

SUMMARY
of the Ph.D. thesis under the title:
The role of the II Division of the Polish General Staff in the Soviet operation codenamed
"MOCR -Trust"

Ph.D. thesis under the above mentioned title is an analysis of the Soviet counterintelligence operation (more precisely, due to the successive reorganizations of the Soviet secret police, carried out by the *Osobyi Otdiel* (OO Cheka), *Kontrrazvedyvatelnyi Otdiel Glavnoye Politicheskoe Upravleniye* (KRO GPU) and finally, *KRO Obyedinionnoe GPU*) conducted in the years 1921 - 1927 in order to disinform both military-political organizations of the so called "white" Russian emigration in the West and in Soviet Russia, as well as military intelligence organizations of the western powers, and states neighbouring Soviet territory.

Disinformation campaign was run on a large scale (as the Soviets made their way to all organizations of the Russian emigration and to most intelligence organizations of states considered by the GPU to be enemies). The operation itself was the result of political demands arising from the urgent need to consolidate the Soviet power and to rebuild the army and the economy destroyed by two revolutions (February and October) and the civil war waged in the way, which was extremely brutal and destructive for the social fabric.

Soviet counterintelligence, to be able to achieve the above named goals, created the fictional, oppositional organization, which established contacts with representatives of the Western general staffs and white emigration, convincing them that the days of Soviet Russia are numbered, because - disillusioned with Bolshevism - elite troops, administration and even the GPU itself - formed a plot, to seize power in Russia and to rebuild the pre-revolutionary Russia, but in a version uniting the constitutional monarchy with the existence of "soviets" (councils) as representatives of the broad masses of society. The overthrow of the Bolshevik regime was supposed to take place within the framework of this military coup carried out by the conspirators and supported by troops of the Red Army and GPU participating in the conspiracy.

The GPU's agents-provocateurs, who were sent to the West, claimed that a New Economic Policy (NEP) allegedly aimed at restoring bourgeois relations in revolutionary Russia. Thus, the GPU used the tactical change in the economic policy of the Soviet regime to authenticate the assumptions of its disinformation operation, that is, to convince the West that Russia was approaching the *coup d'etat*, which would result in restoring of the monarchy in the version acceptable to Western democracies, which were interested in the repayment of the tsarist Russia's debts, as well as in full economic opening of Russia to the West, interested in the exploitation of Russia's natural resources.

For the first time in the history of secret services, the ideas developed by the high officials of the tsarist Okhrana (Sergei Zubatov, Vladimir Dzhunkovkiy and Arkadiy Koshko, according to which it was possible to manipulate the opponent groups through fictitious organizations controlled entirely by the security authorities by a network of provocative agents - biographically and culturally deriving from the target environments), were used on a large scale in practice .

Due to the masterful realization of these assumptions by KRO GPU and well-selected team of provocateurs and infiltration agents acting under the strict control of the Soviet counterintelligence, Soviet Russia managed to obtain the necessary time (the so-called

pieredyshka), and infusion of the technology specialist and money flowing from the West, despite of the knowledge that the Soviets constantly - both declaratively and practically - aimed to overthrow the western political systems.

The importance of the Trust operation as a research problem results out of three elements:

- the analysis of the operation's assumptions allows us to understand decision-making processes of the Western powers, whose inaction and incomprehensibility - from the point of view of geopolitics - economical interaction with the Soviet state in the first years after the civil war helped the Bolshevik regime rebuild the economy, strengthen the control over the territory and modernize the army, which secured the continued existence of the USSR and gave the foundation for the future role of Soviet Russia as the world's superpower;
- the analysis of the operation gives a basis for understanding the dynamics of the Polish intelligence service (the II Division of the General Staff), which - as a result of the constant contact with the Soviet provocateurs - in fact, became a tool of the GPU, which used the Polish army to effectively implement agents in Western Europe, additionally at the timeframe 1921 to 1939 Polish intelligence was not able to conduct the "deep dive" intelligence activities in the Soviet Union, which resulted in the complete surprise of the Polish government by the invasion of the Red Army on September 17, 1939;
- finally, thanks to understanding that the analyzed operation became a canvas for the strategic assumptions of Soviet intelligence apparatus, the historical analysis gives an opportunity, to work out a paradigm of the whole activity of the Soviet-Russian secret service from 1921 to the present day.

The analysis of the Trust operation in the Ph.D. thesis was based on the following sources:

- on the testimony of the alleged defector of the OGPU, Eduard Oppenput, who - after having played a key role in disinforming Russian emigration and Polish intelligence - fled to the West, where he allegedly unveiled the real character of MOCR-Trust, which was (as illustrated in the thesis) *de facto* a continuation of the operation, but in a new form;
- the written explanations of the officers of the II Division of the GS and of White Guard emissaries, who were victims of provocative activities carried out by the GPU;
- on remnant archival materials produced by the II Division of the GS (both in HQ and in intelligence outposts operating in the interior and in the exterior) documenting the activities of the Polish intelligence during the disinformation operation carried out by the Soviets;
- on press materials, appearing both in the Russian exile press and in the Soviet press during the operation, especially at its final stage;
- on remembrance works of Polish officers of the II Division of the GS and representatives of Russian emigration, who were victims of Soviet provocateurs;
- on historical monographs, trying to reconstruct out of the poor and manipulated documentary both the course of the operation and the political and military context of the events;
- and finally, the *quasi-documentary* literary works, which were created under the auspices of the Soviet secret police, designed to shape the discourse on the Trust operation in the direction desired by the Soviet counterintelligence.

The main research objective of this paper is making possible the most comprehensive analysis of the MOCR –Trust operation, considering it as a *case study* necessary both for

understanding operational methods developed by the GPU at that time and above all, explaining, how it came to the use of the II Division of the GS by the Soviets, who managed to transform the Polish intelligence into a key assistance in the whole operation.

To enable conducting the comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon named above, in the Ph.D. thesis the following research topics were raised:

- Theoretical basis of the disinformation operations, put in the historical perspective, their invention and evolution were elaborated upon.
- Two main elements of the Trust operation, that is, the Soviet GPU as a disinforming manipulator, and "white emigration" and the II Division of the Polish GS as victims of disinformation were scrutinized, to determine, why the Polish military intelligence was chosen as the main disinformation channel.
- Both the political demands behind the initiation of the Trust operation and the operational goals set by the GPU were analyzed.
- The analysis was put in a broad context of the Soviet Russia's foreign and domestic policy, which allowed to understand the reasons standing behind the operation.
- The information channels used by the GPU to disinform the II Division of the Polish GS were analyzed .
- The methodology of establishing contact with the victims of disinformation by the Soviet double agents, as well as ways of validating double agents were outlined.
- The main element of the basic scheme of the described disinformation operation, that is, the so-called "feedback loop" was characterized.
- The completion of the operation, that is, E. Opperput's alleged escape from the USSR and its probable, operational goals were described and analyzed.
- At the end of the analysis, sources of the II Division of the Polish GS's failure due to the new methodology used by the Soviets, were analyze. Both factors associated with cognitive psychology and the psychology of the organization functioning, as well as political conditions of the operation's success were elaborated upon.

A hypothesis related to the possibility of influential agents and "moles" operating in the II Division of the GS was put forward. A circumstantial analysis was carried out, to identify possible moles in the Polish II Division of the GS. However the "moles" hypothesis requires further, long term research, to be confirmed or to be refuted

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Linda', is located at the bottom right of the page.