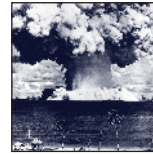




PARALLEL HISTORY PROJECT

A RESEARCH PROJECT ON COOPERATIVE SECURITY



www.isn.ethz.ch/php

June 2006

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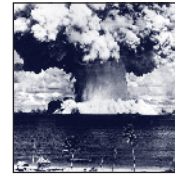


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«By far the most ambitious and integral project in the burgeoning field of cold war history has been the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact.»

Foreign Affairs (2005)

Robert Legvold, Columbia University



HIGHLIGHTS

Having focused as its first priority on the rivalry of the two Cold War alliances and its consequences for the contemporary world, the PHP has accomplished most of its original goals:

- **Declassification**, evaluation, and dissemination of documents from previously closed archives in East Central Europe;
- **Analysis and interpretation** of the new sources at international conferences;
- **Dissemination** of research results to academic and general audiences in print and online.

The development of the Project has benefited from its focus on **archival documents**, its commitment to **freedom of information**, and its flexible network of dedicated partner institutions. As a result, the Project has grown at a fast pace in terms of the documentation it was able to obtain, the global outreach it has achieved through its website as an online publishing house as well as through numerous international **conferences**, and the network of institutions and individual scholars it has brought together. For-

ign Affairs has called the PHP the “most ambitious and integral project in the burgeoning field of Cold War history.”

The PHP **website**, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php>, has become a leading online clearing-house for scholars, policymakers, students, and the wider public. Besides the innovative publication of thousands of original archival documents in facsimile, organized in readily accessible topical collections, the PHP website offers a regularly updated **bibliography** on the Cold War alliances, a conference section including comprehensive conference reports, besides other services to users.

The **worldwide use** of the PHP website has been increasing at a growing rate, indicative by the numbers of the sessions/visits in 2005 and the previous year (in parentheses). There were 800,063 (up from 304,094) sessions/visits, averaging 66,672 (25,341) per month, and 3,051,087 (1,641,760) page views, averaging 254,257 (136,813) per month. 1,600 subscribers receive the “PHP News” as a regular electronic mailing.

The growing **network** of PHP affiliates includes scholars and institutes from the wider transatlantic region as well as

from China and Japan. The PHP offers them framework for cooperative research, organization of conferences, and publication of the results of their work, providing financial support when appropriate.

The members of the network maintain frequent e-mail contact directly or through the Coordinator. They meet each fall for an **annual workshop** to discuss the Project’s accomplishments during the past year and decide on its plans for the coming year. The workshops have thus far taken place in Graz (Austria), Zurich, Vienna, Urbino (Italy), and Rome. Their input is then discussed each spring by the Project’s funding partners at a meeting in Zurich and incorporated into programs according to the available means.

The Project has systematically surveyed the richest body of documents on the Cold War available from the former Soviet bloc—the archives of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), now in Berlin and Freiburg. It has processed and made available for research about ten thousand of such documents. They include the unique set of records of the Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers of Defense, published on the PHP





HIGHLIGHTS



website. By agreement with the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the Former GDR Security Service, the PHP also made a survey of the previously unexplored Stasi intelligence files on NATO to ascertain the nature and extent of the Warsaw Pact's penetration of NATO, and posted the most relevant documents online.

The PHP has undertaken systematic efforts to persuade central and east European governments to declassify their holdings concerning the Warsaw Pact and NATO and make them available to research. In response to a PHP request to the Czech minister of defense, access was granted virtually without restrictions, resulting in the photocopying of approximately 10,000 pages of selected documents from the military, communist party, and foreign ministry archives. The research led to the discovery of the unique 1964 Warsaw Pact war plan—the first such plan of either of the Cold War alliances to come to light thus far.

PHP declassification requests to the Bulgarian ministries of defense, interior, and foreign affairs have enabled the Cold War Research Group-Bulgaria to supply

the PHP about 6,000 pages of documents from different local archives and proceed with research on Soviet bloc arms sales in the Third World. Selected documents have been published on two CD-ROMs and in two special collections on the PHP website—one on the end of the Warsaw Pact and the other its Crimea summits during the Brezhnev era.

