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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

19 July 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence
FROM : William W. Wells
Deputy Director for Operations
SUBJECT : WARSAW PACT JOURNAL: Guarding
Peace and Socialism

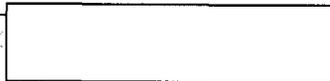
1. The enclosed Intelligence Information Special Report is part of a series now in preparation based on articles from a ~~SECRET~~ Soviet publication called Information Collection of the Headquarters and the Technical Committee of the Combined Armed Forces. This article by the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces opens the first issue of the Collection with an examination in historical context of the creation and development of the Warsaw Pact as a response to NATO. The major emphasis of the article is placed on the work and declarations of the Political Consultative Committee, the development of the Combined Armed Forces, and on the important combined exercises of 1965-1970. The author also touches briefly on the functions of the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Combined Command, the Technical Committee, the Military Council and the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces. This journal is published by Warsaw Pact Headquarters in Moscow, and it consists of articles by Warsaw Pact officers. This article appeared in Issue No. 1, which was published in 1970.

2. Because the source of this report is extremely sensitive, this document should be handled on a strict need-to-know basis within recipient agencies. For ease of reference, reports from this publication have been assigned

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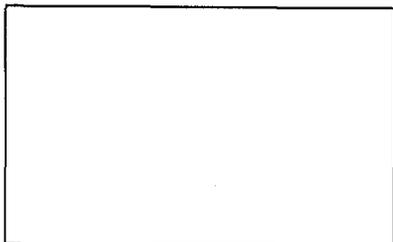
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Intelligence Information Special Report

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COUNTRY USSR/WARSAW PACT

DATE OF
INFO. December 1970

19 July 1976

SUBJECT

WARSAW PACT JOURNAL: Guarding Peace and Socialism

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

The following report is a translation from Russian of an article from a SECRET Soviet publication called Information Collection of the Headquarters and the Technical Committee of the Combined Armed Forces. This journal is published by Warsaw Pact Headquarters in Moscow, and it consists of articles by Warsaw Pact officers. This article was written by Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovskiy, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces. This article, which opens the first issue of the Collection, examines in historical context the creation and development of the Warsaw Pact as a defensive coalition to respond to the NATO threat, and defines its political, economic, ideological and military-strategic foundations. A large portion of the article is devoted to the work of the Political Consultative Committee, highlighting declarations and discussions regarding arms limitation, nonaggression, a nuclear arms moratorium, normalization of relations in Europe, and assistance to Vietnam and other countries. Major emphasis also is placed on the development of the Combined Armed Forces to ensure the military cooperation of Pact members in combat, weapons assistance, training and the development of military science. Combined training exercises are characterized as important to the defense of socialism and the improvement of combat readiness. The author briefly outlines some of the major exercises held in 1965 to 1970, of which he considers BROTHERHOOD-IN-ARMS the most important. The functions of the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Combined Command, the Technical Committee, the Military Council, and the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces also are described briefly.

End of Summary

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Guarding Peace and Socialism

by

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovskiy
Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces
of the Member States of the Warsaw Pact

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Of the variety of history-making events taking place in the world today, the decisive event is that mankind is entering a new era of world history initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution -- an era of the social and national liberation of peoples, and of transition from capitalism to socialism. The entire course of world development from that October to our present time has steadfastly confirmed the advantage of socialism, which has now conquered one-third of the globe and constitutes a living example of this advantage for all countries and peoples in their struggle for a brighter future.

Striking confirmation of the magnetic force of the ideas of socialism is found in the 1970 celebration by the peoples of the world of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. The Lenin Jubilee developed into an event of worldwide political significance and into a genuine triumph of Marxism and Leninism. It took the form of a martial review of all modern revolutionary forces. It showed that the ideas of Lenin are immortal; and that they are alive and victorious in the affairs of the Soviet people, who are building a communist society, in the achievements of the other socialist countries, in the struggle of the international working class, in the progress of the national liberation movement, and in the growing unity of the fraternal workers' and communist parties. Hundreds of millions of people on all continents reaffirmed their determination to follow the Leninist path to the worldwide victory of communism.

However, world imperialism -- headed by its bulwark and most aggressive vanguard, American imperialism, which has now become the headquarters of anticommunism and of a world police force which suppresses peoples' freedom -- is trying to stop this historical process, governed by laws, of the development of society. All its secret new plans and all its main efforts are aimed at eliminating the world socialist system, which is

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now emerging as the most important and powerful force on the entire anti-imperialist front.

It is precisely the socialist countries which consistently struggle to preserve and strengthen universal peace, give comprehensive support to freedom-loving peoples in their fight for freedom and national independence, and have a revolutionary influence on the fate of the peoples of the world.

In order to hurl back socialism from the positions it has won and restore capitalist systems in the socialist countries, imperialism is using extremely subtle and cunning methods -- from open armed intervention to the export of counterrevolution and ideological sabotage. The imperialists are prepared to do anything to restore their former supremacy in the world, and even go as far as unleashing a new war with the employment of means of mass destruction.

"The transition from capitalism to communism," wrote V. I. Lenin in 1918, "constitutes an entire era of history. Until it has ended, the exploiters inevitably will continue to hope for restoration, and this hope is translated into attempts at restoration."* Life has more than once confirmed, and is continuing to confirm, this and other predictions by Lenin concerning the inevitable counterattacks by the exploiter classes under conditions of a general crisis of capitalism.

