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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

13 June 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : Critique of an Operational War Game
on Maps Conducted on the Southwestern Axis

1. The enclosed Intelligence Information Special Report is a translation from Russian of a TOP SECRET publication of the Headquarters of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Countries. It presents the reports of the Commander-in-Chief and Chief of Staff of these armed forces at the critique of a war game held for the purpose of training senior command and staff officers of the Soviet, Bulgarian, and Hungarian armed forces in the conduct of combined operations using both conventional and nuclear weapons against NATO forces in Turkey, Greece, Austria, northern Italy and adjacent waters. The publication presents the scenario of the war game, the lessons learned in it, the deficiencies noted; and the organization, dispositions, and axes of action of both sides. It includes eleven diagrams depicting the respective orders of battle, the situation at various phases, and the course of events.

2. Because the source of this report is extremely sensitive, this document should be handled on a strict need-to-know basis within recipient agencies.

[Redacted Signature]

William E. Nelson
Deputy Director for Operations

[Redacted]

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Intelligence Information Special Report

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COUNTRY USSR/WARSAW PACT

DATE OF
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DATE 13 June 1975

SUBJECT

Critique of an Operational War Game on Maps Conducted
on the Southwestern Axis

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

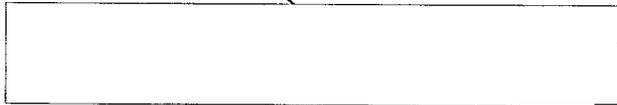
The following report is a translation from Russian of a TOP SECRET publication of the Headquarters of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Countries which presents the reports of Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovskiy, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces, and General of the Army S. M. Shtemenko, Chief of Staff of the Combined Armed Forces, at the critique of a war game held for the purpose of training senior command and staff officers of the Soviet, Bulgarian, and Hungarian armed forces in the conduct of combined operations using both conventional and nuclear weapons against NATO forces in Turkey, Greece, Austria, Northern Italy and adjacent waters. The publication presents the following: the scenario of the war game, the lessons learned in it, the deficiencies noted, the assumed relative conventional and nuclear strengths; and the organization, dispositions, and axes of action of both sides. It includes eleven diagrams depicting the respective orders of battle, the situation at various phases, and the course of events.

End of Summary

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HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMBINED ARMED FORCES

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MATERIAL OF THE
CRITIQUE OF THE OPERATIONAL WAR GAME ON MAPS
CONDUCTED ON THE SOUTHWESTERN AXIS

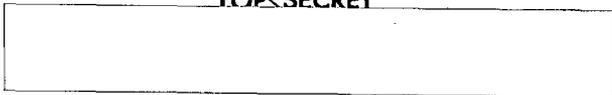
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Moscow - 1970

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In accordance with the combined measures plan of the Combined Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, from 1 to 9 July 1970 an operational war game on maps was conducted in Budapest with the participation of operations groups from the staffs of the Bulgarian People's Army, the Hungarian People's Army, and the Armed Forces of the USSR.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovskiy, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces, directed the war game.

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REPORT of the
Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces,
Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade I. I. Yakubovskiy,
at the Critique of the Operational War Game
on the Southwestern Axis

Comrades!

Our operational war game has been completed. First of all, allow me to express sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party and to the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government for affording us the opportunity of conducting this war game here, in Budapest, the capital of the hospitable and fraternal Hungarian People's Republic.

High-level staffs and operations groups from the Bulgarian People's Army, the Hungarian People's Army, the Soviet Armed Forces, and also representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army, participated in the game.

Allow me to welcome the leaders and representatives present here from the fraternal armies, and through them salute the armed forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, Soviet Union, and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The current war game occupies an important place in the operational training plans of the Combined Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact. Its aim was to study the most urgent problems of preparing and conducting combined operations by allied troops and navies in the Southwestern Theater of Military Operations and to further improve the preparedness of senior personnel of the general staffs, formation commanders, and operational staffs of the allied armies and navies.

This war game, like other combined measures, will also help to further strengthen the combat brotherhood of the fraternal armies, to improve mutual understanding, to work out problems of coordination, and to develop unity of views on the conduct of combined military actions under modern conditions. The war game has allowed us to see both the achievements and the bottlenecks in training formation commanders and staffs. The materials and the experience of the game will permit us to derive the necessary practical conclusions for combined work to support further strengthening

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and development of the armed forces of our countries.

Finally, the war game has great military-political importance. It strengthens friendship among armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and raises the training level of senior personnel and the combat readiness of the Combined Armed Forces as a whole to a new plateau.

Comrades!

The war game was conducted during a period preceded by events of great significance. Nineteen hundred and seventy has been noteworthy first of all because it is a year of glorious anniversaries. During the spring of this year the peoples of the socialist commonwealth countries and all progressive mankind celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the leader and teacher of the world's proletariat. The name of Lenin, a thinker and revolutionist of genius and the greatest internationalist, has been inscribed forever in the annals of the world revolutionary movement and in world history. Leninist ideas have most deeply influenced, and continue to influence, the entire course of world development.

Vladimir Ilich's name is linked to all life, plans and affairs of the Soviet people, of the peoples of the socialist countries, and of the workers of the whole world. Under the banner of Leninism, our people confidently proceed on the way to socialism and communism.

Leninism today is the unswervingly developing world system of socialism and the foremost achievement of the countries of the socialist commonwealth in the construction of a new society.

Leninism is today the powerful international communist and worker movement that is strengthening the bonds of international solidarity of all working people; it is a revolutionary theory that is constantly being developed.

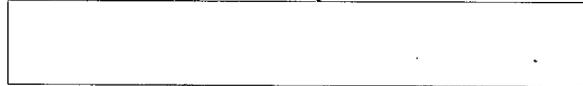
The establishment, strengthening, and development of the Warsaw Pact -- the reliable bulwark of the peace and security of our peoples, has been a practical embodiment of Leninist ideas.

Leninist ideas today inspire hundreds of millions of people of our planet in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world and for the happiness and radiant future of all humanity.

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Historical experience and contemporary life have testified to the fact that the successful building of socialism and development of the world-wide revolutionary process is possible only when based on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why the centennial celebration of V. I. Lenin's birthday has become an event of world-wide political importance, the veritable triumph of Leninist ideas. It has taken the form of a military review of today's revolutionary forces and is a powerful mobilizing stimulus in the people's struggle against imperialism and for peace, freedom, and social progress.

The results, summed up during the Lenin anniversary, testify to the fact that the countries of the world socialist system are successfully carrying out the great Leninist ideas for the building of socialism and communism under the wise leadership of the communist and worker parties.

This year the peoples of our countries celebrated the 25th anniversary of the glorious victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, which brought freedom from fascist-slavery to many countries.

The 25th year of freedom from fascism was celebrated in the spring of the year by the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and next year it will be celebrated by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Polish People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the autumn of last year the working people of the German Democratic Republic celebrated with great rejoicing the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the first German workers' and peasants' state in history.

The destruction of German fascism determined the subsequent course of world history, creating new and extremely favorable opportunities for the building of socialism in a large number of countries and for the rapid growth of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

Over the past quarter century the world socialist system was born and firmly established, and has now become a decisive factor in world developments.

During this time the military alliance of European socialist countries -- the Warsaw Pact, whose fifteenth anniversary was recently celebrated in our countries -- was formed and grew.

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These important historical dates -- the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great victory over fascism, and the fifteenth anniversary of the Warsaw Pact -- have caused a new rise in the political and economic activity of the working people of our countries in the struggle to realize the grandiose plans of building socialism and communism.

The peoples of the socialist countries look to the future with optimism. They are filled with desire to achieve further steady strengthening of the economic and defensive power of their states and of the entire world socialist system, and to achieve new victories in building communism.

By conducting a peace-loving policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are doing everything possible to transform the European continent into a reliable and strong bulwark of peace, so that never again may the flame of another world conflagration blaze up on its territory.

The communist and worker parties and governments of the Warsaw Pact countries are persistently and consistently carrying out a policy that aims to ensure the security of Europe and peace throughout the world.

Facts show that in the last few years the concept of creating a genuine system of collective security in Europe has been gaining an ever-increasing number of adherents.

Imperialist circles are looking upon this sensible and appropriate tendency with obvious displeasure. They are doing everything to undermine the cause of peace and to prevent the relaxation of tension on the European continent. In particular, the resolution of the May session of the NATO Council, wherein the USA and its allies again shelved the idea of convoking a general European conference, also testifies to this.

The most aggressive segments of modern imperialism have not given up hopes of "replaying" the historical battles of the twentieth century, of getting revenge, turning back history, and toppling socialist countries from the heights of world influence.

The dirty war of American imperialists in Vietnam has been extended over the entire peninsula of Indochina. The military alliance between the

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USA and Japan is being strengthened even more. At the end of June, Japan extended the American-Japanese "security" pact for another ten years. In the Near East, the Israeli aggressors, inclined to adventurism and encouraged by the USA and other NATO countries, have not given up their intentions.

The situation also remains tense on the European continent.

Back in the December session (1969), Pentagon representatives, who set the tone in the NATO bloc, imposed on their partners a number of resolutions aimed at expanding US strategic positions in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Balkans.

The subject of strengthening the "southern flank" was again discussed in May this year in the Rome session of the NATO Council.

In accordance with the terms of its resolution at the session, NATO not only contemplates providing increasing aid to Israeli extremists and the Athenian dictatorial junta, but also contemplates exerting military-political pressure on the Arab states, which are conducting a just struggle to drive Israeli aggressors out of their lands.

