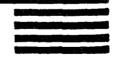
### CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL



EXEMPLAIRE

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT C-M(66)87

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

Note by the Chairman, Committee on Information and Cultural Relations

The Committee on Information and Cultural Relations, having agreed that it would be useful to assemble material rebutting arguments which equate NATO and the Warsaw Pact, prepared a comparative study of the two organizations. The text, as approved by the Committee at its meeting on 29th September, 1966, is attached.

- 2. The Committee commended this study to national authorities with the recommendation that they make such use of it for public information purposes as they deem fit, it being understood that it was not intended to commit governments, and, furthermore, that it would need adaptation to meet their individual requirements.
- 3. The Committee also agreed trat the text should be submitted to the Council for information.

(Signed) Joachim JAENICKE Chairman

OTAN/NATO, Paris, (16e).

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT(1)

Although Soviet policy systematically seeks to encourage equating the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the two are essentially different in origin, purpose and practice. Certain similarities in the texts of the two treaties(2) should not be allowed to conceal the fact that there are fundamental differences in their underlying concepts. From these differing concepts stem important political and military dissimilarities of the two alliance systems. If the Warsaw Pact institutions closely mirror those of NATO, they were designed to disguise these differences.

#### I. <u>DIFFERENCES IN ORIGIN AND PURPOSE</u>

#### 1. Realisation of Treaties

NATO is a voluntary association of sovereign powers. The North Atlantic Treaty was freely negotiated by its signatories; the treaty was ratified after full, and in some cases animated debate in parliaments during which all political tendencies had a chanc to express their views. Thus the North Atlantic Alliance is the product of normal democratic processes.

The Warsaw Pact, on the other hand, was imposed by the Soviet Union, two years after Stalin's death, upon a number of Eastern European countries whose one-party Communist governments did not permit the free exchange of domestic political opinion. Nor were these countries in a position to negotiate freely with the Soviet Union as to whether it was in their interest to join the Pact.

#### 2. Objectives

The North Atlantic Treaty was concluded in 1949 to contain the political and territorial expansion of the USSR. During the Second World War the Soviet Union had already annexed territories with a total population of 24 million. In addition, starting in 1945, it established political domination over five countries (Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia), as well as over part of Germany, i.e., a total area inhabited by 94 million people.

As its preamble indicates, the Warsaw Pact was concluded in 1955 following ratification of the Paris Agreements which admitted the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the Western European Union (WEU) and NATO. The Warsaw Pact was therefore presented as a Soviet reply to the Paris Agreements and not, as is commonly said, to the North Atlantic Treaty although it

<sup>(1)</sup> See Annex I for the list of member states and other data

<sup>(2)</sup> See Annex II for treaty texts

was, of course, directed against NATO as a whole. (It should be pointed out, incidentally, that when acceding to the Western European Union, the Federal Republic of Germany accepted certain restrictions on its armaments, undertaking in particular not to produce nuclear weapons.)

#### 3. Nature of Alliances

The preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty refers to a "common heritage and civilisation". The Treaty provided, from the beginning, for a political alliance rather than a military bloc. Its military organization was and is subordinate to the highest civil authority, and multi-national North Atlantic Council. National policies of European member countries of NATO are not dependent on the presence or absence of North American military forces on their territories; these cannot be stationed in those countries without the agreement of the governments concerned.

The Warsaw Pact relies for justification purely on its military purposes. It provides primarily for a military system, designed to place the armed forces of the European Communist states under Soviet command. Arrangements for political consultation on a multilateral basis among its members are much less developed than in NATO. The political regimes in the Eastern European countries are in varying degrees dependent on the presence or the proximity of Soviet military forces in these countries (as was demonstrated in 1956 in Hungary).

The Warsaw Pact was intended as a device for Soviet domination within the Soviet bloc, but the political evolution with increasingly strong forces of national self-interest in the Eastern European countries have contributed to a gradual change of the relations between the member countries. Still the Warsaw Pact remains a device for holding the Soviet bloc together, partly because some Eastern European regimes regard it as a safeguard for their security.

#### 4. <u>Duplication of Defence Agreements</u>

As long as a single military power constitutes the dominant military factor in an area extending from the Pacific to the Elbe, the only way of maintaining the essential balance of forces is to achieve a close association of power between Europe and North America. The North Atlantic Treaty is the first and only defence agreement linking the United States, Canada and the countries of Western Europe.

