THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE
AND
THE WARSAW PACT
A COMPARATIVE STUDY
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Nato Information Service
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THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

Place and Date of Signature
Washington, DC; 4th April, 1949.

Membership
Fifteen countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

(Greece and Turkey acceded to the Treaty in 1952; the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955).

Duration
Indefinite duration. After the Treaty has been in force twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after deposit of its notice of denunciation.

THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE
(Warsaw Pact)

Place and Date of Signature
Warsaw, 14th May, 1955.

Membership
Eight countries: USSR, Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania.

(On 3rd December, 1961, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Albania lapsed. Since then Albania has not in practice participated in any Warsaw Pact activities. On 12th September, 1968, Albania denounced the Treaty).

Duration
Twenty years, with automatic prolongation for another ten years for those members who have not served notice of denunciation one year before the twenty-year period expired.
THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE
AND THE WARSAW PACT

A Comparative Study

The Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty have often been compared and contrasted. In reality, the two are very different, especially as regards their origins and the structures of their Organizations, as will be clear from the following brief analysis of both systems (1).

I. THE ALLIANCES IN THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on 4th April, 1949, following an initiative by a number of European countries and Canada. It was prompted by fear of the possible use of force in Europe, as in the Communist coup d'état in Prague (1948) and the Berlin Blockade (1948-49). It was ratified (on 24th August, 1949) after extensive parliamentary debate in member countries.

The creation of the Warsaw Pact began at a conference of Communist bloc leaders in December 1954, called by the Soviet Union. On 11th May, 1955 (six days after the Federal German Republic joined NATO as a result of the Paris Agreements of October 1954) the USSR organized at Warsaw a "Conference of European Countries for the Protection of Peace and Security of Europe". On 14th May, the Pact was signed between the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the GDR (2).

(1) The Warsaw Pact's secrecy about its organizational structure accounts for the vague nature of some of the comparisons.

(2) The full texts of both Treaties are given in Annex I, page 10.
Motives for the Warsaw Pact

The signatories of the Warsaw Pact have always claimed that their initiative was a response to the signing of the Paris Agreements of October 1954. As regards the motives which may have caused the USSR to propose this Pact, it may be recalled that following the death of Stalin in 1953, the USSR intensified its nuclear programme. But since the Eastern bloc was still behind the United States in the nuclear field, it had to rely on its superior conventional military strength. Consequently, a large military force was kept in a high state of readiness, which in turn required a unified command (1).

The North Atlantic Treaty constitutes a freely-established political Alliance of sovereign and independent member nations. Its organization is subordinated to the political authority of the governments, all of which are represented on the North Atlantic Council. It should be added that no Allied forces or weapons can be stationed on the territory of a member country of NATO without its agreement.

The Warsaw Pact brings together countries whose governments are controlled by Communist parties in a way which serves to mask the control which the most powerful of them, the Soviet Union, exercises over its allies. The Pact provides primarily for a military system enabling the armed forces of the member states to be placed under Soviet command.

Duplication of Defence Agreements

The North Atlantic Treaty is the sole defence agreement between Canada and the United States on the one hand and the Western European countries on the other.

(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 in May 1955, this right lapsed. However, in the meantime, the Warsaw Pact had provided a new basis for stationing Soviet troops in both countries.
The Warsaw Pact, on the contrary, is superimposed upon a series of bilateral mutual aid treaties linking the members to one another (1). The USSR also concluded status-of-forces agreements with Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and the GDR between December 1956 and May 1957; all these remain in effect, except the one with Rumania which lapsed in June 1958 when Soviet troops left that country. (A status-of-forces agreement was concluded with Czechoslovakia following the 1968 invasion).

II. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT STRUCTURES

Differences in Civil Organization

(i) Supreme Authority

In the Warsaw Pact Organization, the body most nearly 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 only about a dozen meetings between 1956 and mid-1970. There is no equivalent to the NATO Council of Permanent Representatives (composed of representatives of member governments meeting at least once a 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 have both been normally headed by Soviet officials.

