

The End of the Cold War

A CWIHP Document Reader

Dear Conference Participants,

We are pleased to present to you this document reader, intended to facilitate the discussion at the upcoming international conference on the *End of the Cold War*, in Paris, on June 15-17, 2006. The electronic reader contains of a collection of selected documents from US, Russian, and East European archives. This collection, compiled by the Cold War International History Project (CWIHP), is by no means comprehensive. In selecting the documents, we sought to include some of the most important materials available. The reader is organized chronologically. However, all documents have been tagged with the geographic coverage of the subject within the software provided with this CD.

A note on the documents: as with all document collections, the availability of documentation vastly outstrips the resources available to our projects to obtain, copy, and catalogue the material. Many of the documents available here were obtained by the Cold War International History Project and the National Security Archive for the 1999 conference on the End of the Cold War held at the Mershon Center, Ohio State University. Many other documents were obtained through the efforts of CWIHP's network of scholars, and have been published in the CWIHP *Bulletin* Nos. 12/13. Finally, additional documents were obtained from the National Security Archive, the State Department FOIA Reading Room, and the CIA's FOIA Reading Room. Where possible, we have sought to include the archival source with all documents. For citation purposes, please feel free to cite the collection. We are also grateful to the National Security Archive for permission to use the Chronology compiled for that conference. I am particularly thankful to CWIHP research assistant Josephine Vu, who worked diligently to ensure the document reader was ready for dissemination.

We would also like to recognize the efforts of the organizers, Frederic Bozo, Marie-Pierre Rey, Piers Ludlow, and Leopoldo Nuti as well as their staff for their efforts to make this conference a reality. This conference is a collaborative project of the Pantheon-Sorbonne (Paris I), Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, the London School of Economics, and CWIHP, with the support of NATO, the French Ministry for Research, UMR IRICE, and the Association for International History.

Mircea Munteanu

Washington DC
June 6, 2006

Table of Contents

Date (YYMMDD) Title (Keywords)

Conference Program

End of the Cold War Chronology

No Date - Note by Lech Walesa Regarding Further Procedure of Talks Poland

880608 -	Department of State cable, Moscow Summit Briefing Materials	Soviet Union
880620 -	Anatoly Chernyaev's Notes from Politburo Session	Soviet Union
880715 -	Summary of Discussion among Defense Ministers at the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Warsaw	Soviet Union, Eastern Europe
880901 -	Report on a Working Conference [of Opposition Leaders]	Poland
880904 -	Memorandum by Lech Walesa, "On Starting the Roundtable Talks"	Poland
880906 -	Report from Andrzej Stelmachowski to Lech Walesa	Poland
880909 -	Memorandum by Lech Walesa, On Starting the Roundtable Talks	Poland
880927 -	CIA memo, Douglas MacEachin to Richard Kerr, Leadership Situation in the USSR	Soviet Union
881001 -	Letter from Andrzej Stelmachowski to Lech Walesa	Poland
881006 -	Georgy Shakhnazarov's Preparatory Notes for Mikhail Gorbachev for the Meeting of the Politburo	Soviet Union
881024 -	Letter from A. Stelmachowski to Jozef Glemp, Primate of Poland	Poland
881028 -	Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary	Soviet Union
881028 -	Excerpt from the Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev	Soviet Union
881031 -	Anatoly Chernyaev's Notes from the Politburo Session	Soviet Union
881100 -	CIA NIE, Gorbachev's Economic Program's: The Challenges Ahead	Soviet Union
881100 -	CIA SNIE Soviet Policy During the Next Phase of Arms Control in Europe	Soviet Union
881111 -	Anatoly Chernyaev, Personal Memorandum to Mikhail Gorbachev	Soviet Union
881200 -	CIA NIE, Soviet Forces and Capabilities for Strategic Nuclear Conflict Through the Late 1990s	Soviet Union
881227 -	Notes for Presentation at the Politburo Session	Soviet Union

