Table of Contents

Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements	xvii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	xxi
Chronology of Events	XXV
THE WARSAW PACT AS HISTORY by VOJTECH MASTNY	1
PART ONE – THE FORMATIVE YEARS	
Document No. 1:	77
The Warsaw Treaty, May 14, 1955	
Document No. 2:	80
Statute of the Warsaw Treaty Unified Command, September 7, 1955	
Document No. 3:	83
Imre Nagy's Telegram to Diplomatic Missions in Budapest	
Declaring Hungary's Neutrality, November 1, 1956	
Document No. 4:	84
Gen. Jan Drzewiecki's Critique of the Statute of the Unified	
Command, November 3, 1956	
Document No. 5:	87
Polish Memorandum on Reform of the Warsaw Pact,	
January 10, 1957	01
Document No. 6:	91
Gen. Drzewiecki's Interview regarding Memorandum on Reform	
of the Warsaw Pact, May 8, 1997	02
Document No. 7: Soviet Directives to the Czechoslovak Army on Operational and	93
Combat Preparations, September 25, 1957	
Document No. 8:	95
Draft of a Warsaw Pact-NATO Non-aggression Treaty, May 24, 1958	95
Document No. 9:	97
Marshal Ivan Konev's Analysis of a Czechoslovak Army)1
Operational Exercise, March 31–April 7, 1959	
Document No. 10:	100
Conclusions from the Operational Exercise of the Czechoslovak	
Army, March 31–April 7, 1959	
Document No. 11:	102
East German Description of a West German Plan for the	
Occupation of the GDR, July 29, 1959	
Document No. 12:	105
Warsaw Pact Views of NATO's Plans and Capabilities,	
April 28, 1960	

v

Document No. 13: The Soviet Albanian Dianute March 22, June 2, 1061	108
The Soviet–Albanian Dispute, March 22–June 3, 1961	117
Document No. 14: Political Consultative Committee Resolution on the Restructuring and Modernization of Warsaw Pact Forces, March 29, 1961	116
Document No. 15:	118
Czechoslovakia's Strategic Position in a European War, April 1961	
Document No. 16:	120
Speech by Marshal Malinovskii Describing the Need for Warsaw Pact Offensive Operations, May 1961	
Document No. 17:	122
Czechoslovak Politburo Resolution on Mobilization Readiness with Respect to the Berlin Question, July 25, 1961	
Document No. 18:	126
Joint Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty States on the Berlin Wall, August 13, 1961	
Document No. 19:	129
Resolution by the Czechoslovak Party Military Defense Commission on the Introduction of Emergency Measures, September 14, 1961	
Document No. 20:	131
The "Buria" Exercise Preparing for an Advance into Western Europe, September 28–October 10, 1963	
Document No. 21:	137
Organizational Principles of the Czechoslovak Army, November 22, 1962	
Document No. 22:	140
The "Mazowsze" Exercise for Nuclear War and Interview with Gen. Tuczapski on Soviet Bloc Planning of Exercises, 1963–1964	
Document No. 23:	149
Polish Command Post Exercise Rehearsing an Advance to Northern Germany, Low Countries, and Denmark, June 14, 1963	
Document No. 24:	152
Mongolian Request for Admission to the Warsaw Pact, July 15, 1963	
Document No. 25:	154
Polish Foreign Ministry Memorandum regarding	
Possible Mongolian Accession to the Warsaw Treaty,	
July 20, 1963	
Document No. 26:	157
Czechoslovak Drafts of Orders and Appeals to be Issued in Occupied Western European Territories, June 29, 1964	