NATO leaders have also taken aim at Cyprus. They are nurturing the project of "including" this island in the North Atlantic Alliance and of converting it into their unsinkable aircraft carrier.

They have also set themselves the task of further increasing the power of the NATO bloc in the Mediterranean Sea by establishing this year a "permanent naval large unit" patterned after the mobile large unit operating in the North Atlantic.

Thus the growing aggressiveness of the USA and other NATO countries is becoming more obviously apparent in Southeastern Europe and the Near East.

In addition, developing events in Western Europe must put us on our guard.

West German militarists, relying upon the support of the USA, are not concealing their attempts to change the status quo that has developed in Europe as a result of the Second World War. England, together with the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, is aspiring to strengthen its role and to achieve the creation of "European nuclear forces".

Comrades!

The actions of Peking leaders are aggravating the complex and dangerous world situation. They have embarked on the militarization of their country and have, for all practical purposes, opened a fighting front against the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, and against the international communist movement and revolutionary fighters in all the world.

At the same time, in Peking they have stopped criticizing the aggressive nature of NATO and other military blocs of imperialism. Furthermore, Peking is expanding political and economic contacts with the USA and FRG. The latter have been exploiting the adventurist policy of the Chinese leadership to carry out their own adventurist projects as events in Indochina testify.

Fraternal communist and worker parties and peoples of the socialist countries are correctly unmasking and censuring Mao Tse-tung's current policy.

As you can see, today's military-political situation continues to be complex and tense. It is fraught with surprises dangerous to the cause of peace. Therefore unifying and coordinating the defensive measures of the countries of the socialist commonwealth are a vital necessity at present.

The communist and worker parties and the governments of our countries show tireless care in strengthening the defense capabilities of the socialist commonwealth states. You, comrades, are yourselves not only witnesses, but also active participants in the continuous improvement and strengthening of the Warsaw Pact organization.

The Warsaw Pact organization is the peace-loving defensive alliance of the socialist countries. The Warsaw Pact is based on a community of interests, purposes, and tasks for the collective defense of the achievements of socialism, of each country belonging to it, and of the commonwealth as a whole.

"The socialist commonwealth", stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the pre-election meeting of June twelfth this year, "constitutes today a combination of states whose strength cannot be matched by any alliance or coalition which existed in the past or exists at present."

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Nobody will ever be permitted to tear out a single link from the commonwealth of socialist states.

Our combat alliance, bound by the bloodshed in the past war and cemented in the postwar period, has enough forces and means to stop any ventures of imperialist aggressors.

I. THE MILITARY-POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
AREA OF THE WAR GAME

Comrades!

Our war game was carried out on the Southwestern Axis, which is, like the Western Axis, of great importance. The historical experience of past wars is testimony to this. It was right here, in the Balkans, that the hotbed of World War I emerged. Important events also took place here during World War II. Hitlerite leaders took into account the great strategic importance of the Balkans, and before attacking the Soviet Union, occupied a number of countries in this area.

The British government, headed by Churchill, also aimed to seize the Balkan area first when planning the question of a second front in Europe.

During World War II the Soviet Armed Forces had to exert great efforts to liberate the Balkan countries. As you know, large-scale operations of strategic importance took place in this theater. It will suffice to recall that the Soviet Army, together with troops of the fraternal peoples, carried out such large-scale operations here as those in Jassy - Kishinev, Transylvania, Debrecen, Balaton, Budapest, Belgrade, Vienna, etc.

Countries of the socialist commonwealth whose territory constitutes the large continuous Balkan strategic area are found within the boundaries of the Southwestern Theater.

Italy, Greece, and Turkey, which are countries of the aggressive NATO bloc and occupy a favorable strategic location at the junctions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, also lie within the limits of the given theater. The

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most important land and air routes from Europe to Asia and Africa go through the territory of these countries. The shortest routes to vitally important areas of the socialist countries and to communication routes linking these countries with the Soviet Union also go through them.

The importance attached to the Southwestern Theater by NATO leaders is also evidenced by the large grouping of troops disposed here, consisting of 38 divisions and separate brigades and five reserve divisions; of these, 16 divisions are in constant readiness. Their grouping contains more than 3,500 tanks, 1,000 combat aircraft, and 9,000 guns and mortars, including approximately 400 nuclear weapons delivery means.

The Mediterranean Sea is especially important. Together with other seas and gulfs, it cuts deeply into the land portion of the theater, providing the probable enemy with conditions favoring the extensive use of naval forces.

Mediterranean communication routes link European countries with Africa, the Near East, Southeast Asia, and with world petroleum supplies and other types of strategic raw materials.

It is not accidental that the Mediterranean Sea is constantly patrolled by the US Sixth Fleet, which has up to 100 nuclear weapons delivery aircraft and six to eight nuclear submarines with "Polaris" missiles. The Italian and Greek navies are also based here, as are parts of the English, French, and Turkish navies.

NATO troops and navies in this area are intended to exert pressure on the socialist countries of Europe and on developing countries of the Near East and Africa. They can be used to deliver missile/nuclear and air strikes against European socialist countries and deep into areas of the Soviet Union.

NATO leaders have assigned a particularly large role to the Balkan - Turkish strategic area, which includes the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles as one of the most convenient areas for unleashing aggression against socialist countries.

At the same time, they are aware that the loss of this area would result in the military isolation of the troop groupings of the North Atlantic bloc and CENTO. In this event, the Black Sea navies of the socialist countries would be able to exit into the Mediterranean Sea.

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Such a course of events might create a crisis situation for the entire southern flank of NATO.

That is why the main forces of the Turkish First Army, Greek First Army, and Sixth Allied Tactical Air Force are concentrated in this area. This grouping numbers 20 divisions and separate brigades -- of which 11 divisions are in constant readiness -- 1,800 tanks, and over 5,000 guns and mortars, which include more than 250 nuclear weapons delivery means.

The NATO command, and especially the US, are systematically carrying out measures to strengthen the armed forces of Turkey and Greece and to prepare the territory of these countries to serve as military bridgeheads.

Aviation and naval bases, airfields, nuclear weapons storage sites, protected command posts, and a developed communications and control system have been established in their territory, and the network of roads and pipelines is being improved.

American militarists have time and again used their bases in Turkey and Greece for aggressive actions against the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and for reconnaissance against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries.

In order to further strengthen their situation in the South European Theater, the leaders of the North Atlantic bloc have been devoting much attention to Austria lately. They look upon the territory of this nominally neutral country as a connecting link between armed forces groupings in the Central European and the South European theaters of military operations.

Austrian governmental and military circles are pleased with the increased role of their country in the plans of the North Atlantic bloc and are counting on a military alliance with this bloc. This was particularly evident during the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Also worthy of note is the fact that every year the NATO command carries out a large number of military measures in the South European Theater. In 1970 alone it contemplated carrying out 14 different troop and staff exercises here.

That is why we must constantly keep an eye on NATO military preparations in this area and raise the combat readiness of our Combined Armed Forces.

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The physical-geographical aspects of the Southwestern Theater of Military Operations, as you know, are characterized by a great variety of conditions which affect the conduct of military actions. The relief of the theater is primarily mountainous with a limited network of roads. This gives rise to well-known difficulties in preparing and conducting operations, using weapons, using the branches of armed forces, controlling and coordinating troops, and in providing them with comprehensive support. But at the same time, theater conditions permit large groupings of troops to be deployed and permit operations to be conducted on an operational-strategic scale.

In an armed conflict in the given theater, principal efforts can be developed along the three most important operational axes: Northern Italy, Greece, and the Bosphorus - Dardanelles axes.

And it was on these axes that we conducted the war game.

X X X

During the war game, important operational-strategic problems such as bringing the armed forces up to full combat readiness, covering frontiers, and carrying out operational and mobilization deployment of air and naval forces were worked out. These problems were worked out in place and were studied by the appropriate chiefs of the general staffs.

Permit me to dwell briefly on the various conditions associated with the deployment of armed forces.

II. DEPLOYING FORCES IN A PERIOD OF THREAT AND UPON THE INITIATION OF WAR

Ever since wars began to be waged by mass armies over extensive areas, ever-increasing importance has been attached to the deployment of troops in a theater of military operations. The timely and rapid deployment of troops has become one of the decisive factors of successful

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military actions under modern conditions.

Historical experience teaches us that anticipating or delaying the deployment of troop groupings in a theater of military operations has not only predetermined the outcome of initial operations, but has also determined the subsequent course of a war. Thus, during World War II, fascist Germany, having anticipated enemy deployment of armed forces, obtained a number of temporary military advantages and, from the very first days of military actions, seized the strategic initiative.

The fully mobilized and deployed German-fascist forces made a quick transition to decisive actions, disrupted the mobilization measures of those countries they attacked, methodically destroyed troops which had been committed to action hastily, and, in the final analysis, achieved their intended goals.

Under modern conditions, the operational-strategic deployment of armed forces will be carried out in a situation completely different and more complicated than that in the past. Therefore, its preparation and accomplishment involves a number of fundamental propositions. These include bringing the armed forces up to full combat readiness and their transition from a peacetime to a wartime status, covering state borders, deploying the armed forces and operational-strategic groupings, strengthening air defense within the framework of a common air defense system, organizing control and rear services systems, and implementing measures concerning comprehensive support. All of this complex work must be accomplished rapidly, efficiently, and purposefully in accordance with a preestablished plan.

As you can see, this is a very crucial and important time period.

Under modern conditions, to what degree and with what scope must we resort to the deployment of armed forces?

We think that in modern war, regardless of how it may be unleashed or conducted, the deployment of armed forces must be planned and carried out to the total extent.