In our time the struggle between the two opposing systems -- socialism and capitalism -- has become the core of the class struggle. The balance of power in this struggle is steadily altering in the favor of socialism. Now, modern revolutionary forces headed by socialism are determining the main path for the development of mankind. They are waging a continuous offensive against imperialism, which is already powerless to turn back the course of historical events.

At the same time, this does not mean that imperialism has laid down its weapons and is unable to deliver appreciable counterattacks. Of course, the imperialists cannot ignore the actual balance of power in the world, the strength of the socialist countries, and the unpopularity of their aggressive policy. Fearing defeat in a direct military confrontation, they are now attempting to find circuitous maneuvers to undermine the unity of the socialist camp, to alter the balance of power in their favor, and then to destroy the socialist countries one by one. Quite

* V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Volume 32, page 264.

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naturally, these countries cannot permit themselves to underestimate the military danger created by imperialism, and above all by the bulwark of world reaction -- US imperialism which, pursuing an extremely adventurist policy, has not abandoned its absurd ideas of establishing world supremacy. And "world supremacy," as V. I. Lenin pointed out, "is the essence of imperialist policies, the extension of which is the imperialist war."*

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An in-depth analysis of trends in world development and of the sharpening of the contradictions of modern capitalism enabled the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to come to an important conclusion regarding the mounting aggressiveness and adventurism of imperialism, and the fact that imperialism has not given up its plans to prepare and unleash a new world war. This is displayed in the increased activity of military blocs which are directed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in the historically unprecedented arms race, and in the constantly increasing size of the armed forces of the aggressive states. Thus, for example, the US armed forces have grown from 300 thousand persons prior to World War II to 3.5 million persons at the present time. The US maintains more than three thousand military bases and over one million soldiers abroad. These bases have encircled the socialist countries in two gigantic arcs -- from Alaska to Vietnam and from Northern Europe to Turkey. Officially announced direct US military expenditures alone amount to 80 billion dollars per year. Since 1945, i.e., after the end of World War II, the US has spent for military purposes a total of 1,100 billion dollars (including 150 billion for the Vietnam war); this exceeds the value of all office and residential buildings in North America.**

The US is devoting special attention to the development of strategic offensive forces as the main means of delivering a surprise nuclear strike against the socialist countries. At the beginning of 1970, US strategic forces numbered more than a thousand intercontinental ballistic missiles of the Minuteman and Titan type, about 500 B-52 and B-58 strategic bombers, and 41 nuclear submarines with a total of more than 600 Polaris missiles on board.

* V. I. Lenin, Collection of Articles "On War, the Army, and Military Science", Military Publishing House, 1965, page 300.

** Pravda, 15 November 1970.

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Other imperialist powers also are actively participating in the arms race. The might of the military machine of the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance is constantly increasing. The military expenditures of the NATO countries in 1969 amounted to about 105 billion dollars,* that is, five and one-half times those of the first year of the existence of this bloc. The overall size of the NATO armed forces increased from 2.1 to 6.3 million persons.**

In recent years, NATO official circles, in their documents and public statements, have increasingly resorted to "peace-loving" phrases, but "regardless of what appellation is devised for the aggressive course of NATO," states the Declaration of the Soviet Government of 10 April 1969, "the thrust of this course, against the socialist countries and other peace-loving states of Europe, remains unchanged."

The intensification of the aggressiveness of imperialism and the increase in the military danger are also displayed in the unleashing by the imperialists of so-called "local wars", of which the vile US war in Vietnam and Laos, the brutal attack on Cambodia by American interventionists, and Israel's aggression against the Arab states are examples. All of them, like other actions of the imperialist bandits, not only aggravate the international situation, but also are fraught with the constant threat that a world war will break out.

Under these conditions, the communist and workers' parties and the governments and peoples of fraternal socialist countries are devoting unremitting attention to the problems of increasing the defensive might of their states and of strengthening their unity in every way possible. They are persistently fighting to unite all anti-imperialist forces, in conformity with Lenin's precept that "capital is an international force. In order to vanquish it, an international alliance of workers and the international brotherhood of these workers is needed (according to the report of M. A. Suslov, on the 53rd anniversary of the October Revolution)."

* Pravda, 13 November 1970.

** Military Thought, 1970, No. 4, page 25.

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Faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, ever since the first days of the existence of their states, have been strengthening interstate cooperation in the defense of revolutionary gains. They are doing everything possible to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism in their countries, to strengthen proletarian solidarity with workers throughout the world, to aid in every possible way peoples that are fighting for their freedom and independence, to strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, and to keep vigilant watch over the intrigues of the aggressors and frustrate these intrigues.

A crucial role in carrying out these tasks belongs to the military-political alliance of the fraternal socialist countries of Europe -- the Warsaw Pact Organization.

The creation of a military alliance of the fraternal socialist countries marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of their all-round cooperation and in the strengthening of their defensive might. Lenin's ideas regarding the need for unity and a close alliance of socialist countries and armies, and regarding the consolidation of their political and economic efforts in defense of their common interests, have been embodied and given further creative development in this specific historical situation.