Document No. 27:	160
Warsaw Pact War Plan for the Czechoslovak Front,	
October 14, 1964	
Document No. 28:	170
Warsaw Pact Intelligence on NATO's Strategy and	
Combat Readiness, 1965	
PART TWO – THE CRISIS	
Document No. 29:	177
Albanian Note to the Political Consultative Committee, January 15, 1965	
Document No. 30:	179
Minutes of Discussion at Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Warsaw, January 20, 1965	
Document No. 31:	189
Plan for Hungarian Command-Staff War Game, May 1965	
Document No. 32:	192
Transcript of Ceaușescu-Deng Conversation, July 25, 1965	
Document No. 33:	195
Hungarian Proposals for Reform of the Warsaw Pact, January 18–19, 1966	
Document No. 34:	200
Polish Proposals for Reform of the Warsaw Pact,	
January 21 & 26, 1966	
Document No 35:	208
Czechoslovak Proposal for Reform of the Warsaw Pact,	
February 1966	210
Document No. 36: Statement by the Remenian Chief of Staff on Reform of	210
Statement by the Romanian Chief of Staff on Reform of the Warsaw Pact, February 4–9, 1966	
Document No. 37:	212
Summary of Discussion at Conference of Warsaw Treaty	212
Deputy Foreign Ministers, February 17, 1966	
Document No. 38:	215
Study of Special Features of a Surprise Outbreak of War	210
Prepared for the Hungarian Military, February 22–23, 1966	
Document No. 39:	217
Memorandum of the Conference of Defense Ministers,	
May 27–28, 1966	
Document No. 40:	220
Memorandum of the Conference of Foreign Ministers,	
June 14–15, 1966	

Document No. 41:	225
Minutes of Summit of Warsaw Pact Leaders in	
Bucharest, July 5-7, 1966	
Document No. 42:	237
Transcript of Gathering of Warsaw Pact Leaders in	
Karlovy Vary, April 25, 1967	
Document No. 43:	242
East German Analysis of the NATO "Fallex 66"	
Exercise, 1967	
Document No. 44:	245
Report on the State of the Bulgarian Army in the	
Wake of the Middle East War, October 7, 1967	
Document No. 45:	249
Memorandum of Results of the Chiefs of General	
Staff Meeting regarding Reorganization of the Warsaw Treaty,	
March 1, 1968	
Document No. 46:	252
Czechoslovak Report on the Meeting of the Political	
Consultative Committee of March 6–7, 1968, March 26, 1968	
Document No. 47:	258
Remarks by the Czechoslovak Chief of Staff on the Theory of	
Local War, March 13, 1968	
Document No. 48:	261
Record of Gomułka-Iakubovskii Conversation in	
Warsaw, April 19, 1968	
Document No. 49:	264
Report to Nicolae Ceaușescu on the Meeting of the Political	
Consultative Committee in Sofia, June 3, 1968	
Document No. 50:	270
Memorandum of the Academic Staff of the Czechoslovak	
Military Academies on Czechoslovakia's Defense Doctrine,	
June 4, 1968	
Document No. 51:	279
Action Program of the Czechoslovak	
Army, June 11, 1968	
Document No. 52:	283
Czechoslovak Central Committee Study of	
Security Policy, June 24, 1968	
Document No. 53:	286
Reports on the "Šumava" Exercise, July 1968	
Document No. 54:	294
Transcript of the Meeting of Five Warsaw Pact States	
in Warsaw, July 14–15, 1968	

Document No. 55: Czechoslovak and East German Views on the Warsaw Pact, July 1968	302
Document No. 56: Report by East German Defense Minister on the Invasion of Czechoslovakia, August 22, 1968	305
Document No. 57:	308
Record of Meeting between President Ludvík Svoboda and Czechoslovak Army Officers, August 28, 1968	
Document No. 58:	311
Letter from the East German Deputy Defense Minister to Erich Honecker about His Conversation with Marshal Iakubovskii, August 31, 1968	
Document No. 59:	312
Report by the East German Defense Minister on NATO's "Fallex 68/Golden Rod" Exercise, November 21, 1968	
Document No. 60:	314
Czechoslovak–Soviet Agreement on the Stationing of Soviet Nuclear Forces, November 13–14, 1968	
Document No. 61: Czechoslovak General Staff Study on the Warsaw Treaty, December 21, 1968	317
PART THREE – THE ALLIANCE AT ITS PEAK	
Document No. 62: New Secret Statutes of the Warsaw Pact, March 17, 1969	323
Document No. 63:	330
Appeal for a European Security Conference, March 17, 1969	
Document No. 64:	332
Report by Ceaușescu to the Romanian Politburo on the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Budapest, March 18, 1969	
Document No. 65:	339
Polish Army Report on East German Misbehavior during the "Oder–Neisse-69" Exercise, October 22, 1969	
Document No. 66:	342
Speech by Marshal Grechko at the "Zapad" Exercise, October 16, 1969	
Document No. 67:	347
Hungarian Foreign Ministry Memorandum of Soviet–Hungarian Consultations on the European Security Conference, October 18, 1969	