What is this conditioned by? First of all, it is conditioned by the fact that modern war might begin either with a non-nuclear variant or with the limited or unlimited use of nuclear weapons. Stemming from this, it might last a prolonged time or else be relatively brief. And this means that the armed forces must be ready, in equal degree, to conduct any war:

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nuclear or non-nuclear, prolonged or brief.

To conduct a prolonged war, especially without the use of nuclear weapons, requires several million armed troops which no one, not even the most powerful state, is in a position to maintain in peacetime. Historical experience has shown that when a war begins, an army can be very quickly raised through mobilization. For example, during the first weeks of two world wars the numerical strength of the armed forces of both sides was increased four- to fivefold and subsequently several tenfold.

In 1940 the armed forces of the US, which were not fully mobilized, amounted to slightly more than 400 thousand men, but by the end of World War II their numbers exceeded 12 million.

During World War II, Germany, France, Italy, England, and Japan mobilized fully and deployed anew 755 divisions, calling up 48 million reservists from their reserve.

This experience points out that to conduct war successfully under modern conditions it will be unavoidably necessary to increase the peacetime grouping of troops when a period of threat begins, if there is such a period, or when war begins.

We must also keep in mind that peacetime armed forces, particularly the ground forces, navy, and aviation, cannot be employed effectively without carrying out appropriate regroupings. In any theater of military operations, on all strategic axes, it will be necessary to move forward army and front formations, air defense troops, aviation, and rear services, and to deploy naval forces in the maritime theaters.

One of the distinguishing features of modern armed forces is, first of all, the high combat readiness of those units which are designated to conduct initial operations at the very onset of war. For example, at present the rocket forces and air defense forces of our countries are deployed and on combat alert. Specific ground forces groupings and a portion of the naval and air forces are at a high level of readiness and are on combat alert. However, the available combat-ready groupings of all branches of the armed forces will undoubtedly be inadequate to conduct total war. Therefore all of them will be reinforced by moving forward additional forces and means and incorporating them into their complement. Furthermore, immediately upon the outbreak of war and during the war it will be necessary to create new operational and strategic groupings in the various theaters of military operations and on the axes.

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It was also this way in our game. The First Southern and Southwestern Fronts were established within the boundaries of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic. The Second Southern Front was moved forward from the territory of the Soviet Union. The Third Southern Front was established in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Another characteristic will be that the groupings established will have a coalition complement, incorporating large units and formations of various national affiliations. In the game, as you know, armies and divisions of various nationalities were incorporated into the complement of front formations.

We must emphasize that the rapid establishment of coalition troop groupings demands efficient peacetime planning from general staffs and their comprehensive support when formations of the national armies initiate forward movement.

All of these complex problems can be successfully solved only when there is the closest contact among the general staffs of the allied armies while it is still peacetime. Not only will the timely deployment of groupings in the theaters depend on this, but also their readiness to immediately accomplish combat tasks.

A fundamentally new characteristic condition of the deployment of troop groupings will be the permanent threat of their complete or partial destruction by massive enemy nuclear and air strikes. Successfully carrying out the deployment of armed forces under such conditions will require, to a greater degree than before, flexibility in organization, readiness and capacity among the troops to deploy under conditions of massive casualties and vast destruction, disrupted control, and disorganized work of the rear services and transport.

The scope and nature of the measures for deploying armed forces will depend greatly on the status of the armed forces when they initiate deployment, the time available, the enemy methods of unleashing war, and the preparedness levels of the theaters.

Troop deployment may take place at different times. In some cases it will be carried out before war begins, even during the period of threat.

Thus, in the initial situation, the "Easterners" and "Westerners" deployed and established groupings just prior to the initiation of combat actions.

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Deploying troops ahead of time is often far from possible and expedient, because of stipulations for strategically camouflaging the measures carried out, protecting against weapons of mass destruction, and ensuring surprise in the initiation of combat actions. The probable enemy is capable of initiating war with the surprise massive use of nuclear weapons. Then a more difficult situation for fully mobilizing and deploying forces would develop and, in general, there would be no period of threat. Under these conditions deployment would have to be initiated while already repelling an enemy attack.

In a number of areas, carrying out mobilization measures will be difficult or will be disrupted; a portion of the military equipment reserves and materiel-technical means will be destroyed; communication routes will be severed to a considerable degree; and airfields, communications centers, and communications lines will be out of order. The ground forces, aviation, navy, and civilian population will have suffered heavy losses.

Under these conditions, deployment will begin under the cover of the strategic rocket forces and air defense forces, which will have entered into action immediately, and all other forces and means will be brought up to full combat readiness. Simultaneously we will begin to reestablish the combat effectiveness of units and large units, to create operational and strategic reserves, and to fully mobilize our troops and move them forward to the theaters and areas of military operations.

We must emphasize the special importance of skilfully exploiting both the period of threat, should it precede the war, and the period of non-nuclear actions. We cannot count on these to be prolonged periods. But they will give rise to a relatively favorable situation which must be exploited to the maximum to carry out secret full troop mobilization and deployment.

Very stringent requirements are applicable to mobilization deployment under modern conditions. Most important of all is to curtail to the utmost the time period for its implementation.

These are of great importance: precise organization of the entire process of full mobilization, a well-developed warning system that has been tested in peacetime; and the timely establishment of stocks of equipment, armament, and materiel in the areas of full mobilization.

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The combat coordination of units and large units should be carried out at the same time as full mobilization in accordance with a previously developed program, both before initiating forward movement (transportation) and upon arriving in areas of intended operations.

I will now proceed to a critique of the plans and work of participants in the war game.

III. PLANS AND WORK OF THE PLAYERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INITIAL SITUATION OF 2000 HOURS 29 JUNE AND THE STAVKA DIRECTIVE ON THE OFFENSIVE
(Diagrams 2, 3, and 10)

In conformity with the initial situation, participants in the war game were involved to the maximum in those conditions which might develop by the outset of war. Here, to your own satisfaction, we set up the period preceding a war, a period characterized by drastically aggravated tension, and complexity and vagueness on the military-political plane. A thorough analysis of all activities of the "Westerners" over the latter period led to the conclusion that in the immediate future they would unleash aggression against the "Easterners". However, the fundamental question remained unclear: with what means and by what method would the NATO bloc initiate war -- with the massive use of nuclear weapons or only with conventional means? If the enemy uses nuclear weapons, then on what scale and at what stage of military actions would he do so? Therefore "Eastern" Combined Armed Forces had to complete preparations without delay to repel the aggression of the "Westerners" and to conduct decisive actions both with the use of conventional means and with the use of nuclear means.

The commands and staffs of "Eastern" fronts, navies, air forces, and air defense were confronted with the problem of accomplishing in a brief period of time a multiplicity of urgent tasks of operational-strategic scope. It was necessary to bring forces and means of the first strategic echelon up to full combat readiness, to accomplish the mobilization deployment of the armed forces, to move forward and deploy the necessary groupings of ground and naval forces in the areas of intended operations,

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to rebase aircraft and rear services, to reinforce air defense, and to solve a variety of other problems. At the same time, "Eastern" formation commanders and staffs were now faced with having to fully and concretely analyze the opposing enemy; to determine his objectives and combat capabilities, and his intentions and probable method of unleashing military actions. Only after this would it be possible to adopt sound plans for the conduct of initial operations with the aim of seizing the operational-strategic initiative on the southern flank of NATO and of quickly and decisively defeating enemy strike groupings on land, at sea, and in the air.

It became necessary to review and organize a system of stable control and coordination within national formations and particularly among coalition troop groupings. Implementing comprehensive support of the initial operations of the armed forces deployed within the confines of the given theater was also a difficult task.

The successful initiation, conduct and possible outcome of the armed conflict in the Balkans depended greatly on the timely and skilful accomplishment of these and other tasks.

In the interests of working out the training objectives and fulfilling the tasks assigned to the fronts and navies, we chose one of the possible variants in which military actions could be initiated using conventional, classical means of destruction with a subsequent transition to the use of nuclear weapons.

In this situation, the participants in the game were required to adopt plans providing for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of defeating the main enemy forces both without the use and also with the use of nuclear weapons.

For commanders and staffs the complicated and creative work process is that of adopting operational plans. Data for the adoption of a plan are prepared by the intensive work of the entire staff, but only the commander himself adopts the plan, since he bears complete responsibility for its accomplishment.

Therefore, as we turn our attention to the plans adopted by formation commanders, I wish to remark that these plans also exemplify the level of training, teamwork, and quality of work of all the generals, admirals, officers, staffs, and operations groups that participated in this game.

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Plan of the Southwestern Front

Commander -- Colonel General Comrade B. P. Ivanov

By Stavka directive the Southwestern Front was assigned the task of preparing and conducting an offensive operation on the Vienna and Klagenfurt axes in order to destroy "Western" forces in Austrian territory and break out into the northern areas of Italy.

The front commander correctly estimated the situation that had developed and adopted a practical plan in conformity with the Stavka directive. The front commander's concept envisaged destroying opposing enemy forces and reserves either using nuclear weapons or using only conventional means of destruction. His plan took into account the probability that military actions would begin without the use of nuclear weapons. The front correctly solved the problem of the direction of the main attack and its shift in the course of the operation. In fulfilling the immediate task, the main efforts of the front were concentrated on the Vienna axis and subsequently shifted over to the left wing on the Klagenfurt axis. In conformity with the plan adopted, two strike groupings were established in the front; their actions ensured that "rose" forces were speedily routed before the "yellow" Third Army came up from the deep rear area.