The PHP-affiliated Cold War History Research Center in Budapest has completed a survey of all Warsaw Pact and NATO-related documents in Hungarian archives. On the PHP website has been posted a selection of about 1,000 of those highlighting the Warsaw Pact's most important developments, a series of war plans including scenarios for the nuclear destruction of major European cities, and records of meetings of the alliance's deputy ministers of foreign affairs—its main policy-making forum.

An October 2000 agreement with the Romanian defense ministry's military history institute resulted in the organization in the following year of a conference on "Romania in the Warsaw Pact." On that occasion, previously inaccessible documents were declassified and subse-

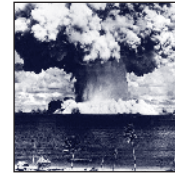
quently published on the PHP website, along with their English translations.

PHP interventions with successive Polish defense ministers to open the country's Warsaw Pact files finally brought results in the highly publicized decision by the incoming government in 2005 that made them available for research. The PHP has also published revealing oral history interviews with former Polish generals, including Gen. Jaruzelski and Gen. Siwicki. The transcripts, posted on the PHP website, triggered similar oral history projects with East German and Czechoslovak generals, the latter of which have also appear on the website.

On the Western side, the National Security Archive in Washington has been instrumental in ensuring the transfer of declassified documents from the NATO Central Registry from the Pentagon to the US National Archives. The Archive's Freedom of Information Act requests have brought into public domain vast documentation on topical issues in US security policy, attracting extensive attention by the media.

The Zurich-based research group has documented NATO's political transfor-





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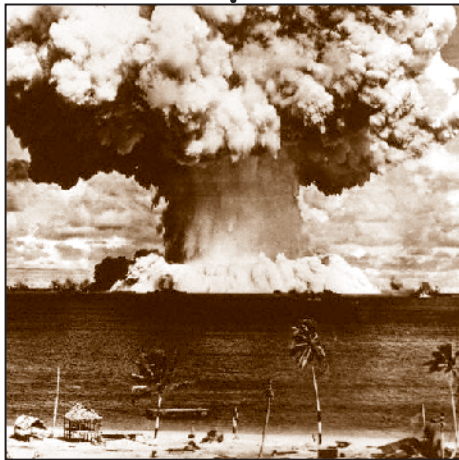


mation in 1956-68 through systematic research on the inner workings of the alliance and the role of its Secretary-General in archives in the US, Canada, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, besides the NATO Archives in Brussels. In cooperation with these Archives, the PHP was the first to publish on its website the NATO files on the 1966-67 Harmel Exercise.

PHP associate Bernd Schaefer, of the German Historical Institute in Washington, conducted a systematic survey of East German archival materials on the Soviet bloc's relations with China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Mongolia, and made selected documents available on the PHP website.

The PHP's Danish partner, the Institute for International Studies in Copenhagen, has made available the results of its five-year project on Denmark in the Cold War in a 2,350-page online publication.





RESEARCH INTERESTS

The thrust of PHP research interest is in the recent historical origins and development of current security issues and institutions on the basis of newly available documentary evidence. To obtain such evidence, the project will continue to collect newly declassified archival sources, promote declassification of still classified documents, sponsor oral history interviews and roundtables with former policy makers and other witnesses of the time. It will publish documents, in original and in English, and the results of research on the PHP website as well as in printed form, particularly in its series of CSS Studies in Security and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge).

The main issues of research interest in the coming years are:

The European Security Model. Following on conferences, “NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and Détente, 1965–73” (Dobbiaco 2002), “The Road to Helsinki: The Early Steps of the CSCE” (Florence 2003), “At the Roots of European Security: Thirty Years since the Helsinki Final Act” (Zurich 2005). Research on the CSCE/OSCE,

WEU, and CFSP in Historical Archives of the European Communities (Florence), records of the Western European Union and of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in its member states (USA, Canada, Western and Eastern Europe), records of the OSCE, oral history interviews.

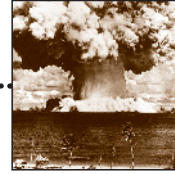
NATO Enlargement and Its Out-of-Area Problem. Following on conferences, “NATO in the 1960’s: Challenges beyond Deterrence” (Zurich 2004) and “A Strained Partnership: European-American Relations and the Middle East from Suez to Iraq” (Zurich 2006). Research on early enlargements (Greece, Turkey, Spain), France, Belgium, Portugal and their colonial wars, the Vietnam War, and Middle East conflicts in NATO Historical Archives (Brussels), archives of NATO member states and of former Warsaw Pact countries.

