# U.S.-Soviet Global Competition A Brief Chronology

#### 1977

**January 20, 1977** - Jimmy Carter is inaugurated the 39th President of the United States. (NYT 1/21/77)

**February 3, 1977** - Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam seizes power in Ethiopia and moves the country away from its pro-American stance. (Garthoff, p. 579)

**February 16, 1977** - The Carter Administration declares its willingness to establish "normal" relations with Angola but indicates that the first step toward normalization must be the removal of Cuban forces from the region. (*The United States and Angola, 1974-88: A Chronology, 2/89*)

**February 24, 1977** - Due to human rights violations by the Ethiopian government against the Eritreans, the United States suspends all military aid to Ethiopia. (ICAR3; Garthoff, p. 631)

March 1, 1977 - Carter asks Vance to travel to the Middle East on his first overseas mission as Secretary of State, reflecting the need to attach a "very high and early priority" to the region. (Statement by the Secretary of State Before the House International Relations Committee, 3/1/77)

March 7-8, 1977 - Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin meets with President Carter in Washington. (Sobel, p. 133)

March 14, 1977 - Fidel Castro arrives in Ethiopia as part of an African tour to promote a peaceful solution between the "two revolutionary regimes" in Addis Ababa and Mogadishu and a "socialist federation." Somali President Siad Barre sharply criticizes Castro for his failure to understand the elements of the Ogaden conflict; he feels betrayed by Castro in the same way that he is beginning to feel wronged by Moscow. (ICAR1)

**April 1977** - Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny visits Mogadishu to press for a rapprochement between Ethiopia and Somalia. (ICAR3)

<sup>\*</sup> This abbreviated chronology targets the issues relevant to the Ft. Lauderdale conference, emphasizing the most significant events. A far more extensive version will be available for reference at the conference. Malcolm Byrne and Jim Hershberg compiled this version.

- **April 4-5, 1977** Egyptian President Anwar Sadat meets with Carter in Washington. (Sobel, p. 136)
- **April 23, 1977** Mengistu expels U.S. military advisers from Ethiopia and closes the U.S. intelligence station. (Garthoff, p. 579)
- **April 28, 1977** The United States announces a halt to pending arms deliveries and cancels the remaining \$100 million in credits for arms sales to Ethiopia. (Garthoff, p. 632)
- May 7, 1977 Ethiopia and the Soviet Union sign a joint declaration of friendship and a protocol on economic and technical cooperation. (ICAR2)
- May 21, 1977 At Geneva, Vance and Gromyko announce agreement that "elimination of the continuing source of tension in the Middle East constitutes one of the primary tasks in ensuring peace and international security." They agree to work toward resuming the Geneva Conference in the fall of 1977. (Joint Communique Issued by the Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Geneva, 5/21/77)
- **June-July 1977** Somalia increases its incursions into the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and launches a large-scale invasion. (Garthoff, p. 579)
- June 21, 1977 Menachem Begin becomes prime minister of Israel. (Sobel, p. 143)
- **July 4, 1977** Sadat accepts Begin's proposal that the Geneva peace talks resume in October. This agreement later breaks down as the two parties are unable to agree on conference arrangements. (Sobel, pp. 146, 158-163)
- August 26-29, 1977 During talks between Somali President Barre and Gromyko, the Soviets insist on Somali withdrawal from the Ogaden in Ethiopia. The talks collapse. (ICAR3)
- Late August-September 1977 Dobrynin and Vance meet a number of times to discuss the draft text of a statement on the Middle East. In the statement, the Soviets commit themselves to the goal of normal relations between the Arabs and Israelis and refrains from supporting an independent Palestinian state. While the Soviets wanted to include the phrase "legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people," the State Department convinces them to remove the word "national" from the statement. (Vance, pp. 191-193)
- September 17, 1977 China conducts an atmospheric nuclear test. (FAC, p. 5)
- **September 21, 1977** Vance prepares to meet with Gromyko to discuss the Soviet position on South African nuclear matters. Vance is to request "quiet cooperation" with the Soviets on this issue. (*Your Meeting with Gromyko: South African Nuclear Issue*, 9/21/77)
- October 1, 1977 Vance and Gromyko make public the joint U.S.-Soviet communique on the Middle East, promising to start a Geneva conference by December. The next day,