- 881227 - Record of Telephone Conversation Between M.S. Gorbachev and President of the United States G. Bush Soviet Union
- 881227 - Minutes of the Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU CC) Soviet Union
- 881228 - Minutes of the Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU CC) Soviet Union
- 890117 - Record of Main Content of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kissinger Soviet Union

890203 - Part 4/6: Moscow Embassy cable, The Soviet Union Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890203 - Part 5/6: Moscow Embassy cable, The Soviet Union Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890203 - Part 6/6: Moscow Embassy cable, The Soviet Union Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890212 - Letter from Andrzej Slowik to Roundtable Chair Wladyslaw Findeisen
Poland

890213 - Part 1/5: Moscow Embassy cable, Soviet Foreign Policy Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890213 - Part 2/5: Moscow Embassy cable, Soviet Foreign Policy Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890213 - Part 3/5: Moscow Embassy cable, Soviet Foreign Policy Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890213 - Part 4/5: Moscow Embassy cable, Soviet Foreign Policy Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890213 - Part 5/5: Moscow Embassy cable, Soviet Foreign Policy Over the Next Four Years
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 1/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 2/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 3/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 4/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 5/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 6/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

890222 - Part 7/7: Moscow Embassy cable, U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities
Soviet Union

- 890224 - Memorandum, The Political Processes in the European Socialist Countries and the Proposals for Our Practical Steps Considering the Situation Which Has Arisen in Them Soviet Union
- 890225 - Papers of the Working Group of the National Commission of NSZZ "Solidarity" Poland
- 890303 - Record of Conversation between President M. S. Gorbachev and Miklos Nemeth Hungary
- 890329 - Memorandum of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers PartyEnd of the Cold War Hungary
- 890400 - CIA Intelligence Assessment, Rising Political Instability Under Gorbachev: Understanding the Problem and Prospects for Resolution Soviet Union
- 890400 - CIA NIE, Soviet Policy Toward the West: The Gorbachev Challenge Soviet Union
- 890401 - Report of Vadim Zagladin on his conversation with Chariman of the Czechoslovak Association for U.N., Deputy Chairman of the Committee for European Security, Jan Pudlak Czechoslovakia
- 890403 - Record of Conversation between President M.S. Gorbachev and Miklos Nemeth, Member of the HSWP CC Politburo, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary Hungary
- 890406 - Record of Negotiations between M.S. Gorbachev and Prime Minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher Soviet Union
- 890407 - Telegram from First Secretary of the Georgian Communsity Party, Dzhumbar I. Patiashvili, to the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Part of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Georgia
- 890408 - Telegram from D.I. Patiashvili to the CC CPSU Georgia
- 890409 - Telegram from D.I. Patiashvili to the CC CPSU Georgia
- 890409 - Findings of the Commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to Investigate the Events which Occurred in the City of Tbilisi Georgia
- 890410 - Resolution of the CC CPSU Politburo "Measures to Normalize the Situation in Tbilisi" Georgia

- 890419 - Warsaw Embassy cable, The Election '89: the Year of Solidarity Poland
- 890420 - Meeting of the Politburo, Discussion on the Report of Eduard Shevardnadze
Regarding the Use of Violence of Tbilisi Georgia
- 890423 - Memorandum of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and HSWP General
Secretary Karoly Grosz Hungary
- 890429 - Note from A. S. Pavlov, Chief of the CC CPSU State and Legal Department, to
the CC CPSU Soviet Union
- 890429 - Decree of the CC CPSU S

890612 - Information on a Meeting of the Chairman of the Regional Citizens' Committees held in the Citizen's Committee in Warsaw Poland

890613 - Opening Full Session of the National Roundtable Negotiations Poland

890613 - Second Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl West Germany

890614 - Third Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl West Germany

890623 - Warsaw Embassy cable, How to Elect Jaruzelski Without Voting for Him, and Will He Run? Poland

