



1955 - 1991

The **WARSAW PACT**

Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance



SOVIET - EAST EUROPEAN

MILITARY RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

SOURCES AND REASSESSMENTS





SOVIET UNION



ALBANIA



POLAND



ROMANIA



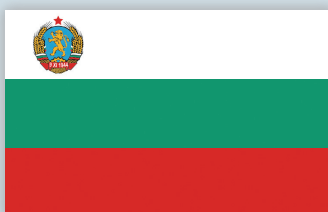
HUNGARY



EAST GERMANY



CZECHOSLOVAKIA



BULGARIA



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SPONSORSHIP



(U) The Historical Collections Division (HCD) of the Office of Information Management Services is responsible for executing the CIA's Historical Review Program. This program seeks to identify, collect, and review for possible release to the public significant historical information. The mission of HCD is to:

Provide an accurate, objective understanding of the information and intelligence that has helped shape the foundation of major US policy decisions.

- Improve access to lessons learned, presenting historical material to emphasize the scope and context of past actions.
- Improve current decision-making and analysis by facilitating reflection on the impacts and effects arising from past decisions.
- Uphold Agency leadership commitments to openness, while protecting the national security interests of the US.
- Provide the American public with valuable insight into the workings of their Government.



Harvard possesses a wealth of resources needed to pursue the advanced study of the experiences and problems of Russia and Eurasia—among them, teaching faculty in many of the relevant departments and the most complete Slavic library holdings of any Western university.

The primary objectives of the Davis Center are to participate in the development of these resources, to provide direct services that allow scholars to make effective use of them, to create an environment that encourages intellectual exchange and innovation, and to promote the training of graduates and undergraduates in this field.

Joining the Harvard faculty in these efforts are Visiting Scholars, Post-Doctoral Fellows, Senior Fellows, Regional Fellows, and Center Associates from the Boston area and around the world.



The Harvard Project on Cold War Studies promotes archival research in former East-bloc countries and seeks to expand and enrich what is known about Cold War events and themes. More important, it encourages scholars and students to use their research on Cold War topics to illuminate current theoretical debates about international and domestic politics. One of the chief means of accomplishing these goals is the sponsorship of scholarly publications, including the Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series and the peer-reviewed Journal of Cold War Studies.

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Warsaw Pact Countries, 1955-91 (U)



UNCLASSIFIED

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ABOUT THE SEMINAR

Soviet-Eastern European Military Relations in Historical Perspective; Sources and Reassessments.

After Communist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed twenty years ago and the Soviet Union disintegrated two years later, immense opportunities for archival research opened. Even though serious obstacles to archival work have persisted in Russia (which houses the central repositories of the Soviet regime), the archives of nearly all of the former Warsaw Pact countries are now fully or at least largely open. As a result, scholars have been able to explore many aspects of the Warsaw Pact that could only be guessed at in the past, including questions of military planning, force preparations and operations, nuclear command arrangements, and civil-military issues.

This seminar is designed to take stock of where we are twenty years after the collapse of East European Communism. What sources have become, or soon will be, available? To what extent have scholars actually been making use of the immense amount of information now available? How have the newly available documents changed our understanding of the Warsaw Pact? What questions can we now answer more confidently? What are some of the major points that are still unknown? How big a hindrance is posed by the continued problems with archival including documents being declassified by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, altered our understanding of the Warsaw Pact?

This seminar is intended to raise questions as well as to provide some tentative answers. We hope to highlight future directions for research and for the release of documents. Most of all, we hope to discuss how our understanding of Soviet-East European military relations has evolved over the past twenty years.

DECLASSIFIED COLD WAR RECORDS

The CIA's Historical Review Program (HRP)--managed by the Historical Collections Division (HCD) in Information Management Services--is responsible for the declassification review and release of documents detailing the Agency's analysis and activities relating to historically significant topics and events. Tracing its roots back to 1985, the HRP was established as an outcome of congressional discussions that resulted in the passage of the CIA Information Act of 1984. The mission of the HRP is to showcase CIA's national security contributions, provide an accurate, objective understanding of the intelligence that has helped shape the foundation of major policy decisions, and release, to the broadest audience possible, information that is not otherwise subject to legally required review.

The Historical Collections Division (HCD) of CIA's Information Management Services is responsible for executing the Agency's Historical Review Program. This program seeks to identify, collect, and review for possible release to the public documents of significant historical importance.

The mission of HCD is to:

- Promote an accurate, objective understanding of the information and intelligence that has helped shape the foundation of major US policy decisions.
- Broaden access to lessons learned, presenting historical material to emphasize the scope and context of past actions.
- Improve current decision-making and analysis by facilitating reflection on the impacts and effects arising from past decisions.
- Uphold Agency leadership commitments to openness, while protecting the national security interests of the US.
- Provide the American public with valuable insight into the workings of the Government.