Regional Security in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Following on the conference, “Mongolia and the Cold War” (Ulanbaatar 2004) and oral history roundtables with Chinese and East European diplo-

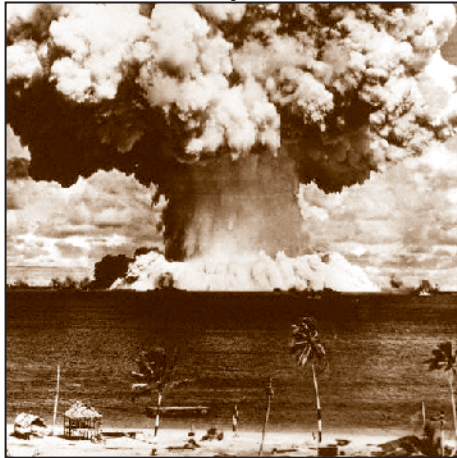
matas as well as Chinese and West European diplomats (Beijing 2004, Shanghai 2007). Research on regional security projects (Baghdad Pact, SEATO, ANZUS, Nonaligned Movement, ASEAN, Arab League, Organization of American States, Organization of African Unity, and others) in regional archives, UN Archives (New York), OAS archives, US National Archives, and UK National Archives (Kew/London); interviews and oral history roundtables.

Threat Perceptions, Strategic Doctrines, Military Plans: Overcoming the Legacies of the Cold War. Following on the publication by the PHP of *A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact* (2005), *War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War* (2006), conference on “Military Planning for European Theatre Conflict during the Cold War” (Stockholm 2006), and research in Bulgarian archives on arms trade. Research on national enemy images, changing nature of deterrence and neutrality, “revolution in military affairs,” arms trade, civil wars and great-power involvements in the Third World in US National Archives, Western and





RESEARCH INTERESTS



Eastern European military archives, party and foreign ministry archives in Moscow, Russian Central Archives of Economics, NATO, and other archives.

Peacekeeping and Nongovernmental Organizations as New Security Factors during and after the Cold War. Following on publications by PHP-affiliated Institute of Military Studies in Vienna and Netherlands Institute of Military History. Research on UN peacekeeping operations in Cyprus, Middle East, Congo, India-Pakistan, Dominican Republic, West New Guinea, Iran-Iraq, Angola, former Yugoslavia, and others in UN, US, British, Netherlands, and other archives, and in NGO archives.





CONFERENCES



The PHP has organized several international conferences on a wide range of security aspects during the Cold War including threat perceptions and military planning, intelligence, alliance management within NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and security and cooperation in Europe. Besides academic conferences, the events have included critical oral history conferences with witnesses of the time. Edited volumes resulting from the conferences are included in the “List of Publications.” Conference reports are available on the website

A Strained Partnership: European-American Relations and the Middle East from Suez to Iraq, Zurich, 7–9 September 2006

The conference, organized by the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich as a PHP partner, is designed to assemble the most innovative results in research on transatlantic strains over the Middle East in a historical perspective with current policy implications. A book publication is envisaged.

Military Planning for European Theatre Conflict during the Cold War, Stockholm, 23–24 April 2006

An oral history conference which brought together former high Soviet and other Warsaw Pact military involved in the planning at the Central Front with their US and other NATO counterparts. This was the first time that such high-ranking representatives of the former enemies openly discussed actual military planning in interaction with academic specialist. Reports and transcript of the proceedings are forthcoming on the PHP website.

At the Roots of the European Security System: Thirty Years Since the Helsinki Final Act, Zurich, 8–10 September 2005

Hosted by the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich as a partner in the PHP, this conference brought together about 30 international scholars and time witnesses who jointly reevaluated the CSCE with a view to the transformation of the security system in Europe. A book publication of selected contribution is envisaged. A detailed conference report is available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>

php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2005_CSCE_Report.pdf.

Book Launches of A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991, Vienna, Warsaw, Washington, 11 May, 14 May, 9 June 2005

All three seminars were dedicated to the discussion of the recently published *A Cardboard Castle*, edited by Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne, which is described in the “List of Publications.”