The Warsaw Pact did not come into being by accident. Its birth was a response to the vital interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, and was brought about by the historical course of events and by the increase in international tension in the mid-1950's.

There are now quite a few political and military leaders in the West who, to justify their anti-popular, aggressive policy, attempt to blame the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the division of Europe into opposing military-political groupings; in doing so, they rank together the peace-loving Warsaw Pact and the aggressive NATO bloc. This is an obvious distortion and deliberate falsification of history. In contradiction to this, the facts inexorably expose the true initiators of international tension -- the authors of the "cold war" and of policies from "a position of strength".

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Immediately after the war, the leading imperialist powers, particularly the US and England, sharply altered their policy course and initiated an aggressive struggle against the Soviet Union and the liberated countries that had embarked upon the path of democratic, socialist development. They flagrantly violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and began to feverishly put together aggressive military blocs. Thus, in 1949, at the initiative and under the leadership of the US, the North Atlantic bloc was formed -- the most powerful aggressive military grouping of the imperialist states. Its aggressiveness increased even more with the inclusion in 1955 of West Germany, where militaristic forces with the support of the US had openly begun to form a revanchist army. In the imperialist world there began a frantic arms race, which included nuclear weapons. Again, the danger of a military conflict hung over Europe, which had been the main arena of two world wars.

Under these circumstances, the European socialist states, whose security had originally been guaranteed by a system of bilateral pacts, were forced to take new decisive and effective measures -- to conclude on 14 May 1955 in Warsaw a multilateral Pact on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

Thus, the creation of a defensive coalition in Europe constituted a response on the part of the socialist countries to the increase in the threat to their security from NATO. The formation of this coalition had become a vital necessity. The situation demanded that the imperialist aggressors be opposed by the combined might of the socialist states.

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In its content, nature, aims and purposes the Warsaw Pact radically differs in principle from all past coalitions and from all the military-political blocs and alliances that now join the imperialist states. It is a voluntary alliance of socialist states concluded on the principles of full equality of its participants, mutual respect and independence, and sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs. At the same time, the characteristic features of a military coalition of the imperialists have been and are now competition, hostility, and the desire of the strong to dominate the weak and, in the event of war, to weaken their partners as much as possible and impose their will.

While imperialist military blocs serve aggressive purposes and are directed against socialist countries and freedom-loving peoples, and while the most important of these blocs, NATO, has taken part in all more or less

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major acts of aggression perpetrated by imperialism, the fighting alliance of the socialist states is a truly defensive organization. It has no goals other than the defense of its revolutionary gains and the cause of peace. Its participants threaten no one, do not lay claim to the territory of others, and do not interfere in the internal affairs of other states.

In contrast to NATO, the Warsaw Pact is not a narrow, exclusive military organization. The Pact is open for other states to join, regardless of their social and state system, and it fully complies with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The sole condition for membership is readiness to contribute to combining the efforts of peace-loving states to ensure peace and the security of nations.

The Warsaw Pact not only contemplates an alliance in the military sphere, but also proposes extensive cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the allied states. The established socialist nature of this organization gives full scope to the development of extensive initiative and creativity by all its members, and enables each country and its army to make its contribution to the common cause of strengthening the might of the socialist commonwealth.

The military alliance of the fraternal socialist countries has firm political, economic, ideological, and military-strategic foundations.

The political foundation -- the similarity of social and state systems. This is the basis for all the other foundations. From this are derived common class interests in building socialism and communism and in defending socialist gains, and common goals in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The economic foundation -- the common socialist method of production, uniformity of productive forces and production relations. This permits all-around economic and scientific-technical cooperation among allied socialist countries, which is also promoted by the integrated, long-range program for the further development of economic integration, the main directions for which were set at a special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in April 1969. Economic cooperation makes it possible to collectively increase defensive capability and to work out and implement a mutual military technical policy that defines the long-range development of armament and combat equipment.

The ideological foundation -- the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, faithfulness to the ideals of socialism and communism and to the principles

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of proletarian internationalism, the strengthening in every way possible of the unity of action of the socialist countries and their class solidarity. Proletarian internationalism opposes bourgeois nationalism in a most determined manner.

Any weakening of unity or even the slightest neglect of common international interests is inadmissible, particularly in the sphere of the military defense of socialism. The various concepts of rightist and leftist opportunism are incompatible with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the cause of the fighting unity of the socialist countries.

The military-strategic foundation of the fighting alliance of the fraternal nations and their armies consists of the carrying out of collective defense in Europe on the basis of combined actions by their Combined Armed Forces. The coalition strategy of this alliance is a united fighting front, prepared not only to withstand any onslaught by the aggressor, but also to totally defeat him. A highly important factor in the military cooperation of the socialist countries is the similarity of their military theory views, which are based on Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology. This applies both to the sphere of teaching on war and the army and on the defense of the socialist fatherland, and to the sphere of military science and doctrine. The general principles governing the development of military affairs, and the military goals of the socialist commonwealth countries, are reflected in the coordinated decisions of the political leadership.

Of paramount importance to the development and consolidation of the fighting alliance of socialist countries is the fact that Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties direct the socialist states and their armed forces and the entire defense of the socialist countries. In this leadership lies the main source of the strength and invincibility of the fraternal socialist countries, and the guarantee of their indestructible defensive might.