Document No. 68:	3
Polish Proposals for the Conference on Security	
and Disarmament, October 24, 1969	
Document No. 69:	3
East German Evaluation of Polish Proposal for	
a European Security Treaty, November 13, 1969	
Document No. 70:	3
Speech by Grechko at the First Meeting of the Warsaw Pact	
Committee of Ministers of Defense, December 22, 1969	
Document No. 71:	2
Hungarian Report of Warsaw Pact Summit on Policy	
toward West Germany, January 7, 1970	
Document No. 72:	
Minutes of Romanian Politburo Meeting Concerning	
the Ceauşescu-Brezhnev Conversation, May 20, 1970	
Document No. 73:	
The Surrender of Hannover according to the Polish	
Army's "Bison" Exercise, April 21–28, 1971	
Document No. 74:	3
Transcript of Romanian Politburo Meeting on Ceauşescu's	
Trip to Asia and Moscow, June 25, 1971	
Document No. 75:	
Comparison of Warsaw Treaty and NATO Positions concerning	
the European Security Conference, December 1, 1971	
Document No. 76:	
Hungarian Memorandum on the Deputy Foreign Ministers'	
Meeting in Moscow, February 3, 1975	
Document No. 77:	
Iakubovskii Report on the State of the Unified Armed Forces,	
December 31, 1975	
Document No. 78:	
Evaluation of the Helsinki Final Act by the Czechoslovak	
Party Presidium, April 28, 1976	
Document No. 79:	
Czechoslovak Analysis of the "Soiuz 77" Exercise,	
March 21–29, 1977	
Document No. 80:	
Description of Activities of an East German Spy inside	
NATO, April–May 1977	
Document No. 81:	
Marshal Ogarkov Analysis of the "Zapad" Exercise,	
May 30–June 9, 1977	

Document No. 82: Report by Marshal Kulikov on the State of the Unified	413
Armed Forces, January 30, 1978	
Document No. 83: Soviet Statement at the Chiefs of General Staff Meeting in Sofia, June 12–14, 1978	415
Document No. 84: Speech by Brezhnev at the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Moscow, November 22, 1978	418
Document No. 85: Minutes of the Romanian Politburo Meeting, November 24, 1978	422
PART FOUR – THE INCIPIENT DECLINE	
Document No. 86: Statute of the Unified Command in War Time, March 18, 1980	427
Document No. 87: Ceaușescu's Speech at the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Warsaw, May 14–15, 1980	435
Document No. 88: Summary of the Deputy Foreign Ministers' Preparatory Meeting for the CSCE Madrid Conference, July 8–9, 1980	438
Document No. 89: Bulgarian Report on the Defense Ministers' Meeting in Bucharest, December 8, 1980	441
Document No. 90: The Soviet Military's Attempts to Gain Polish Leadership Cooperation to End the Polish Crisis, January–April 1981	443
Document No. 91: Report on Conversation between Marshal Kulikov and Senior East German Military Officials, June 13, 1981	446
Document No. 92: Information by Marshal Ustinov on Soviet Strategic Offensive Forces, September 1981	449
Document No. 93: Report on the Committee of Ministers of Defense Meeting in Moscow, December 1–4, 1981	451
Document No. 94: Transcript of the Soviet Politburo Meeting on the Crisis in Poland, December 10, 1981	456
Document No. 95: Memorandum of Conversation with Marshals Ustinov and Kulikov concerning a Soviet War Game, June 14, 1982	462