Intelligence in Waging the Cold War: NATO, Warsaw Pact, and Neutrals, 1949–90, Oslo, 29–30 April 2005

Organized by the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies as a partner in the PHP, this conference examined the impact of intelligence and stay-behind activities in a comparative perspective. A book publication is in planning.

NATO in the 1960s: Challenges beyond Deterrence, Zurich, 26–28 August 2004

Some 25 historians examined the non-military challenges to NATO in the 1960s at a conference organized by the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zu-





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rich. Selected contributions will be published in two book projects in 2006. A detailed conference report is available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2004_zurich_report.pdf.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Intra-bloc Conflicts, Kent, Ohio, 23–24 April 2004

This conference, organized by the Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies as an associate in the PHP, explored the structures and internal challenges to the integrity of the Cold War alliances. A book publication is pending.

Reviewing the Relations between China and East European Countries: From the 1960s to the 1980s, Beijing, 24–26 March 2004

Focusing on the complex relations between Eastern Europe and China during the Cold War, this PHP oral history conference brought together veteran European and Chinese diplomats and scholars for the first time. They discussed security implications of the US–Chinese rapprochement, China’s policies toward the Warsaw Pact and NATO, Soviet per-

ceptions of China as a silent ally of the West, and bilateral relations between China and East Central European states. A conference report is available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2004_Beijing_seminar_report.pdf. The proceedings appeared in English in the series *Zürcher Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung und Konfliktforschung*, as well as on the PHO website, and in Chinese at [http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/documents/collection_china1/Chinese %20steno%20record.pdf](http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/documents/collection_china1/Chinese%20steno%20record.pdf).

NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the European Nonaligned, 1949–75: Threat Assessments, Doctrines and War Plans, Spitzbergen, 12–14 June 2003

Pursuing a comparative approach including the two Cold War alliances and the neutrals, the conference, organized by the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies as a partner in the PHP, the conference assembled some 40 scholars and veteran diplomats. A brief conference report is available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2003_spitzbergen_conference-report.htm. An edited volume resulting

from the conference has been published in spring 2006.

Romania in the Warsaw Pact, Bucharest, 3–6 October 2002

Co-sponsored by the CWIHP and the PHP, the conference responded to unprecedented declassification of governmental records in Romania. The conference was the first international gathering to review the nonconformist role of Romania in the fabric of the Warsaw Pact. A book publications will be out in 2006.

NATO, the Warsaw Pact and Détente, 1965–73, Dobbiaco, 26–28 September 2002

Organized by the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies as a partner in the PHP, this large conference focused on the early stages of détente in relation to the military alliances of the Cold War. The resulting book publication is envisaged for 2006.





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Conferences Co-sponsored by the PHP

From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975-1985: The Globalization of the Bipolar Confrontation, Artimino, Italy, 27–29 April 2006

Organized by the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies as a PHP partner, the conference presented new research to provide a new narrative of the last decade of the Cold War. It aimed at accounting for several critical aspects that emerged during that time, resulting in a change in the nature of the international system. It sought to advance the understanding of the shift from a bilateral to global confrontation.

Mongolia and the Cold War, Ulaanbaatar, 19–20 March 2004

This conference was hosted by the Institute of International Studies of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and Pax Mongolica and co-sponsored by the PHP together with the National Security Archive, the International Cold War International History Project (CWIHP), the George Washington University Cold War Group, and the LSE Cold War Studies Centre. A conference report is available at

http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2004_ulaanbaatar_report.pdf.

The Cold War in Asia, Budapest, 30 October–2 November 2003

The conference was co-organized and hosted by the Cold War History Research Center in Budapest and co-sponsored by the Cold War International History Project (CWIHP), the National Security Archive (NSA), and the PHP. It explored the Cold War in Asia through the lens of material available in Eastern Europe.

The Road to Helsinki: The Early Steps of the CSCE, Florence, 29–30 September 2003

This oral history workshop, organized by the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies as a partner in the PHP, provided timely insights into the beginnings of the CSCE. Selected audio files are available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php/conferences/PreviousEvents/2003_florence_audio.htm.