890627 - Warsaw Embassy cable, Poland Looks to President Bush Poland

890705 - From the Conversation of M.S. Gorbachev and Francois Mitterand during the Private Dinner with R.M. Gorbacheva and D. Mitterand at the President's Apartment Romania

890712 - Memorandum from Foreign Minister Petar Mladenov to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Bulgaria

890715 - Minutes from a Meeting of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Poland

890724 - Minutes of the Meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] CC Political Executive Committee Hungary

890724 - Negotiation between Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Rezso Nyers, President , and Karoly Grosz, General Secretary of the MSZMP, Moscow Hungary

890725 - Memorandum of Conversation between Gorbachev and Grosz Hungary

890801 - Minutes of the Meeting of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Poland

890811 - Warsaw Embassy cable, Conversation with General Kiszczak Poland

890812 - Secretary of State cable, Solidarity-Government Dialogue Poland

890816 - Moscow Embassy cable, If Solidarity Takes Charge, What Will the Soviets Do? Poland

890816 - Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidium of Citizens' Parliamentary Club Poland

- 890818 - Record of Conversation between Representatives of the Opposition Roundtable and Boris Stukalin, Soviet Ambassador in Budapest Hungary
- 890819 - Warsaw Embassy cable, Bronislaw Geremek Explains Next Steps Toward a Solidarity Government Poland
- 890820 - Czechoslovak Secret Police (StB) Memorandum, "Information Regarding the Situation in the CSSR up to 20 August 1989" Czechoslovakia
- 890821 - Czechoslovak Secret Police (StB) Memorandum, "Information on the Security Situation and Further Tasks in the Struggle Against the Internal Enemy" Czechoslovakia
- 890824 - Warsaw Embassy cable, Request for Instructions Poland
- 890900 - CIA Intelligence Assessment, Gorbachev's Domestic Gambles and Instability in the USSR Soviet Union
- 890900 - CIA NIE, Warning of War in Europe: Changing Warsaw Pact Planning and Forces End of the Cold War Soviet Union, Eastern Europe
- 890900 - National Intelligence Council Memorandum, The Post-CFE Environment in Europe End of the Cold War Eastern Europe
- 890901 - Minutes of the Meeting of the Presidium of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club Poland
- 890905 - Transcript of the SED Politburo Session held on 5 September 1989 East Germany, Hungary
- 890910 - Letter from GDR Ambassador to Hungary, Gerd Vehres, to Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer West Germany, Hungary
- 890922 - National Security Directive, United States Relations with the Soviet Union Soviet Union
- 890923 - Record of Conversation Between Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister of Great Britain Soviet Union
- 891000 - National Intelligence Council Memorandum, Status of Soviet Unilateral Withdrawals Soviet Union
- 891004 - Berlin Embassy cable, The GDR Political Crisis: Still Deepening West Germany

891101 - Soviet Record [1] of Conversation

891110 - Verbal Message from Mikhail Gorbachev to Francois Mitterand, Margaret Thatcher and George Bush Soviet Union

891110 - Berlin Embassy cable, ...And the Wall Ca[m]e (figuratively) Tumbling Down Germany

891110 - Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary Soviet Union

891110 - Verbal Message from Mikhail Gorbachev to Francois Mitterand, Margaret Thatcher and George Bush Germany

891110 - Telephone Conversation with Helmut Kohl, Chancellor - FDR Germany

891111 - Record of Telephone Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and Chancellor of the FRG Helmut Kohl Germany

891111 - Information about the Content of a Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl Germany

891114 - Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and President of France Francois Mitterand Germany

891114 - Secretary of State cable, Reply to Gorbachev Message on Berlin Germany

891116 - Transcript of the Plenum Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Bulgaria

891117 - Sofia Embassy cable, The November 16 Plenum: Mladenov Cleans House Bulgaria

