WARSAW PACT
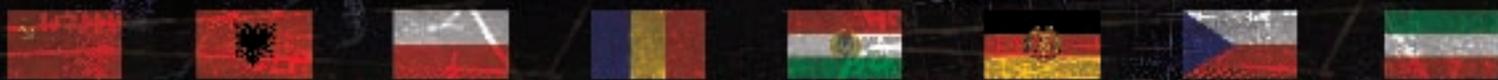# WARTIME STATUTES

INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET CONTROL

HISTORICAL
COLLECTIONS

Warsaw Pact Countries, 1955-91 (U)

Warsaw Pact

Albania*	**Hungary**
Bulgaria	**Poland**
Czechoslovakia	**Romania**
East Germany	**U.S.S.R.**

Albania withheld support in 1961 over the China split and officially withdrew in 1968.

Barents Sea

Norwegian Sea

U.S.S.R

★ Moscow

North Sea

Baltic Sea

North Atlantic Ocean

East Germany

Poland

Czecho-slovakia

Hungary

Romania

Caspian Sea

Bulgaria

Black Sea

Albania

Mediterranean Sea

0	500 Kilometers
0	500 Miles

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

UNCLASSIFIED

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SOVIET UNION

POLAND

HUNGARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ALBANIA

ROMANIA

EAST GERMANY

BULGARIA

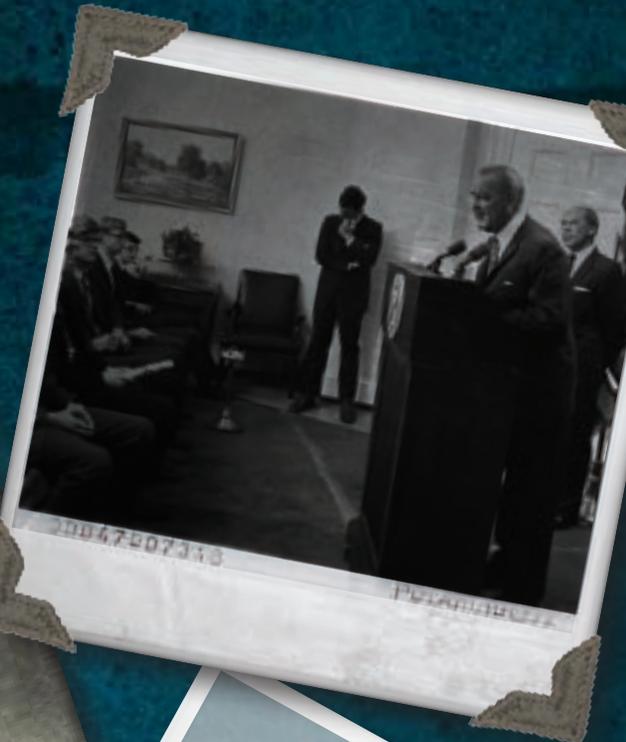# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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OVERVIEW

SOVIET CONTROL OF EAST EUROPEAN MILITARY FORCES

New Evidence on Imposition of the 1980 "Wartime Statute"

by A. Ross Johnson
Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson
International Center for Scholars

Soviet military planning for conflict in Europe after World War II from the outset harnessed East European military capabilities to Soviet military purposes and assumed operational subordination of East European military formations to higher-level Soviet commands. A Polish command-staff exercise in 1950, for example, assumed subordination of a Polish Army (comprised of five divisions and other units) to a Soviet Maritime Front (tasked in the exercise with occupying Denmark).[1] Following founding of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) in May 1955, a supreme Warsaw Pact military command was established in Moscow, but this institution existed largely on paper until the 1960's.

It was only in 1969 that the Warsaw Pact adopted at Soviet insistence (along with the Committee of Defense Ministers and Military Council) a "Statute on the Combined Armed Forces and Combined Command of the Warsaw Pact Member States (for Peacetime)" that created an elaborate Warsaw Pact military headquarters in Moscow with East European deputy defense ministers designated as deputy Warsaw Pact commanders.[2] These institutional changes gave the Warsaw Pact more semblance of a multinational military alliance and granted to the East European military establishments a greater consultative voice in Warsaw Pact military matters, while streamlining decision-making on training and armaments in a manner serving Soviet interests.[3]

Oddly for a military alliance, the 1969 military statute was silent on wartime command arrangements and explicitly confined its purview to "peacetime," notwithstanding the greater importance that East European armed forces assumed in Soviet military planning in the 1960's. As in World War II, Soviet coalition warfare doctrine of the 1960's envisaged the controlled use of military allies of questionable military efficiency and political reliability by

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[1] Recollection of Colonel Michael Sadykiewicz, who participated in the exercise, letter to the author, March 8, 2010. In Soviet practice, a theater headquarters commanded Fronts, comprised of Armies, which were in turn comprised of divisions and other large military units.