The Warsaw Pact, on the other hand, duplicates a series of bilateral treaties which already link a number of Communist countries with the Soviet Union and its enormous military power on the European continent(1).

<sup>(1)</sup> The complete list of these bilateral agreements is attached at Annex III

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#### II. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT STRUCTURES

#### (A) Differences in Civil Organization

#### 1. Supreme Authority

In the Warsaw Pact Organization, the body corresponding to the North Atlantic Council at Ministerial level is the Political Consultative Committee. It is usually composed of Heads of Governments and Chiefs of national Communist Parties accompanied by Ministers of Foreign Affairs and/or Ministers of Defence.

Although this Committee should, in theory, meet twice a year, it has held less than ten meetings since 1956. There is no equivalent to the NATO Council of Permanent Representatives (composed of representatives of member governments meeting at least once of week) or to NATO's numerous specialised committees on military or non-military matters. The Joint Secretariat and the Joint Armed Forces Command of the Warsaw Pact are both permanently headed by Soviet generals.

#### 2. Secretariat

The Secretary General of NATO is also Chairman of the North Atlantic Council. He is a statesman or diplomat from one of the member countries; there is no prerequisite as to his nationality. (NATO's present Secretary General is of Italian nationality; his predecessors were British, Belgian and Dutch respectively.)

The Head of the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Pact has been identified as Red Army General Kazakov who, as Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact (Marshal Grechko, Soviet Vice-Minister of Defence), is subordinated to the latter.

#### 3. Political Consultation

Political consultation in NATO has become a major function of the Council, assisted by the Committee of Political Advisers, which also meets weekly.

A so-called Permanent Committee, responsible for making recommendations in the field of foreign policy, does exist in the Warsaw Pact Organization, but its rôle seems obscure and of relatively minor importance. It does not seem to have regular meetings. However, frequent consultations occur on political and economic matters between the Warsaw Pact countries on a bilateral basis.

#### (B) Differences in Military Organization

### 1. Military Structure

In NATO the highest military authority, the Military Committee, which is composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the member countries, is subordinate to the political authority, the North Atlantic Council. The presidency of the Military Committee rotates between the Chiefs of Staff. (At present this office is held by a Belgian General, General de Cumont.) NATO Supreme Allied Commanders receive their directives from this Committee - not directly from any member country.

In the military organization of the Warsaw Pact all key positions are held by Russians. At its head is the Soviet Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, Marshal Grechko(1). This Commander in Chief has under him as deputies the Defence Ministers (or other military leaders) of the member countries. Most of them received an extensive Soviet political training before they were appointed to their present functions.

#### 2. Comparative Strengths

In NATO the quantitative strength of the armed forces of the United States is about equal to that of the other member countries taken together. Besides the United States, the United Kingdom and France possess nuclear arms.

As compared with the United States in NATO, the position of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact is much more preponderant. Compared to those of the other member countries, the numerical strength of the armed forces of the Soviet Union is in the ration of approximately 3: 1. The USSR is the only country among all Warsaw Pact nations possessing nuclear weapons.

#### III.CONCLUSIONS

Because of its superficial resemblance to NATO the Warsaw Pact permits the Soviets to claim equality of the two Alliances and thus, for example, insist on parity of representation in disarmament negotiating bodies. The Warsaw Pact opens the way for the Soviet Union to call for a NATO-Warsaw Pact non-aggression pact, and the dissolution of the two pacts.

Of course, a modification of the military systems of the two Pacts might eventually be considered following a genuine improvement in European security. As long as present conditions prevail the essential differences between the two Pacts have to be taken into account, however. They are clearly demonstrated when one considers

<sup>(1)</sup> Note: It is interesting to note that the decision to set up the Joint Command was taken on 14th May, 1955, i.e. before the Warsaw Pact could have been properly ratified by member countries as required in Article 10 of the Treaty.

what would be the consequence were they to be abolished unconditionally:

- (a) If NATO were to disappear its members would lose their extensive political organization for consultation and co-operation in all fields and defence links with one another, including the vital one with North America.
  - If the Warsaw Pact were to be abolished the military hold of the USSR over the other member countries of the Pact would not be weakened because, even after the dissolution of the Pact, the bilateral agreements binding the other member countries to the Soviet Union would remain in force.
- (b) If the two Alliances were to be dismantled, the USSR would be able to maintain the present disposition of her military strength. On the other hand, the United States and Canadian troops stationed in Europe would lack the military and political framework provided by the North Atlantic Alliance. In case they had to leave the European continent, the European member countries of NATO would be separated from their North American allies by the Atlantic Ocean, and thereby placed in a most unfavourable military position as compared with the East European countries.

#### SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE WARSAW PACT

Official name

: "Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance".

Place and Date of Signature

Warsaw, 14th May, 1955

The signing of the Treaty occurred nine days after the accession of the German Federal Republic to the North Atlantic Treaty (5th May) and a week after the USSR denounced the Franco-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet Treaties. It was followed the next day (15th May) by the signing of the Austrian State Treaty(1).

Membership

Eight countries: USSR, Poland, Eastern Germany, ("German Democratic Republic"), Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania(2).

Duration

Twenty years, with automatic prolongation for another ten years for those members who have not served notice for denunciation one year before the twenty-year period expires.

- (1) Note 1: Under the Peace Treaties with Hungary and Rumania (1947) the USSR had the right to maintain military forces in these two countries in order to safeguard its lines of communication with its base in Austria. With the signing of the Austrian State Treaty this right lapsed. However, in the meantime, the Warsaw Pact had provided a new basis for stationing Soviet troops in both countries.
- (2) Note 2: Albania officially never ceased to be a member but as, in 1960, in the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peking, it chose the side of the latter, relations with the USSR deteriorated. On 10th December, 1961, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Albania were broken off and since then Albania has not practically participated in any Warsaw Pact activities.

RESTRICTED ANNEX II C-M(66)87 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE(1)

(WARSAW PACT)

(Warsaw, 14th May, 1955)

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

(Washington, 4th April, 1949)

## Preamble

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritagethe peace of Europe: and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

Preamble

would make it possible to unit their efforts in safeguarding The Contracting Parties, reaffirming their desire for the establishment of a system of European collective security irrespective of their social and political systems, which based on the participation of all European states

latter in the North Atlantic Bloc, which increases the danger shape of "Western European Union", with the participation of a remilitarised Western Germany and the integration of the mindful, at the same time, of the situation created in Europe by the ratification of the Paris agreements, which envisage the formation of a new military alignment in the of another war and constitutes a threat to the national security of peaceable states;

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being persuaded that in these circumstances the peaceable European states must take the necessary measures to safe-guard their security and in the interests of preserving peace in Europe;

guided by the objects and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization;

friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence and being desirous of further promoting and developing sovereignty of states and of non-interference in their internal affairs,

(1) Translation published in "New Times", No. 21, 21st May, 1955 (MOSCOW).

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NATO RESTRICTED ANNEX II to WARSAW PACT (continued)

have decided to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance and have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries: (follow the names of the plenipotentiaries of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia), who, having presented their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

NATO RESTRICTED

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WARSAW PACT (continued)

Article 1

Article

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

(continued)

they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the international peace and security and justice are not with the purposes of the United Nations.

fully and in such manner as will not jeopardise international Charter of the United Nations Organization, to refrainth The Contracting Parties undertake, in accordance with the force, and to settle their international disputes peacetheir international relations from the threat or use of peace and security.

Article 2

ဍ international actions designed to safeguard international peace and security, and will fully devote their energies The Contracting Parties declare their readiness to participate in a spirit of sincère co-operation in all the attainment of this end.

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reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen to co-operate in this, of effective measures for universal adoption, in agreement with other states which may desire The Contracting Parties will furthermore strive for the and other weapons of mass destruction.

Article 8

Article 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of will encourage economic collaboration between any or all better understanding of the principles upon which these They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and of peaceful and friendly international relations by stability and well-being.

spirit of friendship and co-operation with a view to further with one another, each adhering to the principle of respect developing and fostering economic and cultural relations The Contracting Parties declare that they will act in a for the independence and sovereignty of the others and non-interferense in their internal affairs.

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NATO RESTRICTED ANNEX NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY (continued)

Article 5

WARSAW PACT (continued)

Article 5

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, vill maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

(Also see N.A.T. Article 9)

<del>ç</del> They shall likewise adopt other agreed measures necessary strengthen their defensive power, in order to protect the peaceful labours of their peoples, guarantee the inviol-The Contracting Parties have agreed to establish a Joint function on the basis of jointly established principles. ability of their frontiers and territories, and provide Command of the armed forces that by agreement among the Parties shall be assigned to the Command, which shall defence against possible aggression.