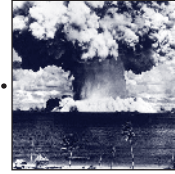
American Détente and German Ostpolitik, 1969–72, Washington, 9–10 May 2002

This conference was hosted by the German Historical Institute and co-sponsored by the by the Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung in Berlin, the Cold War International History Project in Washington and the PHP. Participants including former policymakers and diplomats Egon Bahr, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Vyacheslav Kevorkov, James S. Sutterlin, and Kenneth N. Skoug, debated US and German foreign policies during the high tide of European détente.

The Year 1956 and Austria, Vienna, 8–10 October 2001

The conference was organized and hosted by the Institute of Military Studies at the National Defense Academy in Vienna and led to the publication of Erwin A. Schmidl (ed.), *Die Ungarnkrise 1956 und Österreich* (Wien: Böhlau, 2003). Included in the volume is a chapter on the role of the Soviet Union prepared by Russian military historian Valeri Vartanov.





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The Cold War in the Mediterranean,
Cortona, 5–6 October 2001

The conference was organized by the Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli in Milan, the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci in Rome, and the Curiel Center for International Studies at Tel Aviv University. The PHP took part in the preparation of the program and the commissioning of the papers, with an emphasis on the alliance rivalries in the Mediterranean from 1949 to 1969.





PUBLICATIONS



Included are books and articles prepared by scholars affiliated with the PHP as well as analytical essays published on the project's website.

A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955–1991, ed. by Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne (Budapest: Central European Press, 2005)

This 776-page volume on the history of the Warsaw Pact is the first book to document, analyze, and interpret the history of the Warsaw Pact based on Russian and East European archives. As suggested by the title, the Soviet bloc military machine that held the West in awe for most of the Cold War does not appear from the inside as formidable as outsiders often believed, nor were its strengths and weaknesses the same at different times in its surprisingly long history, extending for almost half a century. The introductory 74-page study by Mastny assesses the controversial origins of the “superfluous” alliance, its subsequent search for a purpose, its crisis and consolidation despite congenital weaknesses, as well as its unexpected demise. Most of the 193 documents included in the book

were top secret and have only recently been obtained from Eastern European archives by the PHP. The majority of the documents were translated specifically for this volume and have never appeared in English before.

The introductory remarks to individual documents by co-editor Byrne explain the particular significance of each item. A chronology of the main events in the history of the Warsaw Pact, a list of its leading officials, a selective multilingual bibliography, and an analytical index add to the importance of a publication that sets the new standard as a reference work on the subject and facilitate its use by both students and general readers.

Using its website (www.isn.ethz.ch/php) as an innovative publication tool, the PHP has made available all 193 documents also in full in their original language on the PHP website.

Edited Books
resulting from PHP conferences made available since 2004 and forthcoming.

China and Eastern Europe, 1960s–1980s, ed. by Xiaoyuan Liu and Vojtech Mastny (Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2004)

This book is the result of an international seminar held in Beijing from 24–26 March 2004. The proceedings provide a chronological review of Chinese-Eastern European relations and feature analysis and interpretation from the perspective of veteran diplomats and former party officials. Among the main themes addressed are the Vietnam War, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, as well as the impact of Chinese-American détente on Chinese-Eastern European relations in the 1970s. A Chinese version of the proceedings is available on the PHP website at www.isn.ethz.ch/php.





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War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War: Threat Perceptions in the East and West, ed. by Vojtech Mastny, Sven G. Holtsmark, and Andreas Wenger (London: Routledge, 2006)

This volume reviews the threat perceptions, military doctrines, and war plans of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War, as well as the position of the neutrals, from a post-Cold War perspective. Based on previously unknown archival evidence from both East and West, the 12 essays in this collection focus on the potential European battlefield rather than the strategic competition between the superpowers. They present conclusions about the nature of the Soviet threat that previously could only be speculated about and analyze the interaction between military matters and politics in the alliance management on both sides, with implications for the present crisis of the Western alliance. Focusing on the potential European battlefield rather than the strategic competition between the superpowers, the book explores the Cold War roots of the different American and European approaches to security. The conclusions about the strengths and

weaknesses of the two alliances highlight the importance of political determinants of the cohesion of NATO after 1991.

Aspects of NATO History, 1956–75, ed. by Christian Nuenlist and Anna Locher (Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2006).

11 essays focus on the role of NATO personalities including NATO Secretary-General Manlio Brosio, Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel, and West German Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt, on the diverging views in the US and Western Europe on central aspects such as the Berlin Crisis, nuclear sharing, and disarmament, as well as on the national perspectives of Canada and Belgium. All chapters are based on papers presented at the international conference “NATO in the 1960s”, hosted by the Center for Security Studies in Zurich in August 2004.