The Thirteenth Army and the Sixth Army Corps (a total of six divisions) were designated to strike on the Vienna axis and the Second Army (five divisions) was designated for the Klagenfurt axis.

At the same time, there were some deficiencies in the plan.

When assessing the enemy it is necessary to determine not only his forces but also the specific nature of the actions from the beginning of the war, and also the scale and the probable time of making the transition to the use of nuclear weapons. All of this would have allowed making a more judicious selection of action methods and the operational disposition of the troops.

We must mention that the final object of the actions of the front, to break out into northern Italy, was not adequately understood, as a result of which both during the first phase and subsequently, the front was, if I may so word it, "pulled" to the north all the time and not to the south

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where the fulfilment of the task was to be completed.

We must also mention that division breakthrough sectors and artillery densities were determined without properly taking into consideration the nature of the enemy defenses and forces. All divisions were assigned identical breakthrough sectors two kilometers wide and artillery densities were established at no less than 100 guns and mortars per kilometer of front.

The plan did not fully reflect the problems of coordination with adjacent fronts, particularly with the Central Front and Eastern Military District of the Czechoslovak People's Army, which subsequently led to inadequately coordinated actions of right flank forces with their righthand neighbor. Of course, fundamental problems of coordination between fronts are resolved by the Stavka, whose role was played by Control. But Control, for training purposes, expected the front command to take the initiative in posing these problems. Regrettably, the front command and staff did not show this initiative. Overall, as I have already remarked, the plan was practical.

The plan of the commander of the First Air Army -- Commander: General-Leytenant of Aviation Comrade S. I. Kharlamov -- was in line with the situation. The plan devoted much attention to weakening the enemy aviation grouping through delivery of strikes against airfields and also to organizing and maintaining coordination with Long Range Aviation, forces and means of the Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, combined-arms armies, and the Sixth Army Corps. Operations groups and aviation representatives were sent to their staffs.

The plan was notable for its precise formulation and was backed up by appropriate estimates.

Plan of the Second Army

Commander -- General-Mayor Yozhef Kalazi

The army command correctly estimated the situation, role, and place of the army in the front offensive operation. This permitted it to adopt a plan that was in conformity with the directive of the commander of the Southwestern Front.

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Delivery of the main attack on the left flank of the army by a force of three divisions was correct and meets our approval. But in the interests of quickly defeating the "rose" forces before the approach of "yellow" reserves from deep in the rear area and before forces were built up in the deep rear area, it would have been more advantageous to have had the 13th Tank Division in the first echelon instead of the 14th Motorized Rifle Division; this was later done by the army commander. The breakthrough sectors of the divisions were also widened.

The army intelligently solved the problems of reconnaissance, defense of troops against means of mass destruction, and of engineer and rear services support.

I also wish to remark that when the army rocket brigade was shifted a considerable distance away from the main grouping, to the right flank of the army, more reliable air cover should have been organized for it, security should have been allocated, and it should have been provided with engineer support.

Plan of the Sixth Army Corps

Commander -- General-Major Comrade Bela Lakatosh

The plan of the corps commander was in conformity with the task assigned by the front and was correct and complete.

It should only be remarked that establishing corps artillery groups of limited complement (one or two artillery battalions) is hardly worthwhile. Such small groups will not be able to accomplish their specific tasks. When there is a shortage of artillery it is better to attach battalions to the motorized rifle divisions. At the same time it would be advantageous if all aviation allocated to support corps actions was employed in a centralized manner in accordance with the corps plan and not distributed to the divisions.

It was also hardly advisable to use a nuclear missile with a surface burst against the airfield in the Vienna (Wiener Neustadt) area on which there were no combat aircraft and which was in an area in which corps troops were to arrive within several hours. We believe that the delivery of surface nuclear bursts during an offensive should be carried out with the permission of the senior commander to ensure the safety of our own and

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adjacent troops.

The plan concerning Air Defense Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic -- commanded by General-Major Comrade Yanosh Shtotsk -- was in conformity with the situation that had developed and the tasks assigned to it in the operational directive.

A special plan on the problem of coordinating the forces and means of Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Southwestern Front, and the First Army was worked out in detail and formulated in the Staff of Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic.

At the same time we must point out that the plan did not define the procedure for reestablishing a disrupted grouping and did not give full consideration to "Western" aircraft which might operate by flying across the country.

Thus the Southwestern Front, with the Second Army and Sixth Corps in its complement, adopted plans that were appropriate to the situation and which ensured the successful accomplishment of the tasks assigned to them.

Plan of the First Southern Front

Commander -- Colonel General K. D. Kosev

The First Southern Front deployed for actions on the Greece axis, an axis to which both sides attached great importance.

The front, occupying a central location on the Balkan peninsula, was to play an important role in defeating the "orange" forces. It had to break out into the principal areas of Greece, establish conditions for the commitment to battle of the Third Southern Front on the Athens axis, and, in coordination with this front, make Greece withdraw from the war.

The front commander, having correctly estimated the enemy grouping, the nature of its actions, and the role of the front, adopted a plan which was in conformity both with the directive of the Stavka of the Supreme High Command and with the conditions of the situation. The concept of having the adjacent flanks of two armies deliver the main attack is worthy of approval. The fulfilment of the immediate front task by the concentrated attacks of the Eighth and Ninth Armies ensured the rapid splitting of the

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opposing enemy groupings, exit to the sea, and exploitation of this success to force Greece out of the war as quickly as possible. The plan specified fulfilling the tasks both with conventional and with nuclear weapons.

We note with satisfaction that in the front the characteristics of the theater of military operations and the composition, status, and special features of the opposing enemy are known.

The planning of front troop actions for the breakthrough of the Metaxas fortified zone is worthy of note. The plan defined the specific methods of troop actions; it was backed up by the required estimates and was comprehensively supported. This is precisely the way to approach this important and complex problem.

It is well-known that the probable enemy is placing great hopes on his fortified zones and areas. These zones and areas are very tough "nuts". To "crack" them without nuclear weapons is not so simple. A breakthrough here requires thorough and comprehensive organization: neutralization by artillery and aircraft, the creation of assault detachments and groups, meticulous organization of the coordination of all forces and means, and comprehensive support. I draw your attention to this subject because both Southern Fronts were confronted with the problem of breaking through fortified zones and areas.

Not only in the Balkans will our troops have to encounter fortified areas. When studying this problem it is useful to exploit the wealth of combat experience of the Soviet Army, which repeatedly broke through a number of fortified areas during World War II.

The efforts of the front commander to accomplish the immediate task as soon as possible by delivering the attack with a powerful first echelon meets with my approval. But in this case, in our opinion, the solution to the problem of increasing forces was inadequately thought through. For all practical purposes, the commitment of fresh forces to exploit the success on the main axis during the first three days of the operation was not contemplated.

In the front, inadequate attention was devoted to cover for the rocket brigades. The Second Army of the Southwestern Front also committed a similar error. It is necessary to keep in mind that the enemy will continuously strive to keep "in his sights" the rocket brigades, where the principal nuclear power of a front and army is concentrated. Therefore, it is necessary to cover rocket brigades from the air, to camouflage them

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thoroughly from reconnaissance, and to protect them against enemy sabotage and reconnaissance groups.

Inadequate attention was also devoted to the reconnaissance and "final" reconnaissance of enemy targets against which nuclear strikes were to be delivered. This is a very important matter, particularly in regard to mobile targets. On the eve of war and during the non-nuclear phase, the enemy will secretly change the location of almost all mobile targets.

As you know, on the Southwestern Theater four fronts of various nationalities went to the offensive: the Soviet Southwestern and Second Southern, the Bulgarian First Southern, and subsequently the Romanian Third Southern. The successful actions of the fronts greatly depended on precise coordination among them. In the First Southern Front these problems were resolved with sufficient care and completeness and were set forth in a specially developed plan.

In determining the main tasks and methods of utilizing the composite aviation corps, the plan was basically sound and does not give rise to any particular objections.

Overall, the work in the front to produce the solution and plan the operation, and the plan adopted, ensured the successful accomplishment of all missions assigned to the front.

The plan of the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- Colonel General Comrade Kh. S. Dobrev commanding, contemplated concentrating main efforts on covering the most important administrative and political centers, economic areas, principal groupings of the First and Second Southern Fronts, and naval forces. In this case, the air defense system combined zonal and installation protection. The plan has been recognized as correct.

The problems of coordination among the forces and means of the Air Defense of the Country, three fronts, and the navies, were solved effectively. This very important condition ensures that massive enemy air raids are repelled successfully.

One comment. The air defense system must be viable. Therefore, measures must provide for its protection against means of mass destruction and for its restoration in case it is disrupted, yet these measures had been planned to an extent that was far from complete.

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Plan of the Second Southern Front

Commander -- Colonel General Comrade A. G. Shurupov

The Second Southern Front was designated to operate on the coastal axis of the "Eastern" southern wing.

The front had to accomplish quite a complex task: to defeat the enemy in Eastern Thrace, seize the Black Sea straits zone, and support the exit of allied navies into the Mediterranean Sea.

The situation was correctly estimated in the front and, based on this estimate, the commander of the Second Southern Front adopted a sound overall plan. The essence of this plan was to have the main attack delivered by the adjacent flanks of two armies in the center of the front offensive zone, thereby ensuring that the enemy in Eastern Thrace was split into two isolated groupings and that these groupings were thoroughly defeated. This method of accomplishing the immediate task is wholly impractical. The cited plan was in conformity with the requirements of the directive of the Stavka of the Supreme High Command and the situation that had developed.