Israel rejects the statement as "unacceptable" because it would involve the PLO. (Sobel, p. 159)

October 4-5, 1977 - Carter and Vance meet with Moshe Dayan to discuss the Israeli reaction to the joint U.S.-Soviet statement of October 1. (Vance, pp. 192-193)

October 11, 1977 - The Israelis agree to a peace conference but only after the U.S. accedes to an Israeli working paper that weakens the mandate of such a conference. For example, the U.S.-Israeli paper gives Israel a virtual veto on PLO participation in the conference. This reaffirms an assurance that Kissinger had made in 1975. (Garthoff, p. 581)

**November 8, 1977** - Anwar Sadat informs Carter he is considering traveling to Jerusalem. The following day, he announces in a speech to the Egyptian People's Assembly, "I am ready to go...to the Knesset itself and to talk to them." (Vance, p. 194; Address by the President of Egypt (Sadat) Before the Egyptian People's Assembly, 11/9/77)

**November 13, 1977** - Citing the continuous Soviet military build-up in Ethiopia since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in September 1974, Somalia expels all Soviet advisers, abrogates the 1974 Somali-Soviet treaty of friendship and breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba. (McLellan, pp. 48-49; Garthoff, p. 579)

November 19-21, 1977 - Sadat visits Israel and suggests that he was prepared to make peace with and recognize Israel in exchange for an acceptable settlement with the Palestinians. Arrangements for the trip are made by Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. (Sobel, pp. 167, 171)

**November 26, 1977** - The Soviet Union begins a massive sea and air lift of arms to Ethiopia. (ICAR1)

November 26, 1977 - Sadat invites all parties to the Middle East conflict, including the U.S. and USSR, to a meeting in Cairo. Israel and the United States accept, while Lebanon and the Soviet Union reject the invitation. (Sobel, pp. 179-181)

November 29, 1977 - Perceiving the Sadat visit to Jerusalem as a move to exclude Moscow from involvement in the Middle East peace process, Gromyko attacks the visit and privately informs the U.S. that he will not attend the Cairo conference to which Sadat has invited the Soviet Union. For his part, Carter hails it as "an historic breakthrough" in the Middle East peace process. Carter notes that the United States has "played a close consultative role with both of these leaders" and, "on several instances recently, acted as intermediaries at their request." The President asserts: "We have played, I think, a proper role,."(Carter, pp. 223-224; Garthoff, p. 582; Statement by the President at a News Conference, 11/30/77)

**December 1977** - The first Cuban tank, artillery and aviation advisers arrive at the request of the Ethiopian government. (ICAR2)

**December 21, 1977** - In a letter to Brezhnev, Carter raises U.S. concerns about Soviet positions in the Middle East and the Horn. (Text of letter; Brzezinski, p. 180)

**December 29, 1977** - Carter begins a six-nation trip that includes Poland. (Replies by the President to Questions Asked at A News Conference, Warsaw, 12/30/77; NYT 12/30/77)

#### 1978

January 1978 - Gromyko proposes a joint U.S.-Soviet mediation effort to deal with the problems in the Horn of Africa; but the United States dismisses the proposal because it would, according to Brzezinski, serve to "legitimize the Soviet presence in the Horn." (Brzezinski, pp. 180-181)

Late January-Early February 1978 - With the support of Soviet and Cuban troops and advisers, Ethiopia begins a counteroffensive against Somali troops in the Ogaden. (McLellan, p. 49; Garthoff, p. 641)

**February 1978** - Carter assures Mengistu that the United States intends to continue to support Ethiopia's territorial integrity unconditionally. (ICAR1)

**February 21, 1978** - At a Special Coordination Committee meeting, Brzezinski links Soviet actions in Africa to progress on the SALT Treaty. Vance and Brown oppose the notion, and the Committee recommends that there be "no direct linkage between Soviet and Cuban actions in the Horn and bilateral activities involving either country and the United States." (Brzezinski, pp. 181-184)

March 9, 1978 - Carter announces that Somalia has agreed to withdraw its army completely from Ethiopia and that "withdrawal of the Soviet and Cuban military presence should begin." (Garthoff, pp. 591-592, 642)