891118 - T91 915yue8.1(ba2sy cable, The Brutommh)

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, Czechoslovak Press Coverage of Demonstration
Aftermath Shows Contradictory Lines Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, Czechoslovak Independents Establish New Organization
and List Agenda of Demands Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, American Woman's Account of November 17
Demonstration and Death of a Czech Student Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, Popular and Soviet Pressure for Reform Converge on the
Jakes Leadership Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, Demonstrations in Prague and Other Czechoslovak Cities
November 30 Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable. Student Strike Situation Report Czechoslovakia

891120 - Prague Embassy cable, November 21 Morning Demonstration At Wenceslas
Square: Overhead Conversations Czechoslovakia

891120 - Civic Forum's Exposition of its Position in Public Life with a Call for
Nonviolence, Tolerance and Dialogue Czechoslovakia

891120 - Czechoslovak Ministry of Interior Memorandum, Information Regarding the
Development of the Security Situation During the Period of the 17 November
Anniversary Czechoslovakia

891120 - Sofia Embassy cable, Bulgarian CP Politburo Member Lukanov Delivers 'Signal'
on Bulgarian Developments and U.S.-Bulgarian Relations Bulgaria

891121 - The Civic Forum's Position on the Negotiations of its Representatives with Prime
Minister Ladislav Adamec Czechoslovakia

891121 - Letter from the Civic Forum to US President George Bush and USSR General
Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev End of the Cold War Czechoslovakia

891121 - Teleprint from the Presidium of the CC CPS to the Secretaries of Regional
Committees of the CPCz [and] CPS and the Party Municipal Committees in
Prague and Bratislava End of the Cold War The Presidium of the CC CPCz
Czechoslovakia

891123 - The Declaration of Civic Forum Representative Vaclav Havel on Wenceslas
Square Czechoslovakia

891123 - Teleprint from Jozef Lenart, Secretary of CC CPS, to Regional Committees and
Municipal Committees in Prague and Bratislava Czechoslovakia

891123 - Teleprint, Summary of the Demands Made by Opposition Group Represented by the Civic Forum
Czechoslovakia

891124 - Speech by Premier Ladislav Adamec at a extraordinary session of the CPCz CC, stating his preference for a political solution to the crisis
Czechoslovakia

891124 - Draft Thesis of the Program of the Civic Forum
Czechoslovakia

891126 - List of Goals by the Civic Forum
Czechoslovakia

891128 - The Position of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence Toward the Negotiations with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec
Czechoslovakia

891128 - Internal Organization of the Civic Forum
Czechoslovakia

891128 - Teleprint, Information on the Conclusions of Nation-wide Party Congress held in Prague
Czechoslovakia

891129 - Instructions of the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum for the Local Forums with a Recommendation for Policy Toward the Communists
Czechoslovakia

891201 - Record of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and John Paul II
Poland

891201 - Bonn Embassy cable, Kohl's Ten-Point Program - Silence on the Role of the Four Powers
Germany

891201 - Department of State cable, Formal Remarks and Talking Points for Ambassador's Presentation of Credentials
Romania

891202 - The Malta Summit
Soviet Union

891204 - Sofia Embassy, Bulgarian Agrarian Party Conference Follows Communist Party Restructuring
Bulgaria

891204 - Minutes of the Meeting between Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev
Romania

891205 - Sofia Embassy cable, 'Party' Groups Proliferates as Independent Society Holds Its Strongest Public Meeting to Date
Bulgaria

891205 - Record of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the FRG H.D. Genscher
Germany

- 891212 - Sofia Embassy cable, Mladenov Suggests Abolition of 'Leading Role' Sets Party Congress for March and Promises Free Elections in 1990 Bulgaria
- 891212 - Sofia Embassy cable, Aleksandrov Touts Bulgarian Reform Bulgaria
- 891213 - Sofia Embassy cable, Fourth Vigil At Communist Headquarters Draws 12,000 Bulgaria
- 891213 - Letter by Ognyan Doynov to Delegates of the People's Assembly Bulgaria
- 891214 - Sofia Embassy cable, New Agrarian Leader Displays Reluctance to Challenge Communist Party Policies Bulgaria

