto question. The civil war in Afghanistan can be seen as a determined attempt on the part of the Pakistanis to prevent the rebirth of a sovereign Afghan state. In spite of Islamabad's unstable political environment, Pakistan's objectives are unchanged, while US support hold firm for the moment, despite the Taleban's brutal score-settling. The outlook is grim, and it seems likely that the conflict can only continue.

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Maley, William

The Future of Islamic Afghanistan.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 24, no. 4, December 1993, p. 383-396.

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Mendelson, Sarah E.

Internal Battles and External Wars : Politics, Learning, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan.

WORLD POLITICS, vol. 45, no. 3, April 1993, p. 327-360.

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Singleton, Seth

The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan.

ATLANTIC COMMUNITY QUARTERLY, vol. 19, no. 2, Summer 1981, p. 186-200.

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Rubinstein, Alvin  
The Soviet Union and Afghanistan.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 82, no. 486, October 1983, p. 318-321, 337-338.

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Hyman, Anthony  
The Struggle for Afghanistan.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 40, no. 7, July 1984, p. 276-284.

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Heyns, Terry L.  
Will Afghanistan Become the Soviet Union's Vietnam ?  
MILITARY REVIEW, vol. 61, no. 10, October 1981, p. 50-59.

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Hart, Douglas M.  
Low-Intensity Conflict in Afghanistan : the Soviet View.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 24, no. 2, March - April 1982, p. 61-68.

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Garrity, Patrick J.  
The Soviet Military Stake in Afghanistan : 1956-1979.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 125, no. 3, September 1980, p. 31-37.

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Collins, Joseph J.  
The Soviet Military Experience in Afghanistan.  
MILITARY REVIEW, vol. 65, no. 5, May 1985, p. 16-28.

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Chaffetz, David  
Afghanistan in Turmoil.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 56, no. 1, January 1980, p. 15-36.

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Encausse, Helene Carrere d'  
Les sovietiques en Afghanistan : un nouveau Cuba ?  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 6, hiver 1979 - 1980, p. 21-38.

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Blank, Stephen  
Imagining Afghanistan : Lessons of A 'Small' War.  
JOURNAL OF SOVIET MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 3, September  
1990, p. 468-490.

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Blank, Stephen  
After Afghanistan : Reassessing Soviet Capabilities and Policies for Power  
Projection.  
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 9, no. 2, 1990, p. 117-136.

This article examines some of the lessons learned by the USSR in both the military and political domains of strategy as a result of the Afghanistan war and Soviet experience there. These lessons apply both to the ongoing processes of reorganization of Soviet force structure and operational art in Europe and the Third World as well as to the political dimension involved in crises in the latter. Moreover, these lessons demonstrate the implementation by Moscow of a new, more nuanced and diversified military-political strategy to deal with Third World crises.

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Fane, Daria  
After Afghanistan : The Decline of Soviet Military Prestige.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 1990, p. 5-16.

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Davison, Kenneth L.

The Geopolitics of the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan.

STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 18, no. 1, Winter 1990, p. 39-48.

Given the clear assumption that perpetual military occupation was never part of the Soviet gameplan in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of forces from that battered country cannot be adjudged a strategic setback for Moscow. In fact, Moscow has advanced its objectives not only in Southwest Asia - with Pakistan as the key target - but on a broad international front, including prominently the Asia-Pacific region. Only a patient U.S. policy aimed particularly at Pakistan and Iran can deny those objectives and make the Soviet withdrawal into a true historic defeat.