March 15, 1978 - The Chinese conduct an atmospheric nuclear test, its first since September 17, 1977. (FAC, p. 5)

May 11, 1978 - Four thousand Katangan rebels from Angola invade Shaba Province in Zaire. (NYT 5/15/78)

May 12, 1978 - Carter attacks Cuba for intervention in Africa, human rights violations and subservience to the USSR. (NYT 5/14/78)

May 18-20, 1978 - French and Belgian paratroopers, flown in by U.S. aircraft, rescue European hostages taken by Katangan rebels in Zaire. Soviet spokesmen criticize this as U.S.-supported intervention. (Garthoff, p. 596)

- May 21-23, 1978 Brzezinski visits Beijing for talks with Chinese leaders about U.S. strategic plans, technological assistance, plans for countering Soviet policy and political collaboration in Africa and other areas. Carter has instructed Brzezinski to tell the Chinese that the U.S. has "made up its mind" to begin a "new phase in the American-Chinese relationship." During his mission, Brzezinski talks about the "polar bear" to the north and states that the Soviets support "international marauders" in Africa. In his banquet toast, Brzezinski states that "[o]nly those aspiring to dominate others have any reason to fear the further development of American-Chinese relations." (Garthoff, pp. 599, 702; Brzezinski, pp. 209-219)
- May 27, 1978 Carter meets with Gromyko. (Memoranda of Conversation)
- May 31, 1978 During a meeting with Vance, Gromyko wonders if the "explosion" of anti-Soviet rhetoric in the U.S. indicates a return to a cold war environment.
- June 7, 1978 Carter makes a major speech on U.S.-Soviet relations at the U.S. Naval Academy. (Address by the President at the U.S. Naval Academy's Commencement Exercises, Annapolis, 6/7/78; Garthoff, p. 602)
- June 8, 1978 In an attempt to improve U.S.-PRC relations, the Carter Administration reverses an earlier decision and approves the sale of infrared scanning equipment to the PRC that was denied to the Soviet Union. (NYT 6/9/78)
- June 20, 1978 In a major speech on Africa, Vance states that the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops in Africa "raises serious concerns," that apartheid in South Africa can only have an adverse impact on relations with the United States and that the United States will increase efforts to promote Zaire-Angola reconciliation. (Address by the Secretary of State Before the Annual Meeting of the U.S. Jaycees, Atlantic City, 6/20/78)
- **June 22-25, 1978** The United States holds bilateral talks with the Angolan government at the latter's invitation. (*US/Angolan Bilateral Talks in Luanda*, 7/6/78)
- **July 13, 1978** In a separate session during their meeting, Vance tells Gromyko that Israel and Egypt have both put forward proposals regarding the West Bank and Gaza, and have advanced propositions for a more general declaration of principles on which to base a comprehensive agreement on the Middle East. (*Third Vance-Gromyko Plenary Meeting*, 7/13/78)
- July 15, 1978 Supported by a Cuban- and Soviet-trained people's militia, Ethiopia launches an offensive against Eritrea. (ICAR1, ICAR2)
- September 17, 1978 Carter, Begin, and Sadat sign a "Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David" and a "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel." The agreements become known as the Camp David Accords. (PPP, Vol. II, 1978, p. 1523)

September 20, 1978 - In response to the Camp David Accords, Brezhnev recommends that Carter use the Geneva Conference format rather than the Camp David format. Gromyko also reacts to the Accords saying the Israelis benefited from the meeting while Sadat and the Arabs "gained nothing." (Carter, pp. 406-407)

September 22, 1978 - Brezhnev assails the Camp David Accords as "a separate collusion that covers up the surrender of one side and consolidates the fruits of aggression on the other," adding that the accords "can only make the situation in the Middle East even more explosive." (Sobel, p. 227)

October 16, 1978 - Karol Cardinal Wojtyla of Poland is elected the 264th Pontiff and takes the name John Paull II. (Pastor, p. 268)

October 21-24, 1978 - Vance meets with Gromyko in Moscow, but the talks produce "little movement," according to Vance. (Vance, p. 107; Garrison)