The Historical Collection Division puts together a collection of documents that tell a story. This process provides a selective declassification of materials that CIA believes would be of significant historical interest. Examples of collections released include Soviet Finished Intelligence (Princeton Conference February 2001), Soviet NIEs, CAESAR, ESAU, POLO documents, Guatemala, and Kuklinski material.

The following pages point to various locations where declassified Cold War documents from CIA files reside. The CIA FOIA site is the first place to visit at <http://www.foia.cia.gov>. Several collections which interest Cold War specialist are highlighted.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) is a treasure trove of CIA material. The CIA 25-year declassification program has accessioned a variety of record collections to NARA; those collections include textual and multi-media records that are part of NARA's record group 263. In addition, the CIA 25-year program provides the public at NARA with access to a stand-alone computer system called the CIA Record Search Tool (CREST) that contains a searchable electronic record of documents declassified by that program since 1999. The CREST system currently contains 10.5 million pages of declassified material and is updated periodically with newly declassified 25-year-old documents. Researchers can also now use the CREST search tool on the CIA e-FOIA website to display title and bibliographic/archival information of documents on CREST that are responsive to the search terms. The e-FOIA website search does not provide images of the documents, however.

FOIA ELECTRONIC READING ROOM

The CIA has established this site to provide the public with an overview of access to CIA information, including electronic access to previously released documents. Because of CIA's need to comply with the national security laws of the United States, some documents or parts of documents cannot be released to the public. In particular, the CIA, like other U.S. intelligence agencies, has the responsibility to protect intelligence sources and methods from disclosure. However, a substantial amount of CIA information has been and/or can be released following review. See "Your Rights" (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/rights.asp>) for further details on the various methods of obtaining this information.

What's New at FOIA?

Top Searches

The Frequently Requested Records section now shows June - August 2009 Top 25 Search (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/Top25PhrasesMonthly.asp>) Phrases and August 2009 Top 25 Documents (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/Top25.asp>) viewed.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service History, Part 1: 1941-1947 (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/fbis.asp>)

In response to the burgeoning intelligence requirements dictated by the World War II (WWII), the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service (FBMS) evolved into the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) on 26 July 1942. The first 44 years of FBIS is chronicled dutifully and expertly in this 1969 study. Foreign Broadcast Information Service History, Part 1: 1941-1947 (http://www.foia.cia.gov/txt/FBIS_history_part1.pdf) (15MB PDF)

Creating Global Intelligence (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/cgi.asp>)

Discover the back story of the US intelligence community by exploring "Creating Global Intelligence: The Creation of the US Intelligence Community and Lessons for the 21st Century", (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/cgi.asp>) a collection of declassified documents from the late 1940s to the early 1950s that ultimately led to the establishment of the CIA. This 800+ collection allows history to come to life as well as giving perspectives on the complex issues that senior US Government officials grappled with when considering how to establish an enduring national intelligence capability

Air America: Upholding the Airmen's Bond (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/airamerica.asp>)

A fascinating assembly of documents (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/airamerica.asp>) revealing the role that Air America, the Agency's proprietary airline, played in the search and rescue of pilots and personnel during the Vietnam War. The collection has personal accounts by the rescued pilots and thank you letters as well as commendations from various officials.

UPDATED 25-Year Program Archive Search (http://www.foia.cia.gov/search_archive.asp)

New data has been loaded to the CREST archive search (http://www.foia.cia.gov/search_archive.asp).

The automatic declassification provisions of Executive Order 12958, as amended, require the declassification of nonexempt historically-valuable records 25 years old or older. By 31 December 2006 all agencies were to have completed the review of all hardcopy documents determined to be historically valuable (designated as "permanent" by the agency and the National Archives)

and exclusively containing their equities. As the deadline pertains to CIA, it covers the span of relevant documents originally dating from the establishment of the CIA after WWII through 1981.



CIA has deployed an electronic full-text searchable system it has named CREST (the CIA Records Search Tool), which has been operational since 2000 and is located at NARA II in College Park Maryland. On this Agency site, researchers can now use an on-line CREST Finding Aid to research the availability of CIA documents declassified and loaded onto CREST through 2008. Data for the remaining years up to the present (CREST deliveries have been ongoing) will be placed on this site at later dates.

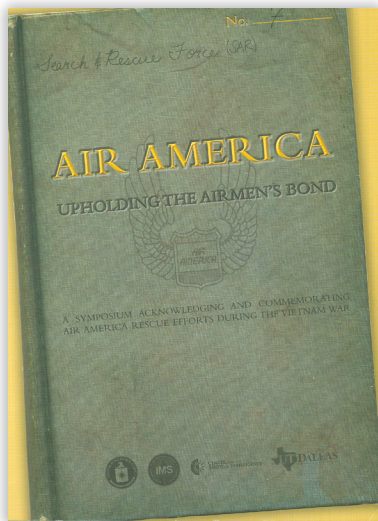
Search the CREST web database here (http://www.foia.cia.gov/search_archive.asp).