(1) For a full list of these bilateral treaties, see Annex II, page 22.
(ii) 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).

As regards the Warsaw Pact, one of the several Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers fills the nominal position of Warsaw Pact "Secretary General", but this title appears to be a minor adjunct to his regular Ministry responsibilities.

(iii) Political Consultation

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

In the Warsaw Pact Organization, there has been a "Permanent Commission" responsible for making recommendations in the field of foreign policy, but it is not clear that this organization still exists. The Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact hold joint meetings once or twice a year.

Differences in Military Organization

(i) 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 Chairman of the Military Committee is elected by the Chiefs of Staff for a two or three-year period. (The present Chairman is British; from 1964-1968 this position was held by a Belgian). NATO Supreme
Allied Commanders receive their directives from the Military 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, whose deputies are the Defence Ministers, or other designated military leaders, of the member countries. The Chief of the Soviet Air Defence is also in charge of the air defence system of the Pact. Normally non-Russian senior officers receive extensive political indoctrination in the USSR before appointment. In March 1969, a Committee of Warsaw Pact Defence Ministers was set up, one of a number of changes intended to give the East Europeans a greater voice in the Organization's affairs (').

(ii) Comparative Strengths

Within the Atlantic Alliance, 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.

On the other hand, 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 Soviet Union is in the ratio of approximately 3 : 1. The USSR is the only country among all Warsaw Pact nations possessing nuclear weapons.

III. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ABOLITION OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE WARSAW PACT

If NATO were to be dissolved, its members would lose their principal organization for political and military consultation and co-operation.

(') The Committee meets rarely; it met in December 1969 and in May 1970. Its functions are not clear.
The West would be deprived of an effective allied defence system, which is of vital importance to its security. The collective military framework provided by the Alliance for the stationing of North American troops in Europe would be removed. If these forces left the European continent, the European member countries of NATO would be separated from their North American Allies and thereby be placed in a most unfavourable military position. Their individual national efforts would be no equivalent for the conventional and nuclear forces which the Soviet Union had stationed in Europe.

If the Warsaw Pact were to be abolished, the USSR would be able to maintain the present disposition of its military strength. Moreover, there would remain a network of bilateral treaties in Eastern Europe. The military and political hold over the other member countries of the Pact would not be weakened (¹). For example, all those provisions of the agreement on the stationing of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia (October 1968) which are known — as well as the other status-of-forces agreements between the USSR and its Pact allies — are sufficient by themselves to assure continued Soviet military presence.

A withdrawal of Soviet forces from the Warsaw Pact countries in exchange for the departure of United States and other Allied forces from European NATO countries would also change the military balance considerably in favour of the USSR. The Soviet Union, for instance, could return its units quickly to Eastern Europe, while the role of its medium-range missiles targeted on Western Europe would be unaffected since they are, in any case, stationed within the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the dissolution of the two Pacts would seriously upset the existing military balance in Europe,

¹ Many of these bilateral pacts have recently been strengthened, according to Soviet publications. On 18th May, 1968, the Soviet Government newspaper, Izvestiya, described the bilateral treaties as supplementing the Warsaw Pact and as "an organic part of the whole system of agreements uniting the Socialist States of Europe".
unless other measures were to be taken contemporaneously—measures which would require fundamental changes in political relations between East and West.
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 heritage and civilisation of their people, 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:

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE (1)

(Warsaw, 14th May, 1955)

Preamble

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

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 shape of "Western European Union", with the participation of a remilitarised Western Germany and the integration of the latter in the North Atlantic bloc, which increases the danger of another war and constitutes a threat to the national security of peaceable states;

being persuaded that in these circumstances the peaceable European States must
The Articles of the Warsaw Pact are arranged for comparison with corresponding Articles of the NATO Treaty and are not in numerical order.