**November 17, 1978** - Brezhnev writes to Carter concerning Iran. Two days later, in a formal response to a warning from Brezhnev not to intervene in Iran, Vance denies any U.S. intention to do so. On November 22, Carter responds to Brezhnev's November 17 letter. (Garrison; FAC, p. 16)

November 20, 1978 - Ethiopia launches another offensive against Eritrea. The same day, The Soviets sign a treaty of friendship with Ethiopia. (ICAR1; Garthoff, p. 618)

**November 21-23, 1978 -** Donald McHenry and Ambassador Moose visit Angola. (NYT 11/17/78)

**December 14, 1978 -** China conducts an atmospheric nuclear test. (FAC, p. 5; NYT 12/24/78)

**December 15, 1978** - Brzezinski meets with Dobrynin and shocks him by telling him "out of the blue" that the U.S. will, that same day, issue a communique with China announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations as of January 1. Dobrynin's "face turned kind of gray and his jaw dropped." The same day, Carter announces the news publicly. (McLellan, p. 122; Garthoff, p. 708; Joint Communique Issued by the United States and the People's Republic of China, Washington, D.C., 12/15/78)

### 1979

**January 1, 1979 -** The United States and China formally resume ties. (NYT 1/2/79)

January 1-9, 1979 - Ethiopia launches its third offensive against Eritrea. (ICAR1)

**January 16, 1979** - The Shah of Iran and Empress Farah leave Iran for Aswan, Egypt. (NYT 1/17/79)

**January 24, 1979** - At the invitation of the Soviet Union, the Pope meets with Gromyko. (FAC, p. 34)

January 29-February 1, 1979 - Deng Xiaoping meets with Carter in Washington and the U.S. re-establishes full relations with the PRC. During the visit, Carter authorizes Brzezinski to begin special talks on intelligence coordination that eventually culminate in an agreement on collecting technical intelligence on Soviet missile tests. (Garthoff, p. 718-721)

**February 14, 1979** - U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Adolph Dubs is kidnapped and taken by force to a room at the Kabul Hotel where he is later killed during a rescue attempt by Afghan security forces. (*The Kidnapping and Death of Ambassador Adolph Dubs*, 2/80; WP 2/22/79)

**February 17, 1979** - China invades Vietnam. At the outset, the U.S. sends a note on the hot line recommending that the Soviet Union not take any steps that could worsen the situation. The U.S. indicates it would also exercise restraint. Soviet leaders accuse the U.S. of complicity in the incursion. (Garthoff, pp. 721, 723; Carter, p. 237)

**February 20, 1979** - In a speech at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Carter states that the events in Iran, Afghanistan and Southeast Asia will not mandate a revision in U.S. policy. He warns other countries, namely the Soviet Union, against interfering in Iran. (Address by the President at the Georgia Institute of Technology, 2/20/79, NYT 2/21/79)

**February 24, 1979** - Vance meets with Dobrynin and cautions against Soviet military involvement in the Vietnam conflict. (Garthoff, p. 724)

**February 28, 1979** - The United States accelerates deliveries of defensive arms previously committed to North Yemen in response to requests by that government. (Statement Issued by the Department of State, 2/28/79)

March 19, 1979 - According to the program "Special File," broadcast on the Russian Television Network on July 14, 1992, Prime Minister Kosygin reads to Soviet Politburo members the transcript of a telephone conversation he has had with Afghan Prime Minister Taraki. The date of the conversation is not given. Kosygin begins by asking Taraki to "outline the situation in Afghanistan," to which Taraki responds: "The situation is bad and getting worse." Asked for his proposals, Taraki says: "We ask that you extend practical and technical assistance, involving people and arms." He presses the Soviet Prime Minister: "Why can't you send Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmens in civilian clothing? No one will recognize them. We want you to send them. They could drvie [sic] tanks, because we have all these nationalities in Afghanistan. Let them don Afghan costume and wear Afghan badges and no one will recognize them." Kosygin demurs, saying: "You are, of course, oversimplifying the issue. It is a complex political and international issue, but, irrespective of this, we will hold consultations again and will get back to you." (FBIS, SOV-92-138, 7/17/92)