[2] CIA document FIR-DB 312/00538-78 dated March 21, 1978 (English translation from original Russian). A full German translation from East German military archives was published on-line by the Parallel History Project (http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=21221&navinfo=15697)

and a partial English text is published in Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne, A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2005), document 62. The 1969 military structures of the Warsaw Pact are described in A. Ross Johnson, Robert W. Dean, and Alexander Alexiev, East European Military Establishments; The Warsaw Pact Northern Tier (New York: Crane Russak, 1980), Appendix A, pp.151-156.

subordinating East European military formations to Soviet operational commands at the Front level or below. The respective Soviet commands were in turn subordinated not to the Warsaw Pact military headquarters but to the Soviet General Staff and High Command in Moscow. As veteran British observer and official Malcolm Macintosh observed at the time, the Warsaw Pact Combined Command remained a peacetime structure, equivalent to a traditional European war office with administrative duties for training, mobilization, and armaments, but without responsibility for conduct of military operations.[4] In Ryszard Kuklinski's words, " the banner of the so-called Combined Command of the Combined Armed Forces masked Soviet control."[5]

In the late 1970's, the USSR sought to formalize these wartime Warsaw Pact command arrangements in a new "Statute on the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Member States and Their Command Organs for Wartime," adopted in March 1980.[6] This effort to fill the glaring gap highlighted by the "peacetime statute" was delayed by objections from Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania, which viewed it as an unacceptable surrender of national sovereignty. The Polish General Staff raised questions along similar lines. In the end, the Ceausescu regime never signed or agreed to abide by the provisions of the wartime statute, while Polish Party chief Edward Gierek did. Kuklinski argued that the Romanian example demonstrated it was possible for an East European country to resist Soviet pressure even within the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact.[7] While a different Polish leadership might have attempted a more autonomous course, Poland was not Romania. Poland, part of the Warsaw Pact Northern Tier and with the largest East European military force, was central to Soviet military planning for conflict in Europe; Romania was not. Soviet military forces had vacated Romania in 1958. Romania under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceausescu had for two decades pursued an independent foreign, military, and intelligence policy. Poland under Wladyslaw Gomulka and Gierek had remained closely aligned with Moscow in all these areas. Poland was home to the Soviet Northern Group of Forces, headquartered in Legnica, which in the 1980's was also the location of the headquarters of the Western Theater of Military Operations (TVD), established as the forward Soviet

[3] Johnson, Dean, Alexiev, op. cit., p. 15.

[4] Malcolm Macintosh, The Evolution of the Warsaw Pact, Adelphi Papers, No. 58, June 1969, pp. 11-15.

[5] Interview in Kultura, Paris, April 1987, p. 54.

[6] CIA document FIRDB-312/01995-80 dated July 25, 1980 (English translation from the original Russian). A full German translation from East German military archives was published on-line by the Parallel History Project (http://www.php.isn. ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=20408&navinfo=15697) and a partial English text is published in Mastny and Byrne, op. cit, document 86. Detailed comparison of Warsaw Pact peacetime and wartime command structures is provided in Michael Sadykiewicz, The Warsaw Pact Command Structure in Peace and War (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1988), Report 3558-RC.

[7] Kuklinski interview, op. cit, pp. 56-57.

command for military operations in Europe. In 1980-1981, with the emergence of the Solidarity trade union and preparations for Soviet intervention and martial law, the Soviet high command demonstrated that it could operate independently in Poland, ignoring the Polish military whenever it wished.

The Warsaw Pact wartime statute adopted in March 1980 formalized Soviet wartime control over East European military forces that had been assumed since the 1950's. It demonstrated that the Warsaw Pact military Combined Command in Moscow was irrelevant for a Soviet Union at war in Europe. It made clear that in marshalling military forces for imminent conflict as well as in conducting combat operations, Soviet generals would bypass East European political and military leaders and command East European generals directly.

If the Warsaw Pact wartime statute served Soviet purposes in formalizing and rationalizing Soviet wartime control over East European military forces, it was adopted just as those forces were becoming relatively less important in Soviet military planning. By the early 1980's, "coalition warfare" terminology had almost disappeared from Soviet military writings. This was only one of a number of indicators of reduced reliance in Soviet military planning on East European forces. Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact forces lacked the operational capabilities of Soviet forces for rapid advances with high-technology conventional weaponry on the modern battlefield under new

concepts first advocated by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov. In the course of the 1980's, mounting economic problems and social unrest in Eastern Europe and weariness of its ruling elites made East European armed forces a less attractive even junior partner to the Soviet military.[8] The paradox of the Warsaw Pact military statute was illustrated by the 1988 Warsaw Pact Shchit-88 pre-war mobilization exercise.[9] That exercise assumed subordination of Polish forces (in this case the Eighth Army) to a Soviet-dominated Front (which would have been subordinated in turn to the Western TVD headquarters and the Soviet High Command). Yet unlike earlier Warsaw Pact exercises through the early 1980's, which assumed rapid offensive operations into Western Europe, Shchit-88 utilized an (initially) defensive and essentially defeatist scenario that can be read as striking acknowledgment of the degree of demoralization of Polish forces and limitations on Soviet use of the Polish army by that time.