The vital necessity of the Warsaw Pact is recognized not only by the peoples of its socialist member states, but also by the international communist and workers movement. "As long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists," declared the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969, "the Warsaw Pact Organization will play an important role in ensuring the security of the socialist countries against military aggression by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace."

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Of extreme importance in the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization is the fact that the communist and workers' parties and the governments of the fraternal socialist countries coordinate their foreign policy course. They present a united front in the international arena, thereby making a great contribution to the struggle to preserve peace and reduce international tension.

Noteworthy in this respect is the fruitful work of the Political Consultative Committee, which heads the Warsaw Pact Organization.

All member states of the Pact are represented at the highest level in the Political Consultative Committee. The general and first secretaries of the central committees of the communist and workers' parties and heads of government take part in its work. Foreign ministers, defense ministers, the Commander-in-Chief and Chief of Staff of the Combined Armed Forces, and others are invited to the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee.

During sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, decisions on international questions that touch on the interests of all Pact members are reached collectively, and the most important problems connected with strengthening defensive capability and fulfilling combined defense commitments are examined. Also, separate meetings and conferences of the general and first secretaries and heads of government, as well as conferences of foreign ministers and defense ministers and their deputies have been held repeatedly.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the enormous amount of work performed over the fifteen years of the existence of the Warsaw Pact by the leaders of the allied socialist states with regard to detente and the strengthening of peace in Europe.

During the very first session of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague in 1956, a declaration was approved in which it was proposed to eliminate existing military groupings in Europe and replace them with a system for arms limitation and control, and to limit the numbers of foreign troops in both parts of Germany or, best of all, to withdraw them entirely. However, the Western powers rejected this proposal.

The 1958 Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee adopted a declaration on the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between the opposing blocs. The declaration specifically stated that "a new war can result only from a conflict between these groupings. If the mechanism of these two groupings, which embrace the 23 most developed (in the

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military-industrial sense) states in the world, is not set in motion for an attack by one against the other, then, consequently, no war will result."* World opinion received these proposals with hope. They must have had an influence on some NATO states, also, but the leaders of NATO continued to pursue their former "cold war" policy course.

The participants in the 1960 Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee warmly approved the proposal made by the USSR in the United Nations for general and total disarmament, and the decision of the Soviet government to unilaterally abandon nuclear testing.

During the 1961 Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee, consultations were held on problems relating to the strengthening of the Combined Armed Forces, and a coordinated decision was made to equip them with the newest models of military equipment and armament. During this session, the question of eliminating the vestiges of World War II by concluding a peace treaty with both German states was considered. Somewhat later, at a separate meeting of the first secretaries of the central committees of communist and workers' parties on this question, the detailed exchange of opinions was continued. Also a declaration was adopted continuing an appeal to the government of the German Democratic Republic to set up reliable security and effective control around the territory of West Berlin.

Meanwhile, the Western powers once again rejected the peace-loving proposals of the socialist coalition and continued to inflame the situation in Europe, especially around West Berlin; and the US promoted aggression against revolutionary Cuba. In response to these aggressive acts, participants in the 1962 Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee made a decision stating that if their peace-loving policies were met by actions directed against their security interests, against the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, and against the interests of peace, they were fully resolved to defend their security and protect the peace in an appropriate manner, using all available means at their disposal.**

* Pravda, 27 May 1958.

** Pravda, 10 June 1962.

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During this period, new steps continued to be taken to put a stop to the testing of nuclear weapons. The 1963 meeting in Moscow of the general and first secretaries of the central committees and the heads of government of the Warsaw Pact member states approved the results of the negotiations between the government of the USSR and the governments of the US and England on banning nuclear tests in the three elements. The same year, at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, problems relating to the condition of the armed forces of the Pact were examined and appropriate decisions were made.

The 1965 meeting in Warsaw of the Political Consultative Committee was an important landmark in the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization. It summed up the decade of activities of the coalition of socialist countries. At the meeting the situation that was developing in connection with NATO's plans to create multilateral nuclear forces was discussed, and defensive measures, to be taken in the event these plans were implemented, were considered. The participants in the meeting indicated that the implementation of these plans would constitute a serious threat to peace since it would mean the proliferation of nuclear weapons and, above all, giving West German revanchism access to these weapons.

In its communique, the meeting called for the implementation of the proposal of the Polish People's Republic for a nuclear arms moratorium and the creation of a non-nuclear zone in Central Europe, and for the convocation of a meeting of European states on providing for collective security in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact states reaffirmed the necessity of concluding a nonaggression pact, and expressed their readiness to participate in a worldwide disarmament conference, which had been proposed by the Cairo conference of nonaligned states.* The meeting supported the proposal of the German Democratic Republic that both German states renounce nuclear weapons. It commented on the increased activity of the forces of aggression, particularly the US, which had begun the vile war in Vietnam. The aggressive policy of the US with regard to Cuba and the Belgian intervention in the Congo were condemned. The Warsaw meeting was assessed highly by all the socialist countries and progressive world opinion.

* Pravda, 12 January 1965.