Article 3

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 4

The Contracting Parties shall consult with one another on all interests, guided by the desire to strengthen international important international issues affecting their common peace and security.

They shall immediately consult with one another whenever, in the opinion of any one of them, a threat of armed attack on one or more of the Parties to the Treaty has arisen, in order to ensure joint defence and the maintenance of and security.

Article 4

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United

Article 5

Parties to the Treaty by any state or group of states, each of the Parties to the Treaty, in the exercise of its right to In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or more of the individual or collective self-defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations

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NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY continued

Article 5 (continued)

WARSAW PACT (continued Article 4

(continued)

taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Such measures shall be terminated when the Council.

and maintain international peace and security.

Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore Measures taken on the basis of this Article shall be

Article 6(1)

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack

America, on the Algerian Departments of France(1), on the - on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North diction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area territory of Turkey or on the islands under the jurisnorth of the Tropic of Cancer;

statement to the North Atlantic Council on the effects of North Atlantic Treaty. The Council noted that insofar as the former Algerian Departments of France were concerned the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplic-(1) On 16th January, 1963, the French Representative made a the independence of Algeria on certain aspects of the able as from 3rd July, 1962

provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. or in agreement with other Parties to the Treaty, come to Security Council adopts the necessary measures to restore such means as it deems necessary, including armed force, reported to the Security Council in conformity with the the assistance of the state or states attacked with all jointly in order to restore and maintain international concerning the necessary measures to be taken by them These measures shall be discontinued immediately the Organization, shall immediately, either individually The Parties to the Treaty shall immediately consult and maintain international peace and security. peace and security.

NATO RESTRICTED

NATO RESTRICTED

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

WARSAW PACT

(continued)

(continued)

(continued) Article 6

- on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into when in or over these territories or any other area in north of the Tropic of Cancer.

# Article 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Council for the maintenance of international peace and Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security security.

## Article 8

or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this agreements whose objects conflict with the objects of the ments now in force between it and any other of the Parties Each Party declares that none of the international engage-Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

## Article 7

The Contracting Parties undertake not to participate in any coalitions or alliances and not to conclude any present Treaty. The Contracting Parties declare that their commitments under existing international treaties do not conflict with the provisions of the present Treaty. ANNEX II C-M(66)87

WARSAW PACT

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

(continued)

Article 9

(continued)

Article 6

envisaged in the present Treaty, and also for the purpose shall be represented by a member of its Government or by of examining questions which may arise in the operation of the Treaty, a Political Consultative Committee shall For the purpose of the consultations among the Parties be set up, in which each of the Parties to the Treaty another specifically appointed representative. necessory; in particular it shall establish immediately a The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. defence committee which shall recommend measures for the them shall be represented to consider matters concerning The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of

The Committee may set up such auxiliary bodies as may prove necessary.

(Also see W.P. Article 5).

Article 9

this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so States of America. The Government of the United States of invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its European State in a position to further the principles of instrument of accession with the Government of the United The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

The present Treaty is open to the accession of other states irrespective of their social and political systems, which ation of accession has been deposited with the Government Treaty to assist in uniting the efforts of the peaceable peoples. Such accession shall enter into force with the agreement of the Parties to the Treaty after the declarexpress their readiness by participation in the present states in safeguarding the peace and security of the of the Polish People's Republic.

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implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10

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NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY (continued)

Article 11

WARSAW PACT (continued) Article 10

by the Parties in accordance with their respective constit- instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out The present Treaty is subject to ratification, and the utional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be Government of the Polish People's Republic. force between the States which have retified it as soon as United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the

Government of the Polish People's Republic shall notify The Treaty shall enter into force on the day the last the other Parties to the Treaty as each instrument of instrument of ratification has been deposited. The ratification is deposited.

> effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France,

the ratifications of the majority of the signatories,

United States, have been deposited and shall come into

Article 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace development of universal as well as regional arrangements and security in the North Atlantic area, including the time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so of international peace and security.