Document No. 96:	466
Report on Speech by Marshal Ogarkov at a Warsaw Pact	
Chiefs of Staff Meeting in Minsk, September 8-10, 1982	
Document No. 97:	469
East German Intelligence Report on the Operational Plan	
of the U.S. 5th Army Corps in War Time, December 16, 1982	
Document No. 98:	472
Speech by Andropov at the Political Consultative	
Committee Meeting in Prague, January 4–5, 1983	
Document No. 99:	480
Scenario of the "Soiuz-83" Exercise, June 9-August 2, 1983	
Document No. 100:	483
East German Summary of Warsaw Pact Summit in Moscow,	
June 28, 1983	
Document No. 101:	485
Summary of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign	
Affairs Meeting in Sofia, October 20, 1983	
Document No. 102:	490
Statement by Marshal Ustinov at the Committee of Ministers	
of Defense Meeting in Sofia, December 5-7, 1983	
Document No. 103:	492
Report on the Committee of Ministers of Foreign	
Affairs Meeting in Budapest, April 26, 1984	
Document No. 104:	496
Transcript of Honecker-Chernenko Meeting in	
Moscow, August 17, 1984	
Document No. 105:	500
Report by the Head of Soviet Military Intelligence to	
the Committee of Ministers of Defense, December 3-5, 1984	
Document No. 106:	507
Speech by Gorbachev at the Warsaw Treaty Summit in	
Moscow, April 26, 1985	
Document No. 107:	511
Warsaw Pact Information concerning Improvements in	
NATO Military Technology, November 11, 1985	
Document No. 108:	513
Speech by Marshal Kulikov at the Committee of	
Ministers of Defense Meeting in Strausberg, December 2-5, 1985	
Document No. 109:	514
East German Intelligence Assessment of NATO's	
Intelligence on the Warsaw Pact, December 16, 1985	

Document No. 110:	516
Scenario for the "Granit-86" Exercise,	
December 23, 1985	
Document No. 111:	518
Summary of the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign	
Affairs in Warsaw, March 19–20, 1986	
Document No. 112:	522
East German Intelligence Assessments of an FRG Appraisal	
of the National People's Army, April 28 and May 27, 1986	
Document No. 113:	526
Bulgarian Memorandum on the Bulgarian–Romanian Proposal	
for a Chemical Weapons-Free Zone in the Balkans, March 21, 1986	
Document No. 114:	528
East German Ideas concerning a Nuclear Weapons-Free	
Zone in Central Europe, May 21, 1986	
Document No. 115:	531
Minutes of the Political Consultative Committee	
Party Secretaries' Meeting in Budapest, June 11, 1986	
Document No. 116:	539
Report to the Bulgarian Politburo on Romanian	
Arms Reduction Proposals, September 22, 1986	
Document No. 117:	541
Czechoslovak Summary of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign	
Affairs Meeting in Bucharest, October 18, 1986	
Document No. 118:	546
Summary of Statements at the Military Council	
Meeting in Bucharest, November 10-11, 1986	
Document No. 119:	549
Summary of Soviet Statement at the Committee of	
Ministers of Defense Meeting in Warsaw, December 1-3, 1986	
Document No. 120:	551
Outline of a Czechoslovak Command Post Exercise,	
January 27–28, 1987	
Document No. 121:	554
Report on the Committee of Ministers of Foreign	
Affairs Meeting in Moscow, March 24–25, 1987	

PART FIVE – DISINTEGRATION

Document No. 122:	559
Soviet Explanation of the Warsaw Pact's New Military Doctrine at	
the Chiefs of Staff Meeting in Moscow, May 18-25, 1987	