**Article 1**

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from take the necessary measures to safeguard 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;

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

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:

**Article 1**

The Contracting Parties undertake, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations Organization, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, and to settle their international

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY
(continued)

the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

WARSAW PACT
(continued)

disputes peacefully and such manner as will not jeopardise international peace and security.

Article 2

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

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

Article 8

The Contracting Parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and co-operation with a view to further developing and fostering economic and cultural relations with one another, each adhering to the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the others and non-interference in their internal affairs.
conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3

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, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

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

Article 4

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 5

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

Article 3

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

**Article 5**

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, 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 Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

WARSAW PACT
(continued)

**Article 4**

In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or more of the 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 individual or collective self-defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall immediately, either individually or in agreement with other Parties to the Treaty, come to the assistance of the State or States attacked with all such means as it deems necessary, including armed force. The Parties to the Treaty shall immediately consult concerning the necessary measures to be taken by them jointly in order to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Measures taken on the basis of this Article shall be reported to the Security Council in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. These measures shall be discontinued immediately the Security Council adopts the necessary measures to restore and maintain international peace and security.
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:

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

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

Article 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the

(1) On 16th January, 1963, the French Representative made a statement to the North Atlantic Council on the effects of the Independence of Algeria on certain aspects of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council noted that in so far as the former Algerian Departments of France were concerned the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplicable as from 3rd July, 1962.
rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8

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

Article 9

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish

Article 7

The Contracting Parties undertake not to participate in any coalitions or alliances and not to conclude any agreements whose objects conflict with the objects of the present Treaty.

The Contracting Parties declare that their commitments under existing international treaties do not conflict with the provisions of the present Treaty.

Article 6

For the purpose of the consultations among the Parties envisaged in the present Treaty, and also for the purpose of examining questions which may arise in the operation of the Treaty, a Political Consultative Committee shall be set up, in which each of the Parties to the Treaty shall be represented by a member of its Government or
immediately a Defence Committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10

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

Article 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty by another specifically appointed representative.

The Committee may set up such auxiliary bodies as may prove necessary. (Also see W.P. Article 5).

Article 9

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

Article 10

The present Treaty is subject to ratification, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The Treaty shall enter into force on the day the last instrument of ratification has been deposited. The Government of the
shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

Article 12
After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13
After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government

WARSAW PACT
(continued)

Polish People's Republic shall notify the other Parties to the Treaty as each instrument of ratification is deposited.

Article 11, 2nd paragraph
Should a system of collective security be established in Europe, and a General European Treaty of Collective Security concluded for this purpose, for which the Contracting Parties will unswervingly strive, the present Treaty shall cease to be operative from the day the General European Treaty enters into force.

Article 11, 1st paragraph
The present Treaty shall remain in force for twenty years. For such Contracting Parties as do not one year before the expiration of this period present to the Govern-
of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.

Article 11, 3rd and 4th paragraphs

Done in Warsaw on 14th May, 1955, in one copy each in the Russian, Polish, Czech and German languages, all texts being equally authentic. Certified copies of the present Treaty shall be sent by the Government of the Polish People's Republic to all the Parties to the Treaty.

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

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 Hun-
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. Koniev 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.

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.
The Treaties are valid for a period of 20 years and, unless indicated differently, commit the co-signatories to immediate mutual assistance—including military assistance—in case of armed aggression. They were signed in the years indicated in the table below, just before expiration of slightly different Treaties signed some 20 years earlier. These original Treaties (indicated in brackets) were aimed in particular at mutual defence against aggression by a re-armed German State (with the exception of the Treaties concluded with the Soviet-Occupied Zone of Germany in 1950. The latter concerned cultural, technical, economic and financial but no defence co-operation).

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<th>Bilateral Treaties between . . .</th>
<th>USSR</th>
<th>Poland</th>
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<th>Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany</th>
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(*) Cultural, Technical, Financial, Economic and/or Agricultural Agreements.
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