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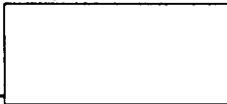


The Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1966 made an enormous contribution to the struggle for peace. Its attention was focused on two questions: strengthening security in Europe, and the situation that had arisen as a result of US aggression in Vietnam. During this meeting, the peace-loving program of the member states of the Warsaw Pact for strengthening peace and security in Europe was completely formulated. As set forth in the Declaration, this program contemplated the development of good-neighbor relations among all European states, and the simultaneous dissolution of existing military alliances, or at least the elimination of the NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizations. In order to reduce tension on the continent, it also provided for the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all troops from foreign territory, a reduction in the size of the armed forces of both German states, the establishment of non-nuclear zones, the exclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany from access to nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever, and the recognition of the borders actually existing between European states. The program envisaged the peaceful settlement of the German problem on the basis of the fact of the existence of two German states, the permanence of the borders, and the renunciation of the possession of nuclear weapons by both Germanies, as well as the calling of a general European conference to discuss the problems of safeguarding security in Europe and the organization of general European cooperation.*

The participants in the Bucharest meeting called upon all European governments and nations to combine their efforts so that Europe would become a continent practicing all-around and full cooperation. They confirmed their position on the Vietnam question regarding the immediate cessation of aggression and announced that the fraternal socialist countries have provided, and will continue to provide in the future, ever increasing amounts of moral-political and comprehensive aid -- including economic aid, which embraces defense means, materiel, equipment, specialists, and also volunteers sent at the request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam -- to the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle.**

* Documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, Publishing House of Political Literature, 1966, pp. 13-17.

** Documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, Publishing House of Political Literature, 1966, page 27.



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The Bucharest meeting is also important because it prepared the conditions necessary to conduct a successful conference of European communist and workers' parties on the problems of security in Europe. This conference took place in Karlovy Vary in 1967, and provided an in-depth analysis of the tension which had been created on the continent and outlined ways of eliminating it.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was held in 1968 in Sofia in connection with the further intensification of US aggression in Indochina and its effect on the international situation. During the meeting, a new Declaration was adopted on the threat to peace which had been created as a result of American aggression. A draft treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which had been worked out during negotiations and discussions in the eighteen-state Committee on Disarmament, was also examined here.

Problems of ensuring European security were also the focus of attention during the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1969. In the Appeal to All European Countries, its participants came out with a new initiative on convening a general European conference. They declared that general European cooperation may constitute the only realistic alternative to the dangerous division of the world into blocs, and to the arms race and dissension. This initiative of the socialist states met with extremely widespread response and the support of peoples, and at present continues to be the focus of world opinion.

The Budapest meeting made an enormous contribution to the further strengthening of the defensive might of the allied states. During it, important decisions aimed at improving the military organization of the Warsaw Pact were made. Specifically, for this purpose the provisions on the Committee of Ministers of Defense and the new Provision on the Combined Armed Forces and the Combined Command were considered and approved, as were other documents whose purpose was to improve the structure and control organs of this organization.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was held in Moscow in 1970. Its function was to discuss pressing international problems, in accordance with the established practice in the relations among allied socialist countries. Attention was focused primarily on the present situation in Europe, which, it is generally believed, has a significant influence on the world situation as a whole. The participants in the meeting observed that the negotiations between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and the treaty signed by them on 12 August 1970

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constitute an important step toward detente and normalization of the situation in Europe, serve the interests of all peoples, and further the development of active interstate relations among all European countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.*

In accordance with the understanding reached, the next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Pact was held in Berlin on 2 December 1970.

During this meeting, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries reaffirmed their readiness to do everything necessary to strengthen universal peace and the security of nations, to eliminate centers of aggression created by militant imperialist circles as quickly as possible, and to deliver mankind from the threat of a new world war.

The participants in the meeting devoted a great deal of attention to the present situation in Europe. It was noted that the efforts being made by the socialist countries effectively promote normalization of the situation in Europe and practical realization of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The great international significance of the treaty concluded between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and the initialing of the treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany was noted.

The participants in the meeting supported the just demand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that the Federal Republic of Germany recognize that the Munich Agreement was invalid from the very beginning, and pointed out that it would serve the interests of detente in Europe as well as the needs of the population of West Berlin and the legitimate interests and sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic if a mutually acceptable understanding on West Berlin were reached.

The member states of the Warsaw Pact expressed their determination to also coordinate and combine their future actions in the international arena in order to ensure reliable security in Europe and the entire world.

* Pravda, 21 August 1972.

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The Political Consultative Committee also reviewed the question of the situation in Indochina and the Near East and advocated the establishment of a lasting peace in these areas on the basis of a political settlement. It called for an end to imperialist provocations against the independent states of Africa.

The meeting constituted a new demonstration of the further strengthening of fraternal ties and of the all-around cooperation among socialist countries.

Thus, as the history of the many years of activity of the Political Consultative Committee demonstrates, the party and state leadership of the allied socialist countries has unceasingly taken active steps aimed at achieving detente in the postwar world. It has engaged, and is continuing to engage, in an active struggle for peace and the security of nations, while firmly adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism and the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

This just struggle with each year gains more and more new supporters throughout the world. As the peoples of Europe and all the other continents witness, the fraternal socialist countries are fighting to avert a world war and for the security of nations not in words but in deeds. Their fighting alliance has stood the test of time with honor. The firm and resolute position of the member states of the Warsaw Pact has more than once had a sobering effect on the imperialist aggressors and has forced them to abandon their criminal intentions.