Note: it does not contain actual images of the documents as the regular Electronic Reading Room search does. Rather, it contains details on the files to speed FOIA requests.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Air America: Upholding the Airmen's Bond

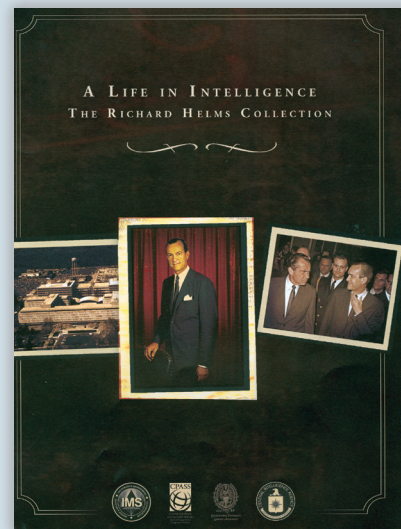
A fascinating assembly of documents (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/airamerica.asp>) revealing the role that Air America, the Agency's proprietary airline, played in the search and rescue of pilots and personnel during the Vietnam War. The collection has personal accounts by the rescued pilots and thank you letters as well as commendations from various officials.



A Life in Intelligence - The Richard Helms Collection

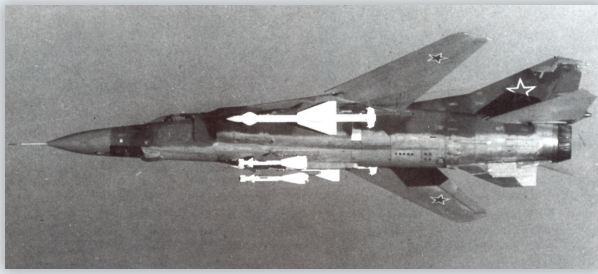
This collection of material by and about Richard Helms (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/helms.asp>) as Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and Ambassador to Iran comprises the largest single release of Helms-related information to date. The documents, historical works and essays offer an unprecedented, wide-ranging look at the man and his

career as the United States' top intelligence official and one of its most important diplomats during a crucial decade of the Cold War. From mid-1966, when he became DCI, to late 1976, when he left Iran, Helms dealt directly with numerous events whose impact remains evident today and which are covered in the release.



A-12 OXCART Reconnaissance Aircraft Documentation

This release (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/a12oxcart.asp>), containing approximately 1,500 pages of material, consisting of about 350 documents, maps, diagrams, and photographs will provide researchers on aviation and intelligence with significant additional detail about the design and development of the A-12. Follow the link above to the page housing this new special collection.



National Intelligence Council (NIC) Collections on this site

The National Intelligence Council (NIC) Collection (http://www.foia.cia.gov/nic_collection.asp)

Analytic reports produced by the National Intelligence Council (NIC) on a variety of geographical and functional issues since 1946.

The Vietnam Collection (http://www.foia.cia.gov/nic_vietnam_collection.asp)

Over 170 estimative products on Vietnam have been declassified and were released in April, 2005. This collection, the largest such release to date and the first exclusively on Vietnam, covers the period 1948-1975. Of the 174 documents, 38 are included at least in part in the hard copy volume entitled *Estimative Products on Vietnam, 1948-1975* and appear in their entirety in its accompanying CD/ROM.

The China Collection (http://www.foia.cia.gov/nic_china_collection.asp)

These documents were published in a book and CD/ROM entitled *Tracking the Dragon: Selected National Intelligence Estimates on China, 1948-1976* and were the subject of a major international conference cosponsored by the National Intelligence Council and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. in October 2004.

Historical Review Office Collections on this site

The Princeton Collection (http://www.foia.cia.gov/princeton_intelligence.asp)

Analytic Reports Produced by the Directorate of Intelligence on the Former Soviet Union Declassified and released for a March 2001 Conference at Princeton University

Collections available through the National Archives (NARA)

How to access the documents via NARA (<http://www.foia.cia.gov/access.asp>)

Declassified National Intelligence Estimates on the Soviet Union and International Communism (http://www.foia.cia.gov/soviet_estimates.asp)

Declassified Intelligence Estimates on Selected Free World Countries (http://www.foia.cia.gov/free_world_estimates.asp)

Declassified Intelligence Analyses on the Former Soviet Union Produced by CIA's Directorate of Intelligence (http://www.foia.cia.gov/soviet_intelligence.asp)

An important part of CIA's ongoing effort to be more open and to provide for more public accountability has been a recognition of the importance of declassifying historically significant Agency documents. The process of opening up the Agency's historical record began in the 1980s when then Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) William Casey authorized the declassification and transfer of nine million pages of OSS records to the National Archives and established the Historical Review Program.