Transforming NATO during the Cold War: Challenges Beyond Deterrence in the 1960s, ed. by Andreas Wenger, Christian Nuenlist, and Anna Locher (London: Routledge, 2006)

Based on archival evidence from the

NATO archives and the archives of member nations, the 12 chapters in this collection focus on the expansion of NATO’s political functions rather than of its military and force planning functions. They present conclusions about how NATO, in the context of the Berlin crisis, dealt with the twin challenges of Gaullism and détente, which had serious implications for the reform of NATO into a more political and less hierarchical alliance later in the decade. Draft versions of the chapters have been presented at the NATO conference in August 2004, organized by the Center for Security Studies.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Intra-bloc Conflicts, ed. by Ann Mary Heiss and S. Victor Papacosma (Kent, OH: Kent University Press, 2006)

Based on contributions made at a PHP conference organized by the Lemnitzer Center in Kent, Ohio, in April 2004, this book includes chapters by leading scholars on NATO and the Warsaw Pact on West-West and East-East conflicts rather than East-West conflicts during the cold war. Lawrence S. Kaplan provides an overview over the transatlantic relationship during



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the cold war, while Vojtech Mastny characterizes the evolution of the Warsaw Pact from 1950 to 1991 as an “alliance in search for a purpose”. Selected case studies discuss intra-allied troubles including the Suez crisis, de Gaulle’s challenge to NATO, the Multilateral Force (MLF), the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the Sino-Soviet split or Romania’s maverick position within the Warsaw Pact.

At the Roots of the European Security System: The Early Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965–75, ed. Vojtech Mastny, Andreas Wenger, and Christian Nuenlist (London: Routledge, 2007)

This volume provides new perspectives on the origins of the Helsinki process. Based on papers presented at the international conference in Rüschnikon/Zurich in September 2005, 12 essays focus on the role of the United States and the Soviet Union in the process of European détente from 1965 to 1975, on Eastern and Western strategies as well as on the role of the neutrals, economics, and military security. The chapters analyze the controversial role of Henry Kissinger and shed new light on the contributions

to the early Helsinki process by Canada, the European Community, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the neutrals, Poland, the GDR, and China. All papers are based on archival evidence, which has become available only recently.

Cold War Alliances and the Rise of Détente, 1965–73, ed. by Ennio di Nolfo, Massimiliano Guderzo, Leopoldo Nuti, and Christian Ostermann (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007)

This book includes 22 chapters based on conference papers presented in September 2002 at a PHP conference organized by the Machiavelli Center of Cold War Studies and held in Dobbiaco, Italy. The volume focuses on tensions over détente in the Western alliance, national perceptions of détente in the US, France, West Germany, the transformation of NATO in the 1960s, on European disputes including Great Britain entering the EEC as well as Khrushchev’s and Brezhnev’s visions of détente, the role of China, Romania, Poland, and the GDR in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Analytical Essays on the PHP Website
Since the year 2000, PHP affiliates have written more than 30 analytical introductions to PHP document collections exclusively for the PHP website. They are listed here chronologically according to their publishing date:

- Vojtech Mastny: “**Planning for the Unplannable**” (2000)
- Petr Luňák: “**The Warsaw Pact War Plan of 1964**” (2000)
- Jordan Baev: “**The End of the Warsaw Pact 1985–1991: Viewed from the Bulgarian Archives**” (2000)
- Vojtech Mastny: “**Records of the Meetings of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, 1956–1991**” (2001–2003)
- Christian Nuenlist: “**Cold War Generals: The Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers of Defense, 1969–1991**” (2001)
- Bernd Schaefer: “**The U.S. Air Raid on Libya in April 1986: A Confidential Account from the Stasi Archives**” (2001)