This was the case in the years 1956 to 1958, when the determination of the socialist countries to defend the peace halted the aggression against Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. In 1956 the Soviet Union fraternally aided the Hungarian people to put an end to the counterrevolutionary revolt unleashed by internal reactionaries with the direct support of the West. In 1961 the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies prevented the military provocation that had been prepared against the German Democratic Republic by the imperialists and forced the reactionaries to retreat. The following year, the same support was given to revolutionary Cuba against aggression headed by American imperialism. For many years the member states of the Warsaw Pact and the other socialist countries have been giving comprehensive aid to the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against American interventionists. In 1967, the fraternal socialist countries once more resolutely came to the support of the Arab countries, which had been subjected to Israeli aggression.

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The aid given by five socialist states in 1968 to the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia in the defense of the gains of socialism, which were endangered as a result of actions by internal counterrevolutionaries and international reactionaries, was a graphic demonstration of the strength of proletarian internationalism.

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It is now fifteen years that the Warsaw Pact Organization has been successfully accomplishing highly important military-political tasks in the interests of the defense of socialism, peace, and the security of all countries. The firm and consistent position of the fraternal socialist states in international affairs, which openly opposes the aggressive policy course of the imperialists, is based on real strength -- the defensive might of the socialist commonwealth.

"To defend socialist gains," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, "strength is needed, a large amount of strength. This is why the CPSU, like the other fraternal parties, is constantly concerned about the steady growth of the defensive might of the socialist states and their close cooperation in the area of defense."

Of particular concern to the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Pact countries are the socialist armies and their vanguard -- the Combined Armed Forces. The fraternal parties and governments of the allied countries, continually bearing in mind the warning of V. I. Lenin that "the best army and the people who are the most dedicated to the revolution will immediately be destroyed by the enemy if they do not have adequate arms, rations, and training," * are doing everything possible so that their armies fully meet modern requirements.

The present improvement of the armed forces of the allied socialist countries is based on their powerful military-economic potential and the maximum exploitation of all the advantages of close economic cooperation. Having successfully accomplished socialist industrialization, the fraternal countries have developed a highly modern defense industry. The Soviet Union, true to its international duty and possessing powerful military-economic potential, provides considerable aid to friendly socialist countries in supplying their armies with combat equipment and weapons.

* V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, volume 35, page 468.

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As a result of combined efforts, in allied armies the combat capabilities of all branches of the armed forces and branch arms are constantly growing and the firepower and striking power of the armies are increasing. Armies now have available all the modern means of combat needed to successfully accomplish the most complex tasks under any conditions of a combat situation. The ground, air, air defense, and naval forces of the armies of the socialist countries are now equipped with the latest combat equipment and armament. They have first-rate missile armament, superb tanks, artillery and jet aircraft, powerful air defense means, modern warships, and other of the latest military equipment.

The friendly socialist armies now have a progressive organization and a scientifically developed system for training troops and navies. The general organizational principles on which the building of the military is based ensure that all the fraternal armies are regular, highly organized armies with centralized leadership.

The allied armies are true people's armies, called upon to defend the vital interests of their nations. They are manned by highly trained, politically mature military cadres capable of successfully controlling troops, and of training and educating them. Their soldiers are truly expert in military matters. They are educated in the spirit of progressive Marxist-Leninist ideology and revolutionary traditions and the spirit of unlimited loyalty to the cause of socialism and communism. Communists constitute the unifying core of the troops. In word and deed they inspire the troops to have a conscientious attitude toward the performance of their military duty, to achieve good results in their combat training, and to ensure iron military discipline, order, and organization.

The Leninist principle of the leading role of the party in building and training the armed forces constitutes the main source of the strength and invincibility of the socialist armies. The communist and workers' parties are their organizers, leaders, and educators. Taking the international situation into account, they collectively determine the ways to further strengthen the combat might of the allied armies, and the tasks involved in this, and conduct comprehensive training of the armies.

The armies of the socialist states inseparably combine international and national tasks. The armed forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Soviet Union, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic vigilantly guard the land, air, and sea boundaries of the countries in the socialist commonwealth. The army and

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navy of the Soviet Union, with their missile/nuclear power, play a deciding role in ensuring the security of these countries. They constitute the backbone of the fighting alliance of fraternal armies.

It is important to emphasize that although the allied armies apply common principles for building the military and have common goals and tasks, they have not lost their national character or their national traditions and features. Moreover, the achievements of individual fraternal armies become the common achievements of the fighting alliance. This is because their military cooperation is based on mutual assistance within the framework of socialist internationalism, while taking into consideration the special features of national military doctrines which have been enriched by the enormous experience of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces.

All this demonstrates that with the formation of the Warsaw Pact Organization, a new, qualitatively higher stage began in not only political and economic cooperation, but also the military cooperation of the socialist states of Europe.

This new stage in military cooperation was marked by the formation of the Combined Armed Forces, when each allied country, in accordance with the Pact, allocated certain troop contingents to them. In contrast to the NATO military grouping, these troops were not removed from direct subordination to the national commands, which again demonstrates respect for the sovereignty of the allied states. At the same time, the formation of the Combined Armed Forces immeasurably increased the defensive might of the socialist countries, for its troops are highly trained and are at a high level of combat readiness.