A more formal Historical Review Program (HRP) was established by DCI Robert Gates in 1992. Reaffirming the principle that the US government's records should be open to the public, the program called for significant historical information to be made available unless such release could cause damage to the national security interests of the United States. Subsequent DCIs R. James Woolsey and John Deutch, and current Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet have supported a vigorous historical declassification program.

CIA's Historical Review Program, with the exception of several statutorily mandated requirements, is a voluntary declassification program that focuses on records of historical value. The program's managers rely on the advice and guidance of the Agency's History Staff, the DCI's Historical Review Panel, and the general public in selecting topics for review. Under guidelines laid out for the program, historical records are released except in instances where disclosure would damage national security—that is, for example, where it would reveal sensitive foreign government information or identify intelligence sources and methods that are currently in use and that are subject to denial and/or deception. The Historical Review Program coordinates the review of the documents with CIA components and other US Government entities before final declassification action is taken and the documents are transferred to the National Archives.

Two projects currently in progress in HRP involve the review of National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs) on the former Soviet Union and international communism and intelligence analyses on the former Soviet Union published by the CIA's Directorate of Intelligence. For more information on these specific collections, click on the appropriate summary title.

Declassified National Intelligence Estimates on the Soviet Union and International Communism

A National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) is the most authoritative written judgment concerning a national security issue prepared by the Director of Central Intelligence. Unlike "current intelligence" products, which describe the present, most NIEs forecast future developments and many address their implications for the United States. NIEs cover a wide range of issue-from military to technological to economic to political trends.

NIEs are addressed to the highest level of policymakers-up to and including the President. They are often drafted in response to a specific request from a policymaker. Estimates are designed not just to provide information but to help policymakers think through issues. They are prepared by CIA with the participation of other agencies of the Intelligence Community and are coordinated with these agencies. When there are alternative views about a subject within the Intelligence Community, the NIEs include such views.

CIA has made a major commitment to increasing the public understanding of the role played by intelligence analysis in the Cold War by reviewing for declassification NIEs on the Soviet Union and international communism. The declassification review and release to the public of NIEs on the former Soviet Union is part of a voluntary program initiated by DCI William Casey in 1985 and given new life in 1992 by DCI Robert Gates. In addition to NIEs and their predecessors-called OREs and produced by the Office of Reports and Estimates in the early postwar years-the review has included other interagency intelligence assessments-such as Special NIEs and Interagency Intelligence Memoranda-which are usually more narrowly focused or specialized in content. The declassification review is done in consultation with other agencies of the Intelligence Community, particularly those who participated in producing the assessments. More than 550 documents have been declassified and released thus far through the voluntary program, including most recently documents for use at conferences titled "At Cold War's End," held at Texas A&M University from 18 to 20 November, 1999, and "CIA's Analysis of the Soviet Union, 1947-1991," held at Princeton University on 9 and 10 March 2001.

An index of National Intelligence Estimates and other interagency intelligence analyses released to the National Archives is provided below, arrayed by year of publication. Click on the year desired to view those published during that 12-month period.

Users should note that textual material was deleted from a number of the documents during the declassification review process. The deletions were made to protect intelligence sources and methods or for other national security reasons. In those instances where deletions were necessary, an effort was made to avoid distorting the conclusions or the analysis in the documents. No deletions were made to conceal incorrect assessments or faulty conclusions, or to remove information embarrassing to the Agency or the Intelligence Community. The number of pages shown in the index for a particular document may be less than the total number of pages in the original document. To assist the reader, the following symbols are used in the index to indicate which documents contain deletions and the nature of the redactions.

- ♦ RIF (Released in Full) - The document has been released in its entirety.
- ♦ RNS (Released with non-substantive deletions) - The document has been released with minor redactions, such as certain classification indicators, access restrictions, and references to names or documents not released to the public.
- ♦ RIP (Released in Part) - The document has been released with substantive deletions made in the text.

Declassified Intelligence Analyses on the Former Soviet Union Produced by CIA's Directorate of Intelligence

As part of its voluntary declassification program, in 1996 CIA began to review for possible declassification analyses on the former Soviet Union produced by the Directorate of Intelligence. Since that time approximately 57,000 pages and almost 2,000 reports on the former USSR have been reviewed for declassification and released as part of this voluntary program.

The materials contained in this collection include intelligence reports, intelligence memoranda, provisional intelligence reports, economic intelligence reports, and research reports. Also included is a volume of selected early weekly and daily intelligence summaries published by CIA's Center for the Study of Intelligence declassified in connection with an academic conference on CIA's early Cold War-era analysis held on 24 October 1997, documents declassified for a conference titled "At Cold War's End" held at Texas A&M University from 18 to 20 November, 1999,

and analytic reports declassified for a conference titled "CIA's analysis of the Soviet Union, 1947-1991" held at Princeton University on 9 and 10 March 2001.