However, the plan had some deficiencies. Thus, a second echelon (strong reserve) was not established in the Tenth Army, as a result of which during the operation the army commander had nothing with which to augment his forces to exploit a success.

The methods of fulfilling the subsequent task of the front, in particular the forced crossing of the strait of the Dardanelles, were carelessly defined. Incidentally, this strait is not only the "key" to Western Turkey, but also the last obstacle on the way to the Mediterranean Sea. Without a doubt the enemy will fight furiously for it. Therefore, in order to seize it, it will be necessary to designate beforehand sufficient forces in ground troops, airborne units, aviation, and other forces and means. But, according to the front plan, only the 51st Motorized Rifle Division and the 55th Tank Brigade were allocated to seize the strait. The remaining forces of the army, disposed in a single echelon, were stretched along the coast. It would hardly be possible for the front to succeed in quickly seizing the strait and successfully making a forced crossing without committing additional forces. Later on, as we know, the situation required calling upon the 86th and 87th Motorized Rifle Divisions on this axis.

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It was decided to carry out the amphibious landing and airborne drop beginning the morning of the fourth or fifth day of the operation without taking into account the possible progress of the breakthrough to the Catalca fortified area. Under these conditions it would have been more practical to determine the date when the landing and drop were to be employed in direct accordance with the speed of the breakthrough of this fortified area.

The Third Army was employed correctly. Its efforts were directed towards destroying enemy aviation and supporting the actions of the Tenth and Eleventh Armies.

The problems of coordinating with aircraft of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet should have been worked out more fully, particularly when conducting joint actions in the fleet against enemy tactical and carrier aviation.

Overall, the plan of the Second Southern Front was completely practical.

I shall go on to examine the plans of the commanders of the allied navies.

The allied navies were assigned the following missions: defeating the strike groupings of "Western" naval forces in the Mediterranean Sea, destroying their forces in the Black Sea, supporting the offensives of the fronts, disembarking the amphibious landing force, and moving naval forces into the Aegean and Mediterranean seas.

Plan of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet
Commander -- Vice Admiral Comrade V. S. Sysoyev

The commander was completely correct in directing the main forces of the fleet to destroy enemy nuclear missile submarines and strike aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean Sea. A portion of the fleet's forces was designated to destroy enemy ships in the Black Sea. Such utilization of the fleet's forces is sound.

The plan as a whole ensured the missions assigned to the fleet were fulfilled in close coordination with naval forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and with Long Range Aviation.

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The plan covered with adequate completeness the problems of organizing all types of defense and security for the fleet forces. Measures for the preparation and debarkation of the amphibious landing force were planned after careful thought.

The plan also had deficiencies. Reserve naval forces were not established. Targets to be struck in the Mediterranean Sea were distributed without adequate thought between Long Range Aviation and naval missile-carrying aviation. Long Range Aviation was directed to take action against targets located at distances more than 2000 kilometers away from its base area. It could get to these targets only at altitudes of nine to ten thousand meters, i.e., at altitudes which were most advantageous for the actions of all enemy air defense means. It would have been better to designate it to strike mobile and less distant objectives, like the aircraft carrier "FORRESTAL", for example.

The advisability of using Long Range Aviation against a large unit of amphibious ships on which there was only a single battalion of enemy marines also gave rise to doubts.

The problem of aircraft flights across the territory of Bulgaria was not adequately coordinated with the Air Defense Command of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. (S)

Plan of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- Vice Admiral Comrade I. S. Dobrev commanding -- I have no substantive remarks. The plan called for: directing principal efforts toward destroying enemy forces in the southwestern part of the Black Sea in close coordination with forces of the Soviet Union's Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, providing fire support to troops of the Second Southern Front, and also providing a base to a unit of the strike forces of the Soviet fleet moved into the zone of the Bulgarian naval forces. The plan was correct.

The plan of the naval commander, which I found worthy of approval, was to create a detachment of fire support ships to assist the troops of the Second Southern Front in the breakthrough of the Çatalca area and also to shift overland a brigade of strike forces (torpedo boats and a rocket-artillery battalion) from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora for the purpose of providing assistance to front troops during the forced crossing of the straits.

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At the same time, more attention should have been devoted to protecting naval forces against enemy weapons of mass destruction and to incorporating measures for restoring their combat effectiveness.

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In summing up the plans of the formation commanders and the work of the staffs relating to the initial situation, that is, on the planning of the operations and the preparations for action of troops and naval forces in the non-nuclear phase of the war, I shall dwell on several theoretical propositions.

Modern military art has adequately worked out the nature and methods of action of all branches of the armed forces in a war which is initiated with the use of conventional weapons and then develops into a nuclear war. Under such conditions, military actions will obviously develop in the form of a strategic operation in a theater of military operations.

The actions of the armed forces engaged in such an operation must be integrated by overall strategic plans, by a common concept and plan, and must be conducted under unified leadership.

A strategic operation initiated using only conventional means of destruction will be significantly different in its content and nature from an operation conducted in an unlimited nuclear war, just as it also differs from strategic operations of the World War II period.

But what are the characteristic features inherent in a modern strategic operation initiated with conventional means?

Obviously it too will be conducted throughout the entire depth of the theater. However, the methods and degree of its actions against deep strategic enemy installations will be different. Strikes against the enemy will begin to intensify as large units and combat means are committed to battle. In other words, such an operation will be characterized by the successive destruction in depth of enemy troop groupings and installations. Initially the economy, deep rear area, and control system of government and

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highest military authority will be least subjected to this action.

Under these conditions the belligerents can carry out certain mobilization measures, but military actions will begin with the forces at hand. However, it will be far from possible for all forces to participate fully in the non-nuclear phase, owing to the necessity of keeping them ready to use nuclear weapons. And this reduces the combat capabilities of formations of the ground forces, aviation, and navy.

The most important feature is the fact that the strategic rocket forces and operational-tactical rocket troops will not participate, as a result of which the role of ground forces and aircraft will increase substantially.

The principal role in defeating enemy groupings in land theaters will devolve upon fronts. Fronts having all arms of troops and aviation will fulfil their tasks in close coordination with Long Range Aviation, air defense forces, and naval forces.

* The main purpose of front offensive operations will be to defeat the enemy's principal rocket, aviation, and ground forces groupings; to disrupt his mobilization measures, to seize the most important operational-strategic areas in the theater, and to force individual countries of the enemy coalition to withdraw from the war.

As is well-known, a front is assigned an immediate and subsequent task. In so doing, the most pressing task of a front, and of the air and naval forces acting jointly with it, will be to decrease as rapidly as possible, and to the utmost, the nuclear potential of the enemy. The tasks of a front in an operation initiated with conventional means, will coincide, in respect to depth, with those also assigned to it in an operation where nuclear weapons are used. We expect the average rate of speed of an offensive without the use of nuclear weapons to be lower, and the time required to fulfil tasks to be greater, than in an operation using nuclear weapons.

For operations under both non-nuclear and nuclear conditions the principle of unity of aims and tasks remains mandatory.

When preparing the initial offensive operation, commanders and staffs of formations will not have available all necessary data on whether the enemy will use nuclear weapons, and if he should use them, when, on which line, and on what scale. Therefore, the initial offensive operation must

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be prepared with provision for constant readiness to disrupt enemy nuclear attacks, to carry out our own initial nuclear strike, and to achieve our purposes both with conventional means and with nuclear weapons.

The concept and plan of the operation should include methods of accomplishing the tasks facing the front with the use of both conventional means of destruction and nuclear weapons. The axis of the main strike of the front (army) should also coincide for both variants. In both cases all problems concerning the use of nuclear weapons, troop control and comprehensive support measures, should also be resolved.

There should be a single operations plan. It should set forth the planned non-nuclear and nuclear actions of the troops.

Regardless of whether nuclear weapons are employed or not, the initial nuclear strike must be meticulously planned, and this plan is constantly refined during the operation.

Destroying the enemy in operations initiated without the use of nuclear weapons requires ensuring the necessary superiority over the enemy in conventional weapons and the establishment of dense troop groupings. However, this involves the threat that they will be struck by enemy nuclear weapons. The important condition for the preparation and successful conduct of an operation is to continuously protect troops, aircraft, and naval forces against weapons of mass destruction.

At the beginning of the non-nuclear period, attacking troops will have to break through previously prepared enemy defenses on several axes. A breakthrough requires meticulous preparation and the reliable neutralization of the enemy by artillery and aircraft. Aggressive actions by tank and motorized rifle troops of the first echelon, continuous fire support, and timely intensification of efforts on the decisive axes are also required.

The duration of the fire preparation will depend on the characteristics of the enemy defenses, the availability of artillery and aircraft, and the methods of action employed by the above. Experience shows that it will be conducted for a period of 35 to 45 minutes with a density of 75 to 110 guns and mortars per kilometer of frontage. All fire means, including tanks and antitank guided missiles, must participate in the fire preparation.

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In several theaters we may encounter fortified enemy zones (areas), as was the case in our game. Troops of the First and Second Southern Fronts had to break through the Metaxas fortified zone and the Catalca fortified area. The breakthrough of fortified areas without nuclear weapons requires conducting powerful fire preparation with intervals for breaking up and destroying permanent strongpoints by fire. In specific cases a preliminary artillery preparation is also carried out.

Overall, the role of artillery increases sharply when operations are conducted with the use of conventional means of destruction. It will become the principal means of firepower of the ground forces and it will fulfil its missions in close coordination with front aviation, tanks, and the fire means of motorized rifle and tank large units.

Front aviation, the only long range means in the hands of the formation commander, will play a very important role.