Article 11, 2nd paragraph

Contracting Parties will unswervingly strive, the present Should a system of collective security be established in Europe, and a General European Treaty of Collective Treaty shall cease to be operative from the day the Security concluded for this purpose, for which the General European Treaty enters into force. MATO RESTRICTED ANNEX II C-M(66)87

> NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY continued

Article 15

WARSAW PACT (continued)

Article 11, 1st paragraph

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any

other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation, the Treaty, it shall remain in force for the next ten years. denunciation has been given to the Government of the United expiration of this period present to the Government of the For such Contracting Parties as do not one year before the The present Treaty shall remain in force for twenty years. Status of America, which will inform the Governments of the Polish People's Republic a statement of denunciation of Porty may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of

Article 14

Article 11, 3rd and 4th paragraphs

Treaty shall be sent by the Government of the Polish People's " Government of the United States of America. Duly certified being equally authentic. Certified copies of the present Done in Warsaw on 14th May, 1955, in one copy each in the equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of theRussian, Polish, Czech and German languages, all texts Republic to all the Parties to the Treaty. This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are Government of the United States of America. Duly cer S copies will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.

In witness thereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals.

NATO RESTRICTED
ANNEX II to
C-M(66)87

WARSAW PACT (continued)

Communiqué on the

ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMAND

of the Armed Forces of the Signatories to the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance

(Warsaw, 14th May, 1955)

In pursuance of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic, the signatory states have decided to establish a Joint Command of their armed forces.

The decision provides that general questions relating to the strengthening of the defensive power and the organization of the Joint Armed Forces of the signatory states shall be subject to examination by the Political Consultative Committee, which shall adopt the necessary decisions.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces to be assigned by the signatory states.

The Ministers of Defence or other military leaders of the signatory states are to serve as Deputy Commanders-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces, and shall command the armed forces assigned by their respective states to the Joint Armed Forces.

NATO RESTRICTED ANNEX II to C-M(66)87

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WARSAW PACT (continued)

The question of the participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures concerning the armed forces of the

Joint Command will be examined at a later date.
A Staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the signatory states will be set up under the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces, and will include permanent representatives of the General Staffs of the signatory states.

The Staff will have its headquarters in Moscow.

The disposition of the Joint Armed Forces in the territories of the signatory states will be effected, by agreement among the states, in accordance with the requirements of their mutual defence.

### BILATERAL TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE SIGNED BY WARSAW PACT MEMBERS (1)

	USSR	Poland	Czech.	Hung.	Rum.	Bulg.	E.Germ.
USSR	•••	FMA 4-45 r.4-65	FMA 12-43, r.12-63	FMA 2-48	FMA 2-48	FMA 3-48	FMA 6-64
Poland	FMA 4-45 r.4-65	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	FMA 3-47	FMA 6-48	FMA 1-49	FMA 5-48	₽ 7 <b>-</b> 50
Czecho- slovakia	FMA 12-43 r.12-63	FMA 3-47	•••••	FMA 4-49	FMA 7-48	FMA 4-48	F 6-50
Hungary	FMA 2-48	FMA 6-48	FMA 4-49	• • • • • •	FMA 1-48	FMA 7-48	F 6 <b>-</b> 50
Rumania	FMA 2-48	FMA 1-49	FMA 7-48	FMA 1-48	• • • • •	FMA 1-48	F 8 <b>-50</b>
Bulgaria	FMA 3-48	FMA 5-48	FMA 4-48	FMA 7-48	FMA 1-48	• • • • • •	F 8 <b>-</b> 50
E. Germany	FMA 6-64	F 7-50	F 6-50	F 6-50	F 8 <b>-</b> 50	F 8-50	* * *.*0

FMA - Friendship and Mutual Assistance

F - Friendship Treaty

r. - Renewed

The treaties are valid for a period of twnety years and commit the co-signatories to mutual defence against aggression, particularly aggression by a re-armed German state. In this regard the treaties concluded with East Germany were called only Friendship treaties. It was not until June 1964 that the GDR-Soviet Union agreement was upgraded to the level of a treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. To date, none of the other Pact countries have followed the Soviet lead with a similar upgrading. In two cases treaties have been renewed, between the USSR and Czechslovakia and the USSR and Poland. Albania has not been included since it has signed a treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance only with Bulgaria, an agreement the two states concluded in December 1947.

<sup>(1)</sup> Table included in "The Warsaw Pact", a study submitted by the Sub-Committee on National Security and International Operations to the Committee on Government Operations of the United States Senate, Washington, 1966.