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- Anna Locher: “Shaping the Policies of Alliance: The Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, 1964–1991” (2002)
- William Burr and Robert Wampler: “Lifting the Veil on Cosmic: Declassified U.S. and British Documents on NATO Military Planning and Threat Assessments of the Warsaw Pact” (2002)
- Matthias Uhl: “Nuclear Warhead Delivery Systems for the Warsaw Pact, 1961–65: Documents from the Russian State Archives of Economics and the German Federal Military Archives on the Reorganization and Modernization of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Bloc” (2002)
- Vojtech Mastny: “Warsaw Pact Generals in Polish Uniforms” (2002)
- Imre Okváth: “Hungary in the Warsaw Pact: The Initial Phase of Integration, 1957–1971” (2002)
- Leopoldo Nuti: “Comment on the 1965 Warsaw Pact War Game Exercise” (2002)
- Erwin Schmidl: “Comment on the 1965 Warsaw Pact War Game Exercise” (2002)
- Paweł Piotrowski: “A Landing Operation in Denmark” (2002)
- Vojtech Mastny: “China, the Warsaw Pact, and Sino-Soviet Relations under Khrushchev” (2002)
- Shen Zhihua: “Khrushchev, Mao and the Unrealized Sino-Soviet Military Cooperation” (2002)
- Evgeny A. Negin and Yuri N. Smirnov: “Did the USSR Share Atomic Secrets with China?” (2002)
- Vojtech Mastny: “Mysterious Submarines in Swedish Waters” (2002)
- Dennis Deletant: “Romania, 1948–1989: A Historical Overview” (2003)
- Jordan Baev: “The ‘Crimean Meetings’ of the Warsaw Pact Countries’ Leaders” (2003)
- Bernd Schaefer: “The Warsaw Pact’s Intelligence on NATO: East German Military Espionage Against the West” (2003)
- Vojtech Mastny: “Did East German Spies Prevent a Nuclear War?” (2003)
- Svend Age Christensen and Frede P. Jensen: “Superpower under Pressure: The Secret Speech of Minister of Defense Marshal Zhukov in East Berlin, March 1957” (2004)
- Andreas Wenger: “The Multilateralization of Détente: NATO and the Harmel Exercise, 1966–67” (2004)
- László Ritter: “War on Tito’s Yugoslavia? The Hungarian Army in Early Cold War Soviet Strategies” (2005)
- Christopher Winkler: “Between Conflict and Gentlemen’s Agreement: The Military Liaison Missions of the Western Allies in Potsdam” (2005)
- Csaba Békés: “Records of the Meetings of the Warsaw Pact Deputy Foreign Ministers” (2005)





PUBLICATIONS



Print Publications Resulting From PHP Research

The following list includes selected articles and books by PHP affiliates.

On the Parallel History Project:

Anna Locher and Christian Nünlist, “Internationale Sicherheitspolitik im Kalten Krieg: Das Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP),” in *Bulletin 2003 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik*, ed. Andreas Wenger (Zürich: Forschungsstelle für Sicherheitspolitik, 2003), pp. 161–70.

Vojtech Mastny, “The New History of Cold War Alliances,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 2 (2002), pp. 55–84.

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Partners

Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland

The Center is an independent academic institution engaged in research and teaching in the fields of national and international security policy and conflict analysis. It hosts the International Relations and Security Network (ISN), a leading Internet-based network of electronic services in the fields of international relations and security policy.

www.css.ethz.ch/ www.isn.ethz.ch/php

Danish Institute of International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark

The Danish Institute for International Studies, which took over the activities of the Danish Institute of International Affairs (DIIS) in 2003, is involved in research and consulting on subjects including foreign aid, conflict management, international terrorism, democratization and the Middle East, international justice and migration, and the Cold War in Danish foreign policy.

<http://www.diis.dk/>

Institute for Strategy and Security Policy at the Austrian Defence Academy, Vienna, Austria

The Institute's major areas of research are the Cold War and international peace operations, with a special attention to the role of Austria. Its publications, including the annual *Jahrbuch für Internationale Sicherheitspolitik*, are particularly concerned with regional security in Eastern Europe and developments in the Balkans.

Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, Florence, Italy

CIMA (Centro Interuniversitario Machiavelli per lo Studio dei Conflitti Strutturali della Guerra Fredda) coordinates research of Italian historians on the Cold War, uniting departments of the Universities of Florence, Padua, Pavia, Perugia, Roma Tre, and Urbino.