An index of analyses on the former Soviet Union, produced by the CIA's Directorate of Intelligence and released to the National Archives is provided below, arrayed by year of publication. Click on the year desired to view those published during that 12-month period. A separate link is provided to access an index of the documents declassified and released for the Princeton conference - the so-called "Princeton Collection". By clicking on a particular publication in the index of the "Princeton Collection", the document can be viewed on-line, in redacted form. This feature is not available with the overall index of documents released. They must be viewed at NARA. In addition, nearly 1000 other DI analytic documents, which had already been released by the Agency through FOIA or Executive Order requests, were made available for the Princeton Conference. The documents were transferred to NARA as part of the "Princeton Collection", under Accession #NN3-263-01-00. They also can be viewed at NARA. Users should note that textual material was deleted from many of the documents during the declassification review process. The deletions were made to protect intelligence sources and methods or for other national security reasons. In those instances where deletions were necessary, an effort was made to avoid distorting the conclusions of the analysis in the document. No deletions were made to conceal incorrect assessments or faulty conclusions, or to remove information embarrassing to the Agency.

The number of pages shown in the index for a particular document may be less than the total number of pages in the original document. In general, the excisions made to this collection of documents have been relatively few in number and often pertain to procedural requirements for sanitizing, primarily in the source sections of the documents, rather than to the text of the analysis.

To assist the reader, the following symbols are used in the index to indicate which documents contain deletions and the nature of the redactions.

- ♦ RIF (Released in Full) - The document has been released in its entirety.
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- ♦ RIP (Released in Part) - The document has been released with substantive deletions made in the text.

The CAESAR, POLO, and ESAU Papers

Cold War Era Hard Target Analysis of Soviet and Chinese Policy and Decision Making, 1953-1973

This collection of declassified analytic monographs and reference aids, designated within the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Directorate of Intelligence (DI) as the CAESAR, ESAU, and POLO series, highlights the CIA's efforts from the 1950s through the mid-1970s to pursue in-depth research on Soviet and Chinese internal politics and Sino-Soviet relations. The documents reflect the views of seasoned analysts who had followed closely their special areas of research and whose views were shaped in often heated debate. Continuing public interest in the series, as reflected in numerous requests through Freedom of Information and Executive Order channels, led CIA's Office of Information Management Services (IMS) to conduct a search of Directorate of Intelligence record systems for documents in this series and then undertake a declassification review of all the documents we located. The 147 documents in this collection, amounting to over 11,000 pages of analysis, were written between 1953 and 1973. The collection includes a large number of newly declassified monographs as well as some studies that have been previously declassified and released to individual requesters. The continuing sensitivity of some documents in the series required that they be withheld from declassification.

Lt. Col. Oleg Penkovsky: Western Spy in Soviet GRU

This group of documents highlights the highs and lows of the intelligence business. The recruitment of a well-placed spy, in this case a high-ranking Soviet military intelligence officer, lessened the tensions of the Cold War by providing information on the intentions, strength, and technological advancement of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the enormous risks for the spy himself became evident in the fate of Penkovsky -- shot as a traitor by the Soviets in 1963 for spying for the US and UK. These documents provide over-the-shoulder looks from the perspective of the CIA Director as well as from Penkovsky himself in operational meeting reports. This collection offers insights on the spy's motives as well as the fruit of his espionage for us.

Atomic Spies: Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

This collection provides interesting Agency insights on this post-WWII spy case. Documents cover, among many other topics, US intelligence activities, including FBI-CIA cooperation; USSR intelligence activities; the Rosenberg espionage network's collection against the US atomic energy program; their attempts to protect the network as US authorities closed in on it; their arrest; Soviet propaganda; the Soviet's protest of the Rosenberg's sentencing; and Moscow's reaction to the execution of their spies.

25-Year Program Archive Search

The automatic declassification provisions of Executive Order 12958, as amended, require the declassification of nonexempt historically-valuable records 25 years old or older. The EO was originally issued in April 1995 and amended in 2003, when it established 31 December 2006 as the first major deadline for automatic declassification under the "25-year program."

By 31 December 2006 all agencies were to have completed the review of all hardcopy documents determined to be historically valuable (designated as "permanent" by the agency and the National Archives) and exclusively containing their equities. As the deadline pertains to CIA, it covers the span of relevant documents originally dating from the establishment of the CIA after WWII through 1981.