- March 23, 1979 The United States warns the Soviet Union against interfering in the fighting in Afghanistan between rebel and government forces. Noting recent increased movement of Soviet advisors and military equipment into Afghanistan, State Department spokesman Hodding Carter says that while aid to the pro-Soviet government would not be considered interference, actual participation in combat by Soviet forces would destabilize the whole area. He says that there is no indication that Soviet troops have engaged in combat against the Muslim rebels. (WP 3/24/79)
- March 26, 1979 In Washington, Sadat and Begin sign a peace treaty ending the 31-year state of war between their two countries. (Sobel, p. 252)
- March 27, 1979 Hafizullah Amin is appointed Afghanistan's prime minister while retaining his position as foreign minister. Nur Mohammad Taraki maintains his positions as president, secretary-general of the PDPA and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. (Sen Gupta, pp. 69-70; Urban, p. 31)
- March 30-April 11, 1979 Ethiopia launches its fourth offensive against Eritrea. (ICAR1)
- May 1979 Pentagon planners present "Consolidated Guidance No. 8" to Brown. The guidance proposes U.S. assistance in strengthening the Chinese military strength so that China could assist the West in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. (Garthoff, p. 750)
- June 16-18, 1979 Carter meets with Brezhnev at Vienna, where they sign the SALT II agreement. In one of his statements, Carter criticizes Soviet policy in Africa and Vietnam. He also declares that improvement in U.S-Chinese relations will not be at the expense of relations with Moscow. (Text of documents from Vienna; McLellan, p. 124; Garthoff, pp. 732-740, 762; Carter, pp. 247-260; Brzezinski, pp. 340-344)
- June 29, 1979 The Soviet Politburo discusses sending a special military unit to Afghanistan, according to the Russian television program "Special File" of July 14, 1992. On December 6, 1979, according to a document described as "protocol 176," the Politburo again considers the issue (see entry). (FBIS, SOV-92-138, 7/17/92)
- July 14-26, 1979 Ethiopia launches its fifth offensive against Eritrea. (ICAR1)
- **July 17, 1979** Somoza relinquishes power and leaves Nicaragua for the United States. (Nicaragua)
- August 1979 According to the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, at about this time Moscow concludes that there is no favorable alternative in Afghanistan to President Taraki and Prime Minister Amin. However, the Soviet Union is said to have decided to support the more moderate Taraki against Amin. (*Dialogue on Afghanistan*, 10/19/79)

**August 6, 1979** - To counter the recent growth of Soviet weapons directed against Western Europe, the United States discloses its July offer to deploy 200-600 mediumrange Pershing II and cruise missiles capable of reaching the Soviet Union. (NYT 8/7/79)

August 17, 1979 - Thirteen Soviet generals and six colonels, led by Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Ground Forces Gen. Ivan Pavlovskiy, arrive in Afghanistan for what becomes a two-month stay. His visit is not announced in the Kabul press. (Pavlovskiy Mission to Kabul, 9/2/79; [Continuation of the Steps Taken to Begin an Intelligence Relationship with the Bazargan Government], 9/19/79; Garthoff, p. 905; Arnold, p. 81)

August 30-October 1, 1979 - Beginning with a remark by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) to the effect that U.S. intelligence has confirmed the existence of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba, the "brigade" controversy gets underway. On September 25 and 27, a climax of sorts occurs when Carter and Brezhnev correspond over the hot line. On October 1, Carter delivers a speech to the nation accepting Soviet assurances about the nature of the unit being a training center. (Garthoff, p. 828ff.)

Early September 1979 - Brzezinski briefs Carter on his view that events in Poland reflect "a significant change in the Soviet world and a sign of decreasing Soviet control." He recommends stepping up contacts inside Poland and boosting economic aid. (Brzezinski, p. 464)

**September 16, 1979 -** After the Ogaden war, President Barre of Somalia expresses disappointment with Soviet support of Ethiopia, but seeks U.S. military and economic assistance. To gain U.S. support, he creates a new Constitution. (ICAR3)

