

Cold War Flashpoints



Featuring New Evidence on:

The Polish Crisis 1980-1981

Poland in the Early Cold War

The Sino-American Opening

The Korean War

The Berlin Crisis 1958-1962

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Photograph: Francois Lochon—Gamma Liason: Warsaw Pact Maneuvers in Poland, March 1981. From left to right: East German Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, Polish Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Warsaw Pact Commander in Chief Viktor Kulikov, and Czechoslovak Defense Minister Martin Dzur.

Editor's Note

This issue of the Cold War International History Project Bulletin presents new evidence from the Russian, Eastern European and Chinese archives on key Soviet "Flashpoints" from Europe to Asia. Focal point of this issue are documents prepared for or obtained at the November 1997 oral history conference "Poland 1980-82: Internal Crisis, International Dimensions," co-sponsored by the National Security Archive, CWIHP and the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Many of the documents and essays—including the telegrams by CIA source Col. Ryzard Kuklinski (introduced by Mark Kramer) and documents provided by Oldrich Tuma and Janos Tischler—in this issue were initially prepared for this conference; others, such as the so-called "Anoshkin notebook" and the articles by Jordan Baev and Michael Kubina, were obtained during or after the conference. Given his pivotal role in the 1980/81 crisis—and the documents featured in this section, CWIHP asked former Polish Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski to provide Bulletin readers with an initial reaction to the new materials. The contribution by former U.S. ambassador to Poland Francis Meehan, eyewitness to the Polish events from the fall of 1980 to martial law, provides further context to the documents featured in this issue.

The section on "Poland in the Early Cold War,"—with contributions by Andrzej Werblan, Andrzej Paczkowski and Krzysztof Persak—continues CWIHP's efforts to document Stalin's role in the formative period of the Cold War. As an initial step in its "Stalin Project," inaugurated in 1997/98 with workshops in Budapest (October 1997), Beijing (October 1997), and Moscow (March 1998), CWIHP has been seeking to document as comprehensively as possible Stalin's conversations with foreign leaders as well as his communications with Molotov and other foreign policy advisors. Future issues of the *CWIHP Bulletin* will present additional materials as they become available.

In the section on the "Sino-American Rapprochement 1968/1969," Chen Jian and David L. Wilson present new Chinese materials on the Sino-American opening, just as the first American documents on the issue are becoming available.¹ In the coming months, CWIHP will increasingly focus on the international history of the late 1960s and early 1970s as documents from both sides of the Cold War become available. The section on the Korean War, featuring documents and commentaries by Kathryn Weathersby and Milton Leitenberg on the allegations of U.S. bacteriological warfare during the Korean War continue CWIHP's path-breaking efforts on that first major "hot war" of the Cold War.² Beyond the biological warfare issue, these documents shed also new light on Sino-Soviet-Korean relations as well the still murky history of the "Beria Interregnum" in 1953. CWIHP welcomes the discussion of these new findings and encourages the release of the originals and additional materials from

Russian, Chinese, Korean and U.S. archives on the issue

Nikita Khrushchev's conversations with Ulbricht and Gomulka, translated and introduced by Hope Harrison and Douglas Selva, provide us an opportunity to be a "fly-on-the-wall" at key meetings during the 1958-1962 Berlin Crisis. The transcripts do not only provide fascinating insights into Moscow's relationship with key allies in a moment of crisis, but also into Khrushchev's personality. Similarly, Raymond Garthoff's translations of Russian documents from the Volkogonov Collection at the Library of Congress continue the debate about the role of nuclear missiles Khrushchev's thinking during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Vojtech's Mastny's introduction and (in part) translation of Polish and Czech documents opens another frontier in Cold War history—the military history of the "other side." Jointly with the National Security Archive and the Center for Conflict Studies and the Technical University of Zurich, CWIHP has launched a larger documentation project on the history of the Warsaw Pact. Documents deriving from this project will be featured in future CWIHP Bulletin issues, the CWIHP website database (cwihip.si.edu) as well as at CWIHP conferences.

The documents featured in this Bulletin are only the highlights of a much larger corpus of documents which have been translated for CWIHP, most of which will be accessible through the CWIHP website. Since September 1998, the CWIHP website database ("Virtual Library") contains more document translations than we have published in print. Beyond documents, the CWIHP website now contains updates on publications and events. Special website segments with information on archives, literature are "under construction."

CWIHP activities and publications have always been a team-effort, and this Bulletin issue is no exception. Too many people have contributed to this production to allow me to name them all, but I would like to express special thanks Robert Litwak, Nancy Meyers, Karin Mueller, Hope Harrison, Ray Garthoff, Mark Kramer, Chen Jian, Malcolm Byrne and Jim Hershberg.

- Christian Ostermann, Editor

¹ William Burr, *The Kissinger Transcripts: Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* (New York: The New Press, 1999).

² See Kathryn Weathersby, "New Findings on the Korean War," *CWIHP Bulletin* 3 (Fall 1993), 1, 14-18; "To Attack or Not to Attack? Stalin, Kim Il Sung and the Prelude to War," *CWIHP Bulletin* 5 (Spring 1995), 1, 2-9; "The Soviet Role in the Early Phase of the Korean War: New Documentary Evidence," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 2:4 (Winter 1993), 425-458; "New Russian Documents on the Korean War," *CWIHP Bulletin* 6/7 (Winter 1995/96), pp. 30-84.

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