Front aviation participates jointly with air defense forces in covering troops and rear services installations against enemy air strikes and aerial reconnaissance, combats his missile/nuclear means and operational reserves, provides support to the combined-arms and tank armies, supports the landing and conduct of combat actions by airborne landing forces, and carries out aerial reconnaissance.

Of course, front aviation will fulfil a number of tasks in support of Long Range and Military Transport Aviation.

As you see, the tasks are numerous. Meanwhile, a portion of front aviation must be constantly ready to use nuclear weapons. Therefore, its actual capabilities must be taken into consideration when organizing an offensive.

I want to particularly emphasize the importance and complexity of the task of achieving air supremacy in the non-nuclear phase.

According to the plans of the Supreme High Command, achieving air supremacy in the theater of military operations is accomplished by means of an air operation or specific massive strikes by front and Long Range Aviation delivered jointly with naval missile-carrying aviation against enemy aviation groupings. Air forces of allied countries will participate in the achievement of air supremacy.

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But actions to destroy enemy aviation groupings should not be limited to the conduct of an air operation or a massive strike. It is important that the command of a front keep a constant eye on the air situation and take necessary timely steps in the fight against enemy aircraft on airfields and bases and in the air.

The air defense of the member states of the Warsaw Pact is, in significance and scale, a mission of vast importance. Not only groupings of armed forces, but also important administrative and political centers and military and industrial areas in the deep rear areas of our countries, have become the targets of air strikes.

The air defense of the member states of the Warsaw Pact constitutes, as is well-known, a unified system. Air defense troops of each state, while accomplishing the task of covering their own territory, may have a portion of their forces engaged in reinforcing the air defense of the border areas of adjacent states within whose boundaries the air situation has developed unfavorably.

In our game, air defense forces, while covering the most important installations of their own countries, covered at the same time deployed troop groupings, aircraft, and naval bases and forces.

Air defense forces can also participate in specific ways in covering troop groupings from the moment military actions begin. The movements of forces and means of air defense forces following the attacking troops must be carried out within judicious limits, without weakening the air defense of the territory of the given country.

The air defense forces of our countries, equipped with modern combat equipment, must be constantly kept at an extremely high level of combat readiness, and be well-trained in conducting battle throughout the entire range of altitudes, but particularly at low altitudes under conditions of varied and intensive radioelectronic jamming.

The most important task of air defense troops of the fronts is to cover groupings of rocket troops and artillery, second echelons, control organs, and the most important rear services installations. The first line of zonal cover is established by front and army surface-to-air missile units. This being the case, surface-to-air missile units will most often be echeloned in depth in their battle dispositions. Antiaircraft artillery regiments are used to provide close-in cover to installations important to an army.

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I will now dwell briefly on the employment of naval forces.

We must keep in mind that the basic purpose of allied naval actions is to destroy the enemy's naval nuclear forces, first and foremost his nuclear missile submarines and carrier strike large units, and also his naval surface forces.

An important task of the navies is to support the fronts in accomplishing their combat tasks. Naval forces coordinating with troops advancing on a coastal axis will cover their flanks from the sea, wage combat against enemy communication routes, and deliver strikes against naval bases, ports, airfields, and aircraft in coastal areas.

As you can see, in the non-nuclear phase navies will be used extensively to accomplish very important tasks. However, we will emphasize that the success of naval actions under these conditions will depend greatly on precisely organized and continuously supported combined actions, both among the allied naval forces themselves as well as among the navies and with ground forces formations.

One of the most important problems for allied navies in the Black Sea will be their participation in seizing the straits zones, in coordination with ground forces.

Conducting an amphibious landing operation requires meticulous and secret preparations. During the preparation of this operation it will be necessary to work out with special precision the problems of coordination among navies, ground forces, and air defense forces.

The success of an amphibious landing operation will depend greatly on the teamwork and meticulous work of staffs at all levels, on their cohesion, on the coordinated actions of all forces participating in the operation, and on reliable communications.

These have been some of the propositions which I wanted to call to your attention in preparing and conducting an offensive operation initiated without the use of nuclear weapons.

I will remark that these propositions were taken into account by the participants and were reflected, in essence, in the plans drawn up. We believe that during this stage of the war game we succeeded in working out the problems of planning and conducting military actions initiated without the use of nuclear weapons.

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I will now proceed to examine those plans dealing with the situation of 1800 hours on 4 July.

IV. PLANS OF THE PLAYERS ON THE SITUATION OF 1800 HOURS 4 JULY
(Diagrams 4 and 5)

After three days of war without the use of nuclear weapons, the armed forces of the "Easterners" had firmly seized the initiative. Heavy losses had been inflicted on NATO ground, air and naval forces groupings in frontier battles and in combat actions at sea and in the air. The nuclear attack means and air defense system of the enemy had also been weakened.

In the Western Theater the Central Front of the "Easterners" had made a considerable penetration into West German territory.

Troops of the Southwestern Front completed destroying the Vienna grouping and successfully attacked the Austrian Alps. The First and Second Southern Fronts broke out to the shores of the Aegean Sea and to the defensive lines of the straits zone. Allied navies, with supremacy on the Black Sea, supported the attacking ground forces and successfully waged combat against enemy shipping groups.

In the situation that had developed, "Easterners" had the absolute capability of completely destroying the enemy piecemeal on all operational axes without having to resort to nuclear weapons. As a result of the military defeat of the "Westerners" that had become apparent, a military-political crisis arose in the NATO bloc. Because of the conditions that had developed, the leaders of this bloc arrived at the decision to use nuclear weapons.

As you know, the strategic rocket forces of the Soviet Union are capable of delivering an inevitable nuclear strike against the enemy, a strike which can predetermine the subsequent course and outcome of a war in favor of the world socialist system.

Operational-tactical nuclear means of fronts and navies will also have an important role in accomplishing the defeat of enemy groupings. The skilful and timely use of these means from the beginning of the phase of

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decisive actions will predetermine to a large extent the successful completion of the destruction of the enemy. We had neared this very phase in the second stage of the game.

Fronts and navies were required, first of all, to adopt a plan for the use of nuclear weapons in accordance with instructions of the Stavka and the situation that had developed, to bring rocket troops and front and naval aviation up to the highest level of combat readiness, and to refine the plan for delivering the initial nuclear strike. Furthermore, it was necessary to take additional protective measures against enemy nuclear strikes.

Taking into consideration the importance of the problem being worked out, I will dwell on several propositions related to the transition to actions where nuclear weapons are used.

The transition to the use of nuclear weapons is a new stage in the development of operations. It is perfectly obvious that each side will take all measures to make sure that the use of nuclear weapons changes the situation radically to its advantage. The subsequent course and outcome of the operation will depend decisively on the skilful use of nuclear weapons and the prevention of massive casualties.

The transition to actions using nuclear weapons is most likely in a situation that is critical to the enemy.

The most important task of a front in this phase is to deliver the initial nuclear strike in a timely manner, to retain the combat effectiveness of the troops, and to ensure the rapidity of their actions following the initial nuclear strike.

During the phase of immediate preparation to use nuclear weapons, the task of detecting enemy nuclear attack means and the times of their possible readiness to strike becomes particularly acute.

But this is quite a difficult matter. Nuclear means will be carefully hidden up to the moment they are used. The enemy needs a very short time to prepare an initial nuclear strike and there are very few easily detected indications by which we could determine without error immediate preparations for their use.

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The staffs of fronts, navies, and armies must continuously keep a close watch on changes in the positions of enemy nuclear strike facilities, and on the readiness for use of their own nuclear weapons means, and in accordance with the formation commander's plan, they must give timely orders for bringing these weapons up to higher levels of readiness.

The organization and delivery of an initial nuclear strike during an operation initiated using only conventional means of destruction differs considerably from the conduct of such a strike immediately at the beginning of a nuclear war. This difference is determined by the drastic changes in the status and condition of the enemy targets to be struck and in our means which use nuclear weapons. By this time the troops of both sides will be fully deployed, in immediate contact, and in movement.

It is advisable to have all operational-tactical missile launchers and all delivery aircraft ready to deliver the initial nuclear strike. It is also desirable to call upon as many tactical missiles as possible for the initial strike.

Missiles with nuclear warheads earmarked for the initial launching, and also front and mine-torpedo aviation designated to participate in the initial nuclear strike, should be at least at the levels of readiness which ensure the delivery of a strike within 20 to 40 minutes after receipt of the command.

The need for a front to deliver a powerful initial nuclear strike stems from the fact that this strike must destroy enemy operational and tactical means of nuclear attack and aircraft and also inflict damage on his tank and artillery groupings and disorganize his control and materiel-technical supply. The initial nuclear strike accomplishes many fundamental tasks and, in essence, the course and outcome of the entire front operation depends on it.

Strategic nuclear forces may destroy some particularly important targets in the zone of a front. For example, in our game we planned to use 112 nuclear warheads delivered by Stavka means in the zones of three fronts.

The distribution of targets between rocket units and front aviation is continuously refined.

The makeup of the initial nuclear strike has become vitally important. The strike can be carried out by a one-time massive use of all nuclear

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warheads allocated or by using them in succession as targets are detected.

As shown by estimates, the duration of a strike, depending on the level of combat readiness of nuclear warhead delivery means, can range from one to 1.5 hours.

But the situation can also develop in such a way that at the time the strike is delivered, the main enemy grouping has not yet been detected with adequate completeness. In this case, it will be necessary, after the initial strike, to deliver grouped and individual strikes against the enemy targets detected.

Before making the transition to nuclear actions, special attention is devoted to ensuring the security of friendly forces.