**September 16, 1979** - At 8:00 p.m. local time, Kabul Television announces that Nur Mohammad Taraki has informed the PDPA Politburo and the Revolutionary Council that he is no longer able to continue his duties. October 8, Taraki is killed on Amin's order. (Garthoff, p. 908; Anwar, p. 181; Urban, p. 38; *Hafizullah Amin Takes Over Rule in Afghanistan*, 9/16/79)

October 3, 1979 - A think piece by Harold Brown suggests that the United States should increase China's military potential so that China will be an ally in case of war with the Soviet Union. The same day, Vance reaffirms the United States' ban on the sale of arms to China, apparently to calm Soviet fears of strengthened U.S.-PRC ties. (NYT 10/4/79 & 10/5/79)

October 3, 1979 - In a cable from the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Bruce Amstutz estimates that the number of Soviet uniformed personnel in Afghanistan is now 7,200. This number, the Embassy believes, is probably on the conservative side and includes 4,200 Soviet combat personnel and 3,000 military advisors. The latter often serve in combat against rebel forces and thus can at times be categorized as combat troops. Some shift back to advisory roles once their regions have been stabilized. (Soviet Combat Troops in Afghanistan, 10/3/79)

**November 4, 1979** - The U.S. Embassy in Tehran is attacked and seized by Iranian "students following the Imam's line." Sixty-six Americans are taken hostage in an effort to force the United States to extradite the former Shah who is undergoing medical treatment in New York. (Iran Chronology, pp. 94-96)

**November 5-12, 1979** - The head of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, visits the United States. (The US Visit of UNITA President Jonas Savimbi, 11/7/79; Savimbi Channel to US, 12/6/79; Exchange of Information on Angola: Savimbi Visit to the US, Internal MPLA Situation, 12/18/79' Letter to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance Pertaining to Meeting between Jonas Savimbi and Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, 11/19/79)

**November 9, 1979** - By a 9-6 vote, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommends SALT II ratification. The next day, the Senate Armed Services Committee votes 10-0 against ratification. (Garthoff, p. 743; NYT 11/10/79)

**November 28, 1979** - Lt. Gen. Viktor Semenovich Paputin, Soviet deputy minister of internal affairs, arrives in Kabul for official talks. Late in the month, Marshal Sergei Sokolov sets up headquarters in the Soviet city of Termez near the border with Afghanistan; Warsaw Pact forces are placed in an advanced state of readiness. (Arnold, pp. 91-92)

Late 1979-Early 1980 - The Policy Review Committee and Special Coordination Committee meet during this period to discuss continuing U.S. "quiet assistance" to Poland. (Brzezinski, p. 464)

**December 2-16, 1979** - Eritrea launches a counter-offensive against Ethiopia, causing a military stalemate. (ICAR1)

December 6, 1979 - At a Politburo meeting, Soviet leaders discuss the situation in Afghanistan, according to the Russian television program "Special File," broadcast on July 14, 1992. The program describes an "extract from protocol number 176" which deals with a request from President Hafizullah Amin. The protocol reportedly reads: "Taking into account the situation that has emerged and Amin's request we deem it expedient to send to Afghanistan a special unit--trained for these purposes--of the General Staff's Chief Intelligence Directorate, numbering in total some 500 people, in uniforms which do not betray its membership of the USSR armed forces." The document refers to a decision to this effect of June 29, 1979, (see entry). The document continues, envisioning sending the unit to Afghanistan "during the first 10 days of December this year." The document ends with "Comrade Ustinov agrees" and is signed: "Andropov, Ogarkov." Other documents purported to come from top-level Politburo and Central Committee meetings are read on the televised program describing Soviet actions in Afghanistan. (FBIS, SOV-92-138, 7/17/92)

**December 13-14, 1979** - At the NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Brussels, the Council backs missile deployment. In his memoirs, Gromyko cites NATO's decision as another reason why the United States would not have ratified SALT II even if the Soviet Union had not invaded Afghanistan. (Gromyko, p. 148; NYT 12/15/79)

**December 26, 1979** - The Soviet Union carries out a 150-plane airlift of troops and field equipment into Afghanistan. State Department spokesman Hodding Carter says that the Soviet military build-up on the border of Afghanistan has reached the equivalent of five divisions. The next day, Amin is found with a bullet in his head. (WP 12/27/79; Anwar, pp. 187-190)