891219 - Sofia Embassy cable, Muslims Meet to Hear Human Rights Leaders in Pomak Region Bulgaria

891219 - Secretary of State cable, Shevardnadze's Role in Zhivkov's Ouster Bulgaria

891219 - Secretary of State cable, Eur Daily Press Guidance - December 18, 1989 Bulgaria

891219 - Telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Bucharest) to all Embassies Romania

891220 - Sofia Embassy cable, The Bulgarian Ethnic Turk Problem: Straws in the Wind? Bulgaria

891220 - Sofia Embassy cable, Bulgaria Protests Romanian Border-Closing as Students Demonstrate at Romanian Embassy Bulgaria

891220 - Letter from E. Shevardnadze to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev Soviet Union

891221 - Sofia Embassy cable, Bulgarian Press Highlights, 14-18 Dec Bulgaria

891221 - Sofia Embassy cable, TFPM2: Anti-American Demonstration in Sofia Bulgaria

891221 - Telegram from the Romanian Embassy in Moscow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Romania

891221 - Memorandum of Conversation with the Ambassador of the SSR in the USSR Romania

891221 - Informational Note from the Romanian Embassy in Moscow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bucharest) Romania

891221 - Information Note from the Romanian Embassy in Moscow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Romania

891223 - Record of Conversation with the Ambassador of the SFRY in the USSR, Milan Veres
Yugoslavia

891224 - Record of Conversation with U.S. Ambassador to the USSR, J. Matlock
Romania

891228 - Sofia Embassy cable, Rusev Pessimistic on Future of Communist Party
Bulgaria

891229 - Sofia Embassy cable, Bulgaria at the Turn of the Decade Begins a Round-Table Dialogue on Political Change
Bulgaria

891229 - Sofia Embassy cable, Vodenikcharov Reports Successful Mass Meeting in Madan
Bulgaria

900000 - Malta Meeting Talking Points
Soviet Union

900109 - Memorandum from the CC CPSU International Department Towards a New Concept of Relations Between the USSR and the States of Central and Eastern Europe
Soviet Union

900209 - Transcript of Baker-Gorbachev Talks
Soviet Union

900213 - Telephone Call from Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany
West Germany

900328 - Review of U.S. Government International Broadcasting Activities
Soviet Union

900400 - CIA NIE, The Future of Eastern Europe
Eastern Europe

900400 - National Intelligence Council Memorandum, The Direction of Change in the Warsaw Pact
Soviet Union, Eastern Europe

901204 -	Secretary of State cable, US-Soviet Meetings in Angola	Soviet Union
910400 -	CIA Soviet Analysis, The Soviet Cauldron	Soviet Union
910600 -	CIA NIE, Implications of Alternative Soviet Futures	Soviet Union
910800 -	CIA NIE, Soviet Forces and Capabilities for Strategic Nuclear Conflict Through the Year 2000	Soviet Union
910900 -	CIA SNIE, The Republics of the Former USSR: The Outlook for the Next Year	Soviet Union
911100 -	CIA NIE, Civil Disorder in the Former USSR: Can It Be Managed This Winter?	Soviet Union
911100 -	CIA Interagency Intelligence Memorandum, Soviet Tactical Nuclear Forces and Gorbachev's Nuclear Pledges: impact, Motivations, and Next Steps	Soviet Union
911115 -	National Security Review, Intelligence Capabilities: 1992-2005	Soviet Union
911200 -	CIA NIE, The Winter of the Soviet Military: Cohesion or Collapse	Soviet Union
911215 -	Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution	Yugoslavia
911224 -	Letter to the President of the Security Council	Yugoslavia