CIA has maintained a program operating out of the CIA Declassification Center to review records under the purview of EO 12958, as amended, before they reach their automatic declassification deadline. CIA has deployed an electronic full-text searchable system it has named CREST (the CIA Records Search Tool), which has been operational since 2000 and is located at NARA II in College Park Maryland. The CREST system is the publicly-accessible repository of the subset of CIA records reviewed under the 25-year program in electronic format (manually reviewed and released records are accessioned directly into the National Archives in their original format). Over 10 million pages have been released in electronic format and reside on the CREST database, from which researchers have printed almost a million pages. To use CREST, a researcher must physically be present at the National Archives, College Park, Maryland. Recognizing this presents an obstacle to many researchers, we have been investigating ways to improve researcher knowledge of and access to CREST documents.

On this Agency site, researchers can now use an on-line CREST Finding Aid to research the availability of CIA documents declassified and loaded onto CREST through 2008. Data for the remaining years up to the present (CREST deliveries have been ongoing) will be placed on this site at later dates.

As indicated in the "25-Year Released Documents Search" page below, researchers can search by the title and date, or date span, of documents.

Title: The title listed will be the formal title of a report or the stated subject of a memorandum. However, the title may be the best attempt by Agency indexers to identify documents without clear formal titles such as cables, letters, written notes, and other forms of communication and correspondence. In such cases, the title may include reference to the type of document, originator, recipient, or location.

Document Date: For a single document, the creation date on the first page of the document is the date to be searched. In a package of several documents or in a pairing of a document with a covering transmittal/addressee sheet the date will again be that of the first page. The year 1900 is the default date used by Agency indexers for undated documents.

Following a successful search, the resulting document metadata will appear on a separate page. In addition to the title and date, the metadata will include the "ESDN number" (see below), the number of pages, the original classification, document type, and the release decision.

The ESDN number is the internal Agency tracking number which should be used when submitting a FOIA request. The original classification is indicated by the letters T (Top Secret), S (Secret), C (Confidential), U (Unclassified), and K for unknown or unmarked. The release decision of the document is either RIF (released in full) or RIP (released in part).

In the future, in addition to populating the CREST Finding Aid with records from 2003 to the present, CIA will continue to release through CREST documents that are 25-years old or older in conformance with the EO. This yearly requirement is referred to as the "rolling period." You may e-mail comments on the CREST Finding Aid capability to the feedback section of this site.

THE KUKLINSKI MATERIAL AND ARIS PAPPAS

An Analyst's Perspective

In the course of a career at the Central Intelligence Agency, easily the most sensitive body of material that I had access to was the collection of material provided by Polish Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski. Over a nearly ten year period, the Colonel provided the United States with an unprecedented volume of material, but more importantly, he provided us with the ability to understand the thinking of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact General Staff.

Knowing and understanding are related but different concepts. It is often the case that analysts, whether of intelligence, financial affairs or other disciplines, know things, but fundamentally don't also understand them. Knowing in this context is recognition of a reality: the plan dictates an attack on the left flank of the army. Understanding is recognition of why: the attack on the left flank is being undertaken because of certain assumptions and objectives, tempered by doctrine and the personality of the officer responsible for the plan, himself possibly pushed by outside pressures exerted by superiors, or other external realities.

Understanding allows for transference and the ability to make accurate projections. Knowing what's going to happen on the left flank doesn't necessarily imply any knowledge of what's going to happen in the center, or the right. Understanding, on the other hand, allows both the intelligence analyst and the military planner or leader to develop an accurate picture of the whole, including portions for which there may be no firm knowledge. With understanding comes the ability, therefore, to predict with some accuracy how any given system would react to differing, often unanticipated impulses.

It also provides a context that allows the stitching together of otherwise disparate pieces of information, or the validation of others. We might, for example, have a picture that tells us there are more tanks than previously counted in a Tank Regiment, but that knowledge becomes even more valuable when we are able to add an understanding of why that number was increased.



It is precisely this kind of understanding that Colonel Kuklinski provided during the whole of his exceptionally productive relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency. His documents were not garden variety articles, which though published in nominally classified journals, were intended for relatively wide audiences. His material was either extraordinarily sensitive documentation – with commentary – of small, seminal, and exclusive meetings, or they were compilations – again with commentary, of other classified material. What distinguished it all was its ability ultimately to provide understanding.

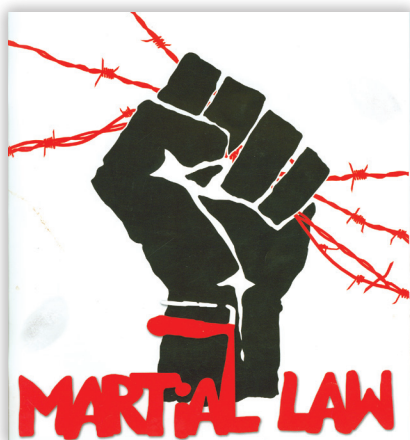
That didn't end with his departure from Poland. Anxious to continue his contribution to the dismantlement of the Soviet occupation, the Colonel continued to provide his assessments and professional views of a wide variety of issues, all benefiting from his long years of successful education and service within a highly rarified atmosphere that was the General Staff. Rarely have we had the opportunity to plumb the depths of a documentary collection as vast as his and then be able to follow up that review with detailed and direct interaction with the individual who was there when it was generated.