There is constant military cooperation among fraternal armies both within the Combined Armed Forces and between individual national armies. At the present stage it embraces practically all aspects of military affairs and of the life and activities of the allied armies. The main directions for this cooperation are:

- to coordinate plans for the development of the armed forces and to increase their combat readiness;
- to continuously give mutual assistance in providing and mastering the latest combat equipment and weapons;
- to combine efforts in order to further develop military science and work out common views as to the nature of a future war and the methods of waging it;
- to develop and introduce into military practice general principles

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and methods of training troops and staffs and of training and educating personnel;

- to perfect measures aimed at mutual understanding and close cooperation during an operation and battle;
- to give mutual assistance in improving training systems for command and engineer-technical cadres.

During the years of the existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization, a variety of forms of cooperation have been developed which facilitate the performance of common tasks and the further strengthening of the combat friendship of the allied armies. The Combined Command each year works out and implements an extensive group of combined undertakings aimed at strengthening the fighting alliance, improving the quality of combat training and operational training, and increasing the combat readiness and mobilization readiness of the Combined Armed Forces. The command personnel of the fraternal armies hold meetings regularly to sum up combat training, to jointly establish new tasks, and to have a creative exchange of opinions and work experience on a wide range of questions relating to the building of the military and to troop training.

It has become customary for military delegations to exchange visits in order to acquaint themselves with the training and life of the troops of fraternal armies; and to have military science conferences, working meetings, operations courses and special courses for each branch of the armed forces, and reciprocal consultations among specialists as well as other measures. An important role in increasing friendly contacts is played by political organs and army party and youth organizations. All their work to strengthen the combat cooperation of armies is carried out under the slogan of "Brothers in class and brothers in arms are invincible"; the use of this slogan also helps them to achieve great progress in combat training and political training.

An especially great role in the comprehensive training of troops is played by combined troop, special, and command-staff exercises. They are conducted under conditions which approximate a combat situation to the maximum extent. During these exercises many problems of combat cooperation are worked out, troops improve the level of their field, air and sea training, and commanders and staffs sharpen their skills. At the same time, combined exercises are an expression of fighting socialist internationalism, for under the complex conditions of exercises, the soldiers of the friendly armies become better acquainted with each other, are imbued with deep mutual trust, and gain a stronger awareness of their common responsibility for the defense of socialism.

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As a rule, combined exercises are held in a single state or in several contiguous friendly states. They enjoy the warm support of the workers, who view their armies as the defenders of peaceful constructive labor.

Let us briefly discuss several of these exercises, which are a powerful military-political means of mobilizing soldiers to defend the gains of socialism, and an excellent school for strengthening the friendship of the personnel of the allied armed forces. In 1965, on the tenth anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, a large troop exercise, OCTOBER STORM (OKTYABRSKIY SHTURM) was held in the German Democratic Republic. Staffs and large units from the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Polish Armed Forces, and the Soviet Army took part in it. It constituted the final stage in the training of the troops of the four fraternal armies in 1965, and demonstrated the increased level of their training and combat readiness.

Another large troop exercise, VLTAVA, was conducted in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1966. It demonstrated once more the close solidarity, efficient cooperation, and excellent combat skill of the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army, the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Armed Forces, and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The summer of the following year, in the Hungarian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the successful operational command-staff exercise MANEVR was held. The staffs of three friendly armies were called upon to participate in it. The tactical exercise of ground forces and allied navies in the Black Sea, held under the code name RODOPY, made a new contribution to strengthening combat cooperation and increasing combat readiness in the Combined Armed Forces.

Pursuant to the plan of the High Command of the Combined Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, in September 1969 the combined exercise ODER-NEISSE was held. In it participated troops allocated from the armies of the German Democratic Republic, the Polish Armed Forces, the Soviet Union, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The exercise was conducted over a considerable portion of the territory of the Polish People's Republic, and was held on land, at sea, and in the air. Large units and units of the ground forces, air and naval forces, and air defense forces participated in it. The exercise was well organized and instructive; it demonstrated the combat might of our armies and the capabilities of all branches of the armed forces and branch arms to conduct combat actions under any conditions of a situation. The troops displayed a

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high level of field, sea, and air training, teamwork, and complete mutual understanding.

Over the 15 years of the existence of the Warsaw Pact, many other large troop, command-staff, and special exercises have been carried out by branches of the armed forces.

In 1970, the exercise BROTHERHOOD-IN-ARMS (BRATSTVO PO ORUZHIIYU) was held in the German Democratic Republic and on the Baltic Sea. In its military-political significance, scope, and results it was the largest and most important exercise carried out in all the years of the existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Troops and staffs of all seven allied armies and three allied navies took part in it. For the communist and workers' parties and the governments and peoples of the socialist countries of Europe, the exercise constituted an accounting and serious test of the Combined Armed Forces. The allied troops and navies successfully passed this test and graphically confirmed that the level of their combat readiness had increased.

Such large-scale maneuvers as DNEPR (1967) and DVINA and OKEAN (1970) conducted by the Soviet Armed Forces also should be mentioned. Large-scale troop and naval exercises are conducted by the national commands of the other socialist countries. The experience of all these exercises is being studied by all the allied armies and is promoting mutual improvement of their combat readiness and an overall increase in the defensive might of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

In this respect it is of great importance to also implement measures to further improve the military control organs of the defensive Warsaw Pact Organization. The decisions of the 1969 Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee have now been successfully implemented.