We must pay the utmost attention to the concealed displacement of rocket troops, to the engineer preparation and camouflage of their sites, to reliable cover from the air, to protection and defense against sabotage groups, and to the timely replacement of losses. All these factors are also applicable to the basing of aircraft. These problems must be constantly kept in view by commanders and staffs at all levels.

These have been some of the propositions related to the transition to the use of nuclear weapons by troops during the conduct of an offensive operation. But the enemy is also capable of delivering a massive nuclear strike against our troops, naval forces, and rear services installations. This would give rise to a very difficult situation which would require the adoption of measures to quickly reestablish control, particularly over rocket troops and aviation, determination of losses and restoration of combat effectiveness of the troops, adoption of a series of new plans, and assignment of new tasks to formations and front (army) large units.

Under these conditions particularly strict centralization over the use of nuclear means is needed so as to destroy the most important enemy installations, first and foremost his nuclear means, and to ensure successful development of the operation. The initial nuclear strike has to be delivered by the remaining rocket units and aircraft. In this situation it is hardly possible to expect that all means will be ready to deliver a simultaneous strike. Therefore, the initial strike may take the form of successive grouped strikes.

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With respect to troop actions after a front has delivered a nuclear strike, it is important to ensure, first of all, that all large units, units, and subunits which have not lost their combat effectiveness immediately resume the offensive. Their aggressive actions must aim to fulfil as soon as possible the assigned combat tasks. In this case, the initiative and self-reliance of commanders and staffs at all levels acquires an important role: that of contributing to the most rapid completion of the defeat of the opposing army.

Let us examine how problems of transition to the employment of nuclear weapons were resolved.

Plan of the Southwestern Front

By the end of the third day of the offensive a very complex situation had developed in the zone of the front which required the adoption of serious measures to shift efforts as rapidly as possible to the Klagenfurt axis and to eliminate the enemy surrounded in Vienna.

With the aim of concentrating the main efforts of the Thirteenth Army on developing the offensive on the Linz axis, it should have requested the Stavka to assign the destruction of the Krems grouping to forces of the Western Military District of the Czechoslovak People's Army and transferred the 62nd Motorized Rifle Division of the Thirteenth Army to it on the line it was holding.

On the left wing of the front the enemy should not have been allowed to deliver a concentrated strike with six divisions and measures should have been taken to defeat them piecemeal, which would have required committing additional forces to combat; and before the "yellow" corps approached, we should have inflicted a defeat on the two to three enemy divisions which were in conflict with troops of the Second Army.

Finally, the front should have refined its plan and prepared the rocket troops and aviation to deliver the initial nuclear strike.

Unfortunately, the front staff did not make a deep analysis of the situation that had arisen, and as a result of this the original plan was not aggressive and did not aim to destroy the enemy within a short time.

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The plan contemplated, in case combat actions continued without nuclear weapons, developing the offensive in the general direction of Linz with forces of the Thirteenth Army, and the Second Army was given the task of going over to the defense and of repelling over a period of two full days the counterattacks of the approaching enemy corps.

While making the transition to the use of nuclear weapons, this army ought to have continued the offensive.

The only requirement for the Sixth Army Corps was to eliminate by 6 July the enemy in Vienna and then advance in the zone of the Second Army.

As you can see, the plan was rather "original". As is well-known, the defense is a coerced type of combat action and we make the transition to it only when there is no other way out. Why did the Second Army, after defeating the enemy in frontier battles and having advanced almost 100 kilometers, give up aggressive actions at the first hindrance and go over to the defense? It did not even commit to the affair all of its forces, though the 66th Division had been transferred to it. Undoubtedly the army, especially on its right flank, was fully able to continue the offensive and thoroughly defeat the enemy. Going over to the defense signified losing the initiative in combat, which of course cannot be permitted.

Having estimated the situation with preconceptions, the front, as usual, concentrated the main efforts of fighter-bomber aviation on supporting troops of the Thirteenth Army. But the situation urgently required allocating additional air resources to support troops of the Second Army, which was done later on.

Following receipt of instructions from Control and a more thorough analysis of the situation, aggressive tasks were assigned to the Second Army and other forces.

The commander of the Second Army correctly grasped the situation that had developed. His plan of delivering a concentrated attack with a force of four divisions is worthy of approval. His efforts to extensively use enveloping detachments in conjunction with tactical airborne landings to deliver strikes on the enemy flanks and rear produced positive results.

The plan of the commander of the Sixth Army Corps was also in conformity with the situation that had developed and was correct.

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The plan for the air defense of the Hungarian People's Republic contemplated conducting subsequent combat actions in the existing groupings in coordination with air defense troops of the Southwestern Front and fighter aviation of the First Air Army.

We must also recognize as worthwhile measures to build up the radar zone to the west of the state border and restore the partially disrupted surface-to-air missile troop grouping.

Overall, the plan was in accord with the situation and ensured air defense missions were fulfilled.

I must place on the negative side the fact that the rebasing of aircraft to forward fields was to be carried out by limited forces.

Plan of the First Southern Front

After two days on the offensive, forces of the First Southern Front had broken through the Metaxas fortified zone, inflicted a defeat on large units of the "orange" Second and Third Corps, broken out to the Struma River and the shores of the Aegean Sea, and advanced from 50 to 100 kilometers on specific axes. Conditions favoring the rapid exploitation of success had developed on the Southwestern Axis.

The troop commander adopted a completely correct plan -- to concentrate the main efforts on the adjacent flanks of two armies. However, the buildup of efforts in the first two to three days of the operation was carried out with inadequate resoluteness. More forces should have been brought in on the axis of the main strike.

The decision was also made to deliver a supplementary strike on the left flank of the front by a force of two divisions and a tank brigade for the purpose of encircling the "orange" grouping in the zone of the Eighth Army. I have no specific objections to this. The attack was delivered, of course, along the shortest axis. But one must take into account that here the enemy was relatively strong and the terrain was very difficult.

Under the given conditions of the situation, the plan might have been different.

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In our opinion, a strong strike (two divisions and a tank brigade) might also have been delivered on the right wing of the Ninth Army. A decisive strike to the south, towards the sea, with a subsequent turn to the west would not have led to pushing the enemy out, but would have cut the main "orange" grouping close to its base and might have proved much more effective. The axis referred to is favorable in that it was almost free of enemy and led to the rear of his main grouping. Speaking of the possibilities of such a variant, I would like to draw your attention to the necessity of skilfully choosing favorable axes for the delivery of strikes.

In conjunction with aggressive actions in the situation that had developed, we must also not forget to defend the coast against amphibious landings, which occurred initially but were later rectified by the front troop commander. To dash forward is a good thing; not indiscriminately, but when one secures oneself from the flanks and rear.

I have no substantive comments regarding problems of logistical support. A noteworthy recommendation is that of exploiting to the maximum all types of transport to increase the supply of materiel south of the Rhodope Mountains.

The plan for employing the composite aviation corps upon transition to the use of nuclear weapons must be recognized in principle as worthwhile. It ensured aircraft were used comprehensively to support the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the front.

I have only one comment. Aircraft were charged with the task of destroying a battery of "Hawk" surface-to-air missiles. It is well-known that missiles of this type, which both we and the enemy possess, are very threatening and dangerous weapons to aircraft. Therefore it is hardly advisable to direct aircraft against them. This task is best assigned to rocket troops.

Overall, the plan of the front, adopted on the basis of a profound understanding of the task, was correct and was in conformity with the directive of the Stavka.

Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The Commander of Air Defense Forces correctly estimated the situation that had developed with respect to the fact that beginning the morning of 5 July, the air defense system had to be ready to repel massive strikes by

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"Western" aircraft employing nuclear weapons.

Stemming from this, the plan contemplated conducting actions against the air enemy with the former grouping. It also projected strengthening cover of the coastal axis and the Burgas naval base. A portion of the forces was allocated to secure flights across Bulgarian territory of Long Range and naval missile-carrying aviation and to cover amphibious landings in the embarkation areas and during sea crossing.

Foreseeing an enemy missile/nuclear strike, provisions were made for measures increasing the viability of the troops.

Such a plan is worthwhile.

At the same time, the plan should have provided for measures creating radar coverage for altitudes below 500 meters along the main axis and for measures restoring the air defense system when it is disrupted by enemy nuclear strikes.

Plan of the Second Southern Front

The Second Southern Front, having successfully broken through the enemy defense and won the frontier battle without using nuclear weapons, advanced on the axis of the main strike to a depth of 80 to 90 kilometers during two days of uninterrupted combat actions. A grave defeat was inflicted on the "orange" Third Corps and "black" Fifth Corps. Front forces, having firmly seized the initiative and having conserved their second echelons and reserves, possessed the capability of breaking out rapidly to the straits zone without resorting to nuclear weapons.

The front correctly estimated the situation that had developed and adopted a practical plan.

The delivery of a powerful initial strike with 99 nuclear warheads assured rapid destruction of the principal grouping of "black" nuclear attack means and ground forces.

Augmenting troop efforts by committing the second echelons of the armies permitted rapidly exploiting the results of nuclear strikes and breaking out to the straits. The subsequent commitment to battle of the

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Twelfth Army from the second echelon of the front afforded the opportunity of vigorously exploiting success on the Bosphorus axis.

The problem of rear services support of the troops was correctly solved during this phase.