These observations provide context for the 22 documents on the Warsaw Pact in this CIA release. 17 of the documents are English translations of key original Warsaw Pact military documents obtained clandestinely at the time and now declassified. Three of the documents, issued after 1981, offer insightful observations by an informed military insider. They cover a range of issues discussed publicly by and attributed to Ryszard Kuklinski.[10] One document is a 1983 CIA Directorate of Intelligence analysis that drew on these Warsaw Pact documents,

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[8]A. Ross Johnson, East European Armed Forces and Soviet Military Planning: Factors of Change (Santa Monica: . RAND Corporation, 1989), Note N-2856-AF, declassified and released November 2006.

[9] Documentation of and commentary on Shchit-88 are posted on the Woodrow Wilson Center Cold War International History Project web site at http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.publications&doc_id=600908&group_id=13349.

and other clandestine materials, to provide a detailed picture of "Soviet Control of Warsaw Pact Forces." A final document, released earlier, is the 1983 National Intelligence Estimate on East European military reliability. Both the CIA analysis and the Estimate stand the test of time, indicating that the intelligence reports released here, and other materials, allowed U.S. officials to accurately appraise Soviet-dominated mechanisms of the Warsaw Pact at the time. It is noteworthy how quickly some of these highly sensitive Warsaw Pact documents became available in Washington. The final wartime statute and ratification documents were dated March 18, 1980 and April 30, 1980; they were issued as a translated CIA intelligence report on July 25, 1980.

Following collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, dissolution of the USSR, and abolition of the Warsaw Pact, many original Warsaw Pact and East European military documents have become available in a number of archives, especially the German Military Archive in Freiburg (incorporating East German military archives), the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, and the Czech military archive. Many such documents were obtained and posted on-line by the Parallel History Project (http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/) and some were translated for the PHP book, A Cardboard Castle? Some documents related to the Warsaw Pact military statute released by CIA in English translation can be found in (East)

German versions on the PHP web site. Other documents in the CIA release and all original Russian texts have yet to be located in East European archives. The documents released by CIA serve historians today not only as useful translations but as valuable source material. As such they complement previous CIA releases of classified Military Thought articles, classified Soviet military academy course materials, and Polish military plans for martial law.[11]

[10] Kuklinski interview, op.cit; Benjamin Weiser, A Secret Life: The Polish Officer, His Covert Mission, and the Price He Paid to Save His Country (Public Affairs: New York, 2004); Benjamin B. Fischer, "Entangled in History: The Vilification and Vindication of Colonel Kuklinski," Studies in Intelligence 9 (Summer 2000), pp. 19-34. Weiser's book is based in part on interviews with Kuklinski and on CIA reports from Kuklinski ("750 pages of notes and raw files") that have not otherwise been released (Weiser, op. cit., pp. xi-xiii).

[11] Available in the CIA on-line Special Collections Archive, http://www.foia.cia.gov/special_collections_archive.asp.

ESSAYS

ESSAYS

ORIGINS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WARSAW PACT WARTIME STATUTE DOCUMENTS

*Personal Recollections and Comments
by Les Griggs*

As a serving intelligence officer and foreign area specialist (Poland and Czechoslovakia) in the United States Army from 1959 until 1986, I was exposed to special human intelligence (HUMINT) reporting concerning Eastern Europe as required from time to time. In 1974, when one of my tasks on the Army Staff in the Pentagon was to screen such reporting and brief it to my superiors, I noticed reporting from what appeared to be new special source(s), Over the following years, as an Army General Staff officer and in other assignments, I noted the wide range of topics reported on by what clearly were the same source(s)... information on such subjects as current and future weapons systems, war plans, exercises, etc. of direct interest and value to the Army and other elements of the Department of Defense.

We gradually discerned that the materials probably were from one source. As I rose in rank and acquired more responsibilities, my exposure to the special reporting from this source continued, but were less frequent. For example, while commanding a psychological operations (PSYOP) battalion at Fort Bragg in the early 1980's, I occasionally was called upon by the Army Staff to provide my views on some of this reporting. From my position at the time, I noted –but was not overly surprised by-- the series of reports dealing with the drafting and ratification of a new wartime statute by the Warsaw Pact. To me, the reporting served mainly to confirm the view that the Soviets dominated the Warsaw Pact and could have their way on any issue, great or small.