The military organ of the socialist coalition, the Committee of Defense Ministers, whose function it is to develop coordinated recommendations and proposals on the problems of strengthening the defensive capability of the allied countries and increasing the combat readiness of the Combined Armed Forces, has been created and is in operation. During the last two sessions of the Committee of Defense Ministers in December 1969 and May 1970, problems relating to the further development of the ground forces, the air defense forces, and the air and naval forces of the allied states were discussed. It is already quite obvious now that the activities of the Committee of Defense Ministers play an important role in strengthening the defensive capability of the

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fraternal socialist states.

The new Provisions adopted at the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, on the Combined Armed Forces and the Combined Command, the Military Council of the Combined Armed Forces, and the unified air defense system for member states of the Warsaw Pact, make it possible to more successfully solve all the problems related to troop training and to further improvement of the structure and functioning of control organs.

When these new Provisions came into force, the role and importance of the Combined Command and of the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces, which have functioned since the first years of the existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization, expanded and significantly increased. Newly established organs -- the Technical Committee and the Military Council of the Combined Armed Forces -- came to be of extremely great importance in the overall control system. The control of the unified air defense system of the allied states was further developed and improved.

All control organs of the Combined Armed Forces are now successfully functioning and are continually being improved. Relying on these control organs, the Combined Command each year develops and implements an extensive group of combined measures aimed at further strengthening the fighting alliance of the friendly armies and at improving the quality of the combat training and operational training of troops, navies and staffs, and the combat readiness and mobilization readiness of the Combined Armed Forces.

The fundamental matters of combat readiness and mobilization readiness, of organizational structure, of combat training and operational training, and of the long-range development of the Combined Armed Forces, are submitted for discussion in the Military Council, which is a collective organ with the function of making recommendations. Its sessions, which were held in Moscow in December 1969, in Budapest in April 1970, and in Varna in October 1970, were devoted to the consideration of urgent problems of the state of troop and staff training and its further improvement, of strengthening control organs, and of measures aimed at increasing the combat effectiveness of allied armies.

The Staff and the Technical Committee play a large role in coordinating the further development of the varied ties among the fraternal armies and the conduct of combined measures.

The Staff, which is the control organ of the Commander-in-Chief and the working organ of the Committee of Defense Ministers, studies the

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military-political and strategic situation and prepares proposals relating to problems of the combat readiness and mobilization readiness of the Combined Armed Forces, to their operational and combat training, to the improvement of their organizational structure and technical equipment, and to the preparation of theaters of military operations and the stockpiling of essential materiel reserves. The Staff prepares the plans for the yearly combined undertakings, and organizes the preparation and conduct of them. Together with the Technical Committee, it organizes the study, collation, and dissemination of all that is of value or instructive that emerges from the practice of the fraternal armies.

The Technical Committee of the Combined Armed Forces does an enormous amount of work. It prepares recommendations on the armament system and combat equipment of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states, studies the status and long-range development of armament and equipment, and coordinates scientific research and development work that is of mutual interest. The most important recommendations prepared by the Technical Committee are considered by the Military Scientific and Technical Council, which meets periodically, two or three times a year.

All work of the control organs of the Combined Armed Forces proceeds in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and fraternal friendship. Since the generals and officers that represent the allied armies have a deep understanding of their international duty and a high level of political and military training, the successful performance of the tasks confronting the control organs is ensured.

During the past year, 1970, the Combined Armed Forces scored considerable successes in combat training and operational training and in increasing the combat readiness of the troops and navies. This is primarily the result of intense work on the part of the national commands, commanders, staffs, and political organs of the fraternal armies. A large contribution to this success was also made by the control organs of the Combined Armed Forces.

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Now the friendly socialist armies and their vanguard -- the Combined Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact -- are in the forefront of the fight for peace and socialism. They have been honored and entrusted with the defense of the peaceful labor of their peoples and the inviolability of the state borders of the countries of the socialist

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commonwealth. The soldiers of the friendly armies are deeply aware of their great historical destiny and do everything possible to justify the trust of their peoples and carry out their assigned tasks.

"The substantial increase in the effectiveness of the allied armed forces is our common achievement," said L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the Tenth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. "The large-scale military training undertakings carried out in recent years have demonstrated the high level of cooperation and combat training of the friendly armies of the Warsaw Pact states and their ability to accomplish the most complex military tasks, and have reconfirmed that our brotherhood in arms constitutes an effective means of deterring any aggressor. For more than 15 years the military-political alliance of socialist states has been serving well the interests of socialism and of European international security. It helps all of us to ensure external conditions favorable to the building of socialism and communism. It constitutes a weighty factor for lasting peace within Europe and outside it." *

To conclude this article, which opens the first issue of the Information Collection of the Headquarters and the Technical Committee of the Combined Armed Forces, we would like to express our wish that this periodical publication become a genuine platform for disseminating constructive experience acquired by every army on all problems of troop training, on personnel education, on military theory, and on practical performance of the tasks confronting the Combined Armed Forces.

The Combined Command expects the generals and officers of all the armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact to actively participate in preparing materials for the Information Collection, and counts on the Collection playing a positive role in strengthening friendly ties among the fraternal armies and in further strengthening the combat might of the Combined Armed Forces.

* Pravda, 25 November 1970.

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