**December 28, 1979** - Carter sends Brezhnev a message on the hot line about Afghanistan; Brezhnev responds two days later. Meanwhile, Vance states in a cable that the "very substantial military buildup" of Soviet forces along the Soviet-Afghan border signifies that the USSR has "additional military objectives beyond the change of government in Kabul." (Carter, p. 472; Our Assessment of Recent Events in Afghanistan, 12/28/79)

**December 30, 1979-January 4, 1980 -** High-level Carter Administration policy makers meet to discuss policy toward the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. (Carter, pp. 474, 476; Brzezinski, p. 431; Garthoff, p. 951)

**December 31, 1979** - In an interview, Carter says Brezhnev was "not telling the facts accurately" when he claimed that the Soviet Union had been "invited" by the Afghan government. Carter also states that "my opinion of the Russians has changed most [more] drastically in the last week than even the previous two and one-half years before that." (Replies by the President to Questions Asked at an Interview with Correspondent Frank Reynolds of ABC, 12/31/79; FAC, p. 40)

## KEY TO CITATIONS

A number of declassified and unclassified documents from the collections of the National Security Archive appear in this chronology. They are cited by title (in italics) and date of origin. Where no title exists, Archive staff have provided descriptions of the documents' contents, which appear in brackets. Other citations have been abbreviated as follows:

**Anwar** = Anwar, Raja. The Tragedy of Afghanistan. London: Verson, 1988.

**Arnold** = Arnold, Anthony. *Afghanistan, the Soviet Invasion in Perspective*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1981.

**Brzezinski** = Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Power and Principle*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1983.

Carter = Carter, Jimmy. Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President. New York: Bantam, 1982.

**DOS Bulletin** = Department of State Bulletin, February 1989.

**FAC** = Foreign Affairs Chronology: 1978-1989. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1990.

**FBIS** = Foreign Broadcast Information Service

**Garrison** = References provided courtesy of Mark Garrison.

**Garthoff** = Garthoff, Raymond. *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations From Nixon to Reagan*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985.

**Ghaus** = Ghaus, Abdul Samad. *The Fall of Afghanistan*. Washington, D.C.: Pergammon-Brassey's, 1988.

**House** = U.S. House of Representatives. Committee on International Relations. *Hearings: Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979 (Part 6)*. 1978.

**ICAR1** = Becker, Eddie and Christopher Mitchell, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. *Chronology of Conflict Resolution Initiatives in Eritrea*. 1991.

ICAR2 = Becker, Eddie and Christopher Mitchell, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. *Chronology of Conflict Resolution Initiatives in Ethiopia*. 1991.

ICAR3 = Becker, Eddie and Christopher Mitchell, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. *Chronology of Conflict Resolution Initiatives in Somalia*. 1991.

Iran Chronology = The National Security Archive. "Chronology." *Iran: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1977-1980.* Volume I. Alexandria, VA: The National Security Archive and Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1990.

Korniyenko = References supplied courtesy of the honourable George Korniyenko

LAT = Los Angeles Times

**McLellan** = McLellan, David S. *Cyrus Vance*. New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1985.

MH = The Miami Herald

NYT = The New York Times.

**PPP** = Public Papers of the Presidents.

**Principal Officers** = Department of State. *Principal Officers of the Department of State and U.S. Chiefs of Mission*, 1778-1986. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

**Ranelagh** = Ranelagh, John. *The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.

**Richelson** = List of presidential decision documents compiled by Dr. Jeffrey Richelson, Senior Fellow, the National Security Archive. All such documents that have been declassified are available at the National Security Archive.

**Sen Gupta** = Sen Gupta, Bhabani. *Afghanistan*. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner Publishers, 1986.

Smith = Smith, Gaddis. Morality, Reason & Power. New York: Hill & Wang, 1986.

**Sobel** = Sobel, Lester A., ed. *Peace Making in the Middle East*. New York: Facts on File, 1980.

**Urban** = Urban, Mark. War in Afghanistan. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

**Vance** = Vance, Cyrus. *Hard Choices: Critical Years in American Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983.

**WP** = Washington Post

**WS** = Washington Star