The material that's been made available, particularly the material directly related to the relentless pressure put on the puppet Polish Government of Marshal Jaruzelski, easily illustrates the value of understanding, and the incredible contribution to freedom selflessly made by one brave man.

THE KUKLIŃSKI FILES AND THE POLISH CRISIS OF 1980-1981: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEWLY RELEASED CIA DOCUMENTS

Mark Kramer: Harvard University

In the 1970s and early 1980s, several Polish military officers were secretly helping the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Of these, the most valuable by far was Colonel Ryszard Kukliński, a senior official on the Polish General Staff and a long-time aide to Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski. For nearly a decade, from the early 1970s through November 1981, Kukliński provided vast amounts of highly sensitive military, technical, and political-military information to the CIA. His role became especially important during the 18-month-long crisis in Poland in 1980-1981, when he sent a trove of invaluable documents and reports to the CIA, including detailed materials about the planning for martial law.



Even though Kukliński found out in September 1981 that the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs had begun searching for a CIA spy in the upper levels of the Polish military, he continued his clandestine work for another two months. In early November 1981 the foreign intelligence directorate of the Soviet Committee on State Security (KGB) learned from a KGB source in the Vatican that the CIA had

acquired the full plans for martial law in Poland.¹ The KGB promptly alerted the Polish authorities, who embarked on a much more intensive investigation for a spy in their midst. Because Kukliński was one of the few Polish officials who had had access to all of the final planning, he realized that it was only a matter of time until the investigators settled on him as the culprit. Using a specially-made “Iskra” encrypted communications device, Kukliński urgently notified his CIA case officers that he and his family would have to leave Poland as soon as possible. An intricate CIA “exfiltration” operation, which has been vividly recounted by the journalist Benjamin Weiser in his book *A Secret Life*, narrowly brought the colonel to safety in the West.² Kukliński lived the rest of his life under an assumed name in the United States, though he was able to travel back to Poland in 1998 after the charges of treason lodged against him by the Communist regime were officially revoked. He died of a cerebral hemorrhage at age 73 in early 2004.

Kukliński’s exploits have been discussed at some length in both English and Polish, mainly by journalists and public figures. *A Secret Life* is the most comprehensive account available of Kukliński’s life and his motivations in working — at enormous personal risk — for the United States. Most of the Polish books about Kukliński are anthologies of interviews, published articles, or mass-media coverage, and they run the gamut from the useful and perceptive to the sensationalist and polemical.³ His activities have

1 After the CIA received copies of the plans from Kukliński, U.S. officials notified Pope John Paul II, in the hope that he might be able to use his influence to help thwart the planned operation. KGB sources in the Vatican then learned of the disclosure. See Vitalii Pavlov, *Uprawnienie ‘S’: Vo glave nelegal’noi razvedki* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2006), p. 351.

2 Benjamin Weiser, *A Secret Life: The Polish Officer, His Covert Mission, and the Price He Paid to Save His Country* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004), pp. 271-289.

3 See, for example, Józef Szaniawski, ed., *Pułkownik Kukliński — Tajna misja* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYT, 2007); Józef Szaniawski, ed., *Samotna misja: Pułkownik Kukliński i zimna wojna* (Warsaw: Galeria Polskiej Książki, 2003); Zbigniew B. Kumoś, ed., *Nikt czyli Kukliński: Rzecz o zdradzie* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Comandor, 2002); *Pułkownik Kukliński: Wywiady – Opinie – Dokumenty* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Test, 1998); Krzysztof Dubiński and Iwona Jurcenko, *Oko Pentagonu: Rzecz o pułkowniku Ryszardzie Kuklińskim* (Warsaw: KMSO, 1996); Maciej Łukasiewicz, ed., *Bohater czy zdrajca: Sprawa*

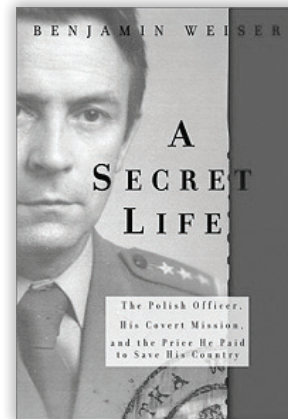
also been discussed, with varying degrees of accuracy, in memoirs by former senior government officials and military officers who worked with him in Poland in 1980-1981. The question of whether Kukliński should be regarded as a hero or a traitor has often dominated the public discourse about him in Poland.