In 1981 I returned to the Army Staff in the Pentagon to work for General Bill Odom in the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence. He immediately ordered me to work full-time on this source's materials, and the wartime statute issue moved up on my list of priorities. I soon discovered that US Army intelligence analysts and Army strategic planners found the wartime statute issue to be intriguing, but difficult to apply as actionable intelligence. It was hard to quantify the materials in the preferred way –placing a dollar and cents savings tag on the information (E.g., this information saved us \$XXXXX on the design of

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[1] Source protection was the prime consideration throughout the HUMINT operation, as it should be in any HUMINT case; however, it often limited use of the information. For example, only a handful of principals received the reports from CIA, and copying as well as dissemination of the reports beyond the Washington area was prohibited. In particular, these rules handcuffed the US Army Missile Intelligence Agency (Alabama) and US Army Foreign Science and Technology (Charlottesville, VA), at the time two of the Army Staff's most important intelligence-producing field agencies.

our new tank). Even so, the information about the statute and its implementing structure (new headquarters, communications systems, etc.) was of value to war planners, war gamers, targeteers and even PSYOP strategists, who could hope to take advantage of the surrender of national sovereignty issue during crisis or war. In fact, some high officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense pushed for making the statute reporting public immediately as a public diplomacy weapon against the USSR; however, this notion reportedly was vetoed by the DCI for source-protection reasons.[1]

A few high-level US military and civilian leaders also saw this intelligence as an early "war-winner," offering NATO an opportunity to destroy or disable the Warsaw Pact command and control system at the Theater of Military Operations (TVD) level almost immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. Accordingly, driven largely by the statute reporting, appropriate modifications and reprioritizations reportedly were made to target lists. Thankfully, the Warsaw Pact collapsed before target strikes became necessary.

The collection of wartime statute documents released here by the Central Intelligence Agency and Wilson Center is concise and to the topic yet rich with substance, and should be of enormous use to historians of the period. The documents provided from the Wilson Center and elsewhere provide a fulsome background and context for the issues, while the finished intelligence documents –the national estimate and particularly the incisive CIA analytic paper—afford the reader a glimpse of the intel-

ligence cycle and the challenges of "making of the intelligence stew." In my view, however, the heart of the collection consists of the operational field reporting by one special human intelligence source…the one discussed above. His reports are filled with facts and his field analysis, even while conveying the frustrations and emotions you might expect from this patriotic officer. We owe him a lot for his courage.

A JOURNEY OF REDISCOVERY

by Aris Pappas
Retired CIA Officer, Senior Director of the
Microsoft Institute for Advanced Technology
in Government

A journey of rediscovery. That's the feeling I have as I review the material that serves as the core of this event. While involved daily with professional responsibilities, there is very little time for quiet retrospectives. Life is evolutionary, and the job of intelligence is focused on the future. But now, thanks in no small measure to the heroic efforts of the people who combined their skills and, literally, risked their lives to obtain this mate¬rial, we have the golden opportunity to look back.

It's not really a pretty sight. These papers document a record of oppression and outright bullying that, although commonly understood, was rarely so painfully visible – even in the stark reality of the world of intelligence. Clearly, the sovereignty of the Soviet Union's East European "allies," was a chimera; a status to be revered in diplomatic venues, but never allowed to interfere with the needs of Soviet security.

Repetition even affected the lazy and gullible in the West because public pronouncements, by master and servants alike, allowed all-too-easy and facile comparisons between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. But the reality was far different. Indeed, reading through these records, it's hard to avoid pity for the vassals who paid a heavy price in terms of their own integrity to protect their benefits. They were both beholden to and threatened by their Soviet rulers. A friendless situation in which power was derived from obeisance to a cruel master, while their ties to their own people was characterized by moral capitulation; like the imposition of Polish martial law or the slaughter of Czechs and Hungarians.

These documents were not widely distributed, but they did provide context to important decision-makers who were afforded the opportunity to understand better the nature of their opposition. To see the pressures and tensions working internally to tear the Warsaw Pact apart, but also to recognize the great danger represented by such unalloyed power.
Such differences between appearance and reality remain pertinent, and the need for deep understanding by intelligence agencies is no less significant today.

Thankfully, the Wartime Statute was never invoked. We never had to test the reliability of the Soviet "allies." An essentially unnatural and flawed system proved simply too difficult to sustain and finally collapsed.
History tends to record great victories by reference to battles won and lost. These documents, however, offer a small insight to a Cold War victory where measured, though never perfect, understanding helped us avoid pitched battle.
I consider myself fortunate to have played even a minor role in that great effort.

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