Document No. 123:	562
Records of the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in	
Berlin, May 27–29, 1987	
Document No. 124:	572
Summary of a Consultation of Chiefs of Staff in Moscow,	
October 14, 1987	
Document No. 125:	574
Speech by General Iazov at the Ministers of Defense	
Meeting in Bucharest, September 26, 1987	
Document No. 126:	577
Proposal to Establish a Warsaw Pact Information and	
Propaganda Department, March 11, 1988	
Document No. 127:	579
Memorandum of Akhromeev–Kessler	
Conversation, March 19, 1988	
Document No. 128:	582
Speeches at the Foreign Ministers' Meeting	
in Sofia, March 29–30, 1988	
Document No. 129:	589
Draft of a Revised Statute of the Unified Command in	
War Time, March 30–31, 1988	
Document No. 130:	592
Summary of Statement by Marshal Akhromeev on Exchange	
of Data between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, May 17, 1988	
Document No. 131:	594
Transcript of Romanian Party Politburo	
Meeting, June 17, 1988	
Document No. 132:	598
Memorandum of Kulikov–Honecker	
Conversation, June 27, 1988	
Document No. 133:	600
Romanian Proposal for Reform of the	
Warsaw Pact, July 4–8, 1988	
Document No. 134:	605
Summary of Gorbachev's Speech at the Committee	
of Ministers of Defense Meeting in Moscow, July 7, 1988	
Document No. 135:	607
Speech by Gorbachev at the Political Consultative	
Committee Meeting in Warsaw, July 15, 1988	
Document No. 136:	615
Summary of Discussion among Defense Ministers at the Political	
Consultative Committee Meeting in Warsaw, July 15, 1988	

Document No. 137:	618
Summary of Discussion at the Committee of Ministers of	
Defense Meeting in Prague, October 17-18, 1988	
Document No. 138:	621
East German Evaluation of NATO's 1988 Exercises,	
November 15, 1988	
Document No. 139:	623
Record of Conversation between Honecker and	
the East German Defense Minister, December 4, 1988	
Document No. 140:	626
Minutes of the Sofia Meeting of the Committee of	
Ministers of Defense, December 17, 1988	
Document No. 141:	629
Report by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister at the Unofficial	
Meeting of Foreign Ministers at Niederschönhausen near	
Berlin, April 10, 1989	
Document No. 142:	632
Summary of Statement by the Soviet Defense Minister to	
Warsaw Pact Chiefs of Staff, April 28, 1989	
Document No. 143:	634
Czechoslovak Description of "Vltava-89"	
Exercise, May 23, 1989	
Document No. 144:	636
Bulgarian Proposal for Reform of the Warsaw	
Treaty, June 14, 1989	
Document No. 145:	642
Letter from the Bulgarian CC to the Romanian	
CC, June 21, 1989	
Document No. 146:	644
Records of the Political Consultative Committee	
Meeting in Bucharest, July 7–8, 1989	
Document No. 147:	655
Records of the Foreign Ministers's Meeting in	
Warsaw, October 26–27, 1989	
Document No. 148:	664
East German Statement at the Committee of Ministers of	
Defense Meeting in Budapest, November 27-29, 1989	
Document No. 149:	665
Memorandum of Conversation between Soviet Deputy	
Foreign Minister Aboimov and the Romanian Ambassador	
to the USSR, December 21, 1989	

Document No. 150:	666
Czechoslovak Report on a Meeting at the Soviet	
General Staff, January 29, 1990	
Document No. 151:	668
East German Summary of the Ottawa Meeting of NATO	
and Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers, February 12-13, 1990	
Document No. 152:	670
Memorandum of Eppelmann-Iazov Conversation,	
April 29, 1990	
Document No. 153:	674
Records of the Political Consultative Committee Meeting in	
Moscow, June 7, 1990	
Document No. 154:	678
Recollections of Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry	
Adviser Jaroslav Šedivý, 1990–1991	
Document No. 155:	682
Agreement on the Cessation of the Military Provisions of	
the Warsaw Pact, February 25, 1991	
Main Astore	685
Main Actors	000
Bibliography	693
Picture Credits	706
Index	707