In this Working Paper I will first discuss the provenance and nature of some extremely important documents pertaining to Kukliński and the 1980-1981 Polish crisis that were recently declassified. After giving a sense of both the value and the major limitations of the newly released materials, I will review the most significant findings from these documents about the Polish crisis. The collection enriches and corroborates much of what was known already, and it also adds many intriguing details about events in Poland and Soviet-Polish relations. In a few cases, as noted below, the materials alter existing accounts of the crisis.

The Newly Released Documents

Until December 2008, only three of the reports that Kukliński sent to the CIA during the 1980-1981 Polish crisis were available. I published them along with a commentary in Issue No. 11 of the CWIHP *Bulletin*.⁴ After Weiser decided in the 1990s to write a book about Kukliński, he requested that the CIA declassify the large collection of documents supplied by or relating to the colonel. The CIA declined the request and also turned down other efforts to seek the release of Kukliński's files. But after considerable negotiation the agency did consent to an arrangement that gave Weiser indirect access to the files.

In 2008 the CIA finally agreed to release (in sanitized form) some of the materials from its voluminous Kukliński files, starting with a selection of items pertaining to the Polish crisis of 1980-1981. The 81 documents in the initial tranche, which became available in December 2008, are apparently the only items about the 1980-1981 crisis that will be released from Kukliński's files. They come to just over 1,000 pages in total, counting the cover pages and distribution sheets. The tranche includes the letter Kukliński wrote in halting English in 1972 under the pseudonym "P.V." to the U.S. embassy in Bonn seeking contact with a senior U.S. Army officer, 44 translations of martial law-related documents that Kukliński either photographed or transcribed (including separate translations of two successive drafts of a speech delivered on 13 September 1981), 17 memoranda summarizing information Kukliński provided to the CIA in 1981 before he escaped from Poland, 1 memorandum (dated



24 February 1981) summarizing information conveyed to the CIA by another well-placed military official in Poland, 13 translations of commentaries Kukliński wrote in the United States shortly after martial law was introduced in Poland, 2 translations of background reports he wrote in the spring of 1982 about the martial law operation and about civil-military relations in Poland, 2 CIA analytical memoranda (dated 25 August 1981 and 7 December 1981) that rely in part on information supplied by Kukliński, and a 64-page translation of Kukliński's detailed answers in 1983 to the CIA's questions about "Jaruzelski's attitude, behavior, and style."⁵

⁵ At a symposium commemorating Kukliński on 11 December 2008, the CIA distributed a CD with audiovisual materials pertaining to the colonel, including scanned images of the 81 newly declassified documents. The agency also distributed a booklet titled "Preparing for Martial Law: Through the Eyes of Col. Ryszard Kukliński." The CD gives an incorrect date of 7 January 1981 for a document that in fact is from 7 January 1982. This is more than just a simple typographical error; the document appears in the wrong place (in the area for January 1981 rather than for January 1982) in the chronologically organized links to documents. The booklet incorrectly says that the tranche includes summaries of 18 reports from Kukliński; in fact, it includes only 17 summaries of Kukliński's reports, along with a summary of a report from another CIA source in Poland. The booklet also incorrectly states that 16 translations of Kukliński's post-martial law commentaries were released; in fact, the CIA released only 15 translations of these documents, counting two short background memoranda. The booklet is also incorrect in saying that the tranche includes 43 translations of documents supplied by Kukliński, counting a 1977 document that was not distributed in translation until early 1980. In fact, it includes 44 translations, counting the 1977 document. (Two of the translations, one distributed on 25 September 1981 and the other on 23 November 1981, are of two different drafts of the same document — a speech to be delivered by General Florian Siwicki, the chief of the Polish General Staff, at a crucial meeting of Poland's Homeland Defense Committee on 13 September 1981. A comparison of the two drafts is somewhat difficult because the translations were clearly done by separate translators, but the substance of the two drafts is largely the same until the final paragraph, when a very important difference in phrasing occurs, as will be discussed below.) The booklet distributed by the CIA reproduces an article about Kukliński that was originally published in the Summer 2000 issue of *Studies in Intelligence*, "The Vilification and Vindication of Colonel Kukliński," by Benjamin B. Fischer, who at the time of publication was a member of the CIA's History Staff. The article contains an important error. Fischer writes:

Jaruzelski embellished the "green light" story during the 1997 conference [in Jachranka, Poland]. According to the general, he dispatched General Eugeniusz Molczyk, deputy chief of the general staff, to Washington to confer with then-Vice President Bush just before martial law was declared. The Vice President, Jaruzelski told the conference attendees, agreed with Molczyk that martial law was a better option than intervention. "We took that as a sort of signal," the general said, "Do it yourselves, or there will be the more feared option."

pulkownika Kuklińskiego (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza MOST, 1992).

⁴ Mark Kramer, "Colonel Kukliński and the Polish Crisis, 1980-81," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issue No. 11 (Winter 1998), pp. 48-60.

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