<http://www.machiavellicenter.net/>

National Security Archive, Washington DC, USA

The National Security Archive, an independent non-governmental research institute and library located at The George

Washington University in Washington DC, promotes openness in the archives, and collects and publishes declassified documents acquired through the US Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/

Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Oslo, Norway

The Institute is an independent research institute administratively attached to the National Defense College. Research at the Institute focuses on Norwegian defense, security and foreign policies, Russian and Central European studies, and Western security studies.

<http://www.mil.no>

Associates

Cold War Research Group-Bulgaria, Sofia, Bulgaria

An independent non-governmental organization founded in August 1998, the group consists of researchers affiliated with the Bulgarian Association of Military History. A major aim of the group is the promotion of openness in the archives.





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The Party History Research Center of the Central Committee of the CCP, Beijing, China

The Center, responsible for historical research on the Chinese Communist Party, collects, analyzes and compiles important party historical materials, oral histories and memoirs, and promotes the achievements of party history research to advise party cadres and masses.

Cold War History Research Center, Shanghai, China

Founded in 2001 at East China Normal University as an independent Institute for studying the international history of the Cold War, the Center makes systematic efforts on using archival sources of China, Russia, US and other countries to study the Cold War, and seeks to combine the study of Chinese international relations with research on the global Cold War.

Center for Cold War History at the Institute for Contemporary History, Prague, Czech Republic

The Center integrates research on the international context of post-World War

II history of Czechoslovakia with research on the general history of the Cold War. Its members conduct systematic research in Czech archives on Cold War topics, participate in international projects, and prepare editions of documents.

Association “Diplomatie et Stratégie”, Paris, France

The association, in close cooperation with universities and research institutions, promotes, facilitates, and sponsors research, conferences and the publication of studies on the diplomatic, cultural and military aspects of the Cold War.

Federal Military Archives, Freiburg, Germany

The Federal Military Archives contains the records of the former GDR Army (Nationale Volksarmee). It also stores private papers, collections on military history, soldiers’ and veterans’ organizations, associations of military sciences, maps, drawings, official prints, pictures, and microfilms. The Archives’ most important finding aids are accessible on its website as well as on the PHP website.

Institute of Contemporary History, Munich/Berlin, Germany

A national research institution founded in 1949, the Institute focuses on both West German foreign policy — it edits the Documents on Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany — and the former GDR and Soviet policy, especially in Central Europe. It has been publishing the quarterly Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte since 1953.

Cold War History Research Center, Budapest, Hungary

Seeking to integrate the study of Hungarian foreign policy with research on the global history of the Cold War, the Center conducts a systematic exploration of Hungarian archives, participates in international research by bringing together scholars working on specific projects, and raises funds to facilitate their financing.

Open Society Archives, Budapest, Hungary

OSA, an international archival, research and educational institution, has one of the world’s largest collections of





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documents on communism and the Cold War, the core of which is the archive of the former Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute.

Institute of Political Studies, Warsaw, Poland

Founded in 1990 as a new component of the reorganized Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Political Studies in Warsaw focuses on problems of post-communist societies, and sponsors theoretical and empirical studies using interdisciplinary and comparative approaches. Besides recent history, its research units include security studies, political theory, and sociology.

Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, Bucharest, Romania

Established in 1969 and reorganized in 1998, the Institute is functioning within the Ministry of National Defense as a center for research on national security, defense policy, and military history.

The Romanian Institute for Recent History, Bucharest, Romania

The Institute (IRIR) is an independent non-governmental organization created in 2000 to study Romanian history since the 1930s. It promotes better understanding of history through the opening of archives, innovative research, publications in print and online, and interaction between scholars and the wider public, thus seeking to contribute to the growth of civil society.

Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies, Kent, Ohio, USA

Kent State University's Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies devotes its activities to the expansion and dissemination of scholarly knowledge about NATO, the European Union, and related European-American issues. It has published over 10 books.

Cold War International History Project, Washington DC, USA

Established in 1991 by US Cold War scholars at the Woodrow Wilson Center, the project has benefited from its unique proximity to archives, from its access to

both the Washington policy community and the world of scholarship, and in particular from the opportunities provided by archival openings in the former Soviet bloc. The project's activities include the publication of the Bulletin, periodic working papers and books, scholarly conferences, workshops, and seminars, as well as the sponsoring of fellowships.

Research Group for the Study of Stasi Archives, Washington DC, USA

In collaboration with the Research Department of the Office of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU) in Berlin, the Group seeks to select and declassify East German intelligence documents related to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