I will call your attention to only one circumstance. The front commander realized the fate of the front operation would be determined by the capture of the straits zone. As you know, the front was to seize two straits. As concerns the capture of the Bosphorus, adequate forces and means were directed at it. But seizing the Bosphorus did not solve the entire problem. You see, the exit of our navies into the Sea of Marmora did not afford them operational scope. To move naval forces into the Mediterranean Sea, the Dardanelles "knot" also had to be decisively cut. In the front, the importance of accomplishing this task was realized; but in our opinion, considerably more efforts should have been concentrated here.

The plan to use the Third Army for the purpose of both delivering the initial nuclear strike and subsequently supporting attacking troops of the front merits a positive evaluation. Overall, the plan was in conformity with the situation and the nature of the task of the front in the given phase. I must only remark that it was not advisable to assign the air army the task of destroying stationary underground depots of nuclear weapons. Such tasks are best assigned to rocket troops.]

Situation at sea and plans of the commanders of allied navies.

Having repelled the "Western" strikes, the "Eastern" allied navies destroyed enemy nuclear groupings in the Mediterranean Sea and ship forces in the Black Sea in coordination with combat duty forces and Long Range Aviation. As this took place, a portion of the forces of the Soviet fleet remained ready to use nuclear weapons. At the same time, preparations were made to debark the amphibious landing and additional measures were carried out to protect forces and installations against enemy nuclear strikes.

In accordance with the situation as it had developed by 1300 hours on 4 July, the commanders of the navies made the following plans.

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Red Banner Black Sea Fleet

The main concept of the plan was to concentrate efforts to defeat strike aircraft carriers and to destroy enemy nuclear missile submarines in the Mediterranean Sea.

The naval forces grouping ensured accomplishment of this task. Forces of the fleet were intelligently distributed to fight the enemy in the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora and also in the Bosphorus.

The measures taken to prepare for the amphibious landing also do not give rise to any objections.

Overall, the plan of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet is evaluated favorably, although it did have some shadowy provisions.

Thus, the extent of enemy mine emplacements along the Anatolian coast, in the area of the Bosphorus, and along the bases of allied navies was underestimated. As a result, minesweeper forces were not sent to operate in these areas and no provision was made for regrouping them.

I have reason to doubt the feasibility of using surface missile/gunnery ships on the third day of war for a strike against the carrier strike group in the Mediterranean Sea.

Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The plan called for further conduct of combat actions with conventional means with the expectation of making a transition to the use of nuclear weapons.

For these purposes, the plan envisaged moving naval forces out of the probable areas of nuclear strikes with subsequent delivery of missile and torpedo strikes in coordination with the Soviet fleet against enemy surface ship groupings in the Black Sea. The plan also included searching for submarines in the navy's area, defending naval lines of communication, and accomplishing all types of combat support.

The mine situation at sea was also thoroughly analyzed. Much attention was devoted to the minesweeping trawling of channels and

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minesweeping of lines of communication.

The organization of fire support of the ground forces by ship gunnery is worthy of approval.

Thus, the plan for subsequent actions was completely sound. Two comments:

- the use of sweeper forces was planned without taking probable losses into consideration;
- closer coordination with antisubmarine forces of the Soviet fleet should have been organized, especially to detect and pursue enemy submarines.

At this point, the second phase of the war game ended.

During the given phase, problems relating to the transition by troops from non-nuclear to nuclear actions were worked out.

I must state that we are also pleased with the work of all game participants in this important phase.

I will now proceed to analyze briefly the actions of the players in the concluding situation.

V. PLANS AND WORK OF THE PLAYERS ON THE SITUATION OF 1800 HOURS 7 JULY
(Diagrams 6, 7, 8, 9, 11)

During the third phase, game participants were faced with the complex task of developing offensive operations under conditions of unlimited use of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, the main focus of attention was concentrated on the solution of such critical problems as breaking through fortified areas, making forced crossings of large water obstacles, negotiating mountainous areas (Alps) completing the defeat of enemy naval forces, eliminating the aftereffects of enemy nuclear strikes, and restoring the combat effectiveness of our own troops.

The situation which had developed by 1800 hours 7 July, i.e., on the sixth day of war, was extremely complex and acute.

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Plan of the Southwestern Front

For the most part, the commander and staff of the Southwestern Front estimated the situation correctly.

Front troops were in a favorable situation after the stubborn battles of 5 and 6 July. The main body of the "yellow" Third Army had been destroyed. Troops of the Thirteenth Army had broken out to the operational depth and the main body of the Second Army threatened to encircle the main forces of the Third and Fifth Army Corps in the Graz area. However, the success of the operation had not yet been determined. Front troops had to develop an offensive under the exceedingly complex conditions of mountainous terrain, with an extremely limited network of roads and numerous defiles and narrow mountain passes.

The commander and staff underestimated these complex conditions.

The commander correctly decided to develop a further offensive with the main forces and negotiate the Alps. However, we cannot accept the excessive speed of advance of the troops of up to 70 to 80 kilometers a day.

In their planning they obviously did not take into consideration the very difficult terrain, the enemy capability of creating extensive demolitions, and the impossibility of bypassing them, which could have held up the advancing troops for an extended time.

We also cannot accept the soundness of the method chosen to break through defensive lines in the mountains -- from the march. To break through a defensive line in the mountains, even one occupied by small enemy forces, often requires suitable preparation and search for bypass routes, and this demands time.

Obviously, in the headquarters of the Southwestern Front the methods of breaking through a defense in ordinary circumstances were mechanically applied under difficult mountainous conditions.

The front commander subsequently refined the plan and it ensured accomplishment of the assigned task.

The plan of the commander of the Second Army provided for the

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splitting of the enemy grouping to the south of Graz and the completion of its piecemeal destruction simultaneous with the development of the offensive by two divisions. This plan was completely practical. Nuclear weapons were also employed skilfully.

The plan of the commander of the Sixth Army Corps does not give rise to comments.

Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic

The plan of the commander of the Air Defense Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic was correct and in conformity with the situation that had developed.

Plan of the First Southern Front

The commander and staff correctly assumed that despite heavy losses from enemy nuclear strikes, the situation in the zone of the front was favorable. The troops made a forced crossing of the Vardar River and advanced from 150 to 200 kilometers on the main axis.

Under these conditions, we required that the front command prevent the enemy from withdrawing and organizing a defense in difficult mountainous terrain, that it increase the rate of advance of its troops, that it not weaken the defense against landings, and that it complete the destruction of the "orange" Third Army Corps on the left wing. At the same time it became necessary for it to restore the combat effectiveness of a number of large units and units.

The tasks assigned to the troops were realistic and give rise to no objections. Under mountainous conditions it is necessary to use tactical airborne landings more aggressively and also to approach more realistically the establishment of operations groups for troop control.

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Plan for the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

We consider the plan of the commander of the air defense forces to regroup his forces and reinforce the surface-to-air missile defense of the capital and industrial areas, and to restore the air defense of the Burgas naval base, to have been correct. Other worthwhile measures were: covering the advancing troops of the Third Southern Front, covering the communication routes of the First and Second Southern Fronts, covering the embarkation and sea crossing of the amphibious landing force, and also covering the airborne landing force during its flight over and across the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Plan of the Second Southern Front

Although the situation in the front was complex, it was also favorable.

The front had to eliminate the aftereffects of enemy nuclear strikes and create strike groups for the attack on the Bosphorus and Gallipoli axes in order to seize the straits zone in the shortest possible time.

Overall, I consider the commander's plan for seizing the straits zone to have been worthwhile. Committing the Twelfth Army to battle on the Bosphorus axis from the front second echelon and also committing the front reserve, the 87th Motorized Rifle Division, on the Gallipoli axis, was done in a timely and sound manner.

Using the 99th Airborne Division and an amphibious landing force to seize the straits zone, and also striving to make a forced crossing of the straits simultaneously by the forces of four divisions, are worthy of approval.

But I object to the measures taken to restore the disrupted combat effectiveness of the troops and destroy isolated enemy groupings.

At the same time I would like to draw attention to problems which were not correctly dealt with in the plan.

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These pertain, first of all, to the breakthrough of fortified areas and the forced crossing of straits.

Fortified areas are very serious obstacles. Their high viability, even under conditions of the use of nuclear weapons, is well-known. Of course, one must strive to seize a fortified area or break into it immediately behind the enemy. But if this is not possible, a most thorough preparation of the breakthrough is required. In the first place, it is necessary to exploit the least opportunity of bypassing fortified lines or of landing tactical amphibious and airborne forces; and under the conditions of the front, this was entirely possible. All measures must be taken to avoid a frontal breakthrough of a fortified area, since such a breakthrough involves great sacrifices.

We must avoid stereotyped plans to break through from the march.

I want to emphasize particularly the importance of becoming proficient with the means of making forced crossings of straits and other large water barriers. Undoubtedly, this is one of the difficult tasks. Troops must negotiate straits, gulfs, and other large water barriers, which abound in the Southwestern Theater, by surprise methods, on a broad front, by the most expedient means, and utilizing crossing means to the utmost.

The 45th Motorized Rifle Division should not have been directed to attack across the swampy floodlands of the Maritza River, with its many branches and dikes.

It was scarcely advisable for forces of the 51st Motorized Rifle Division to deliver a strike along the Saros Gulf to destroy remnants of the enemy. Obviously it would have been more advantageous to use it to make a forced crossing of the gulf and break out from the west behind the Gallipoli fortifications.

More accurate estimates for committing second echelons and reserves to battle were also required.

Plan of the Third Air Army

The fundamental problems related to the use of the army were correctly solved. However, the conclusions that the enemy air defense system had

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been completely disrupted were premature.

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After concluding examination of the plans of the front and army commanders, I wish to draw your attention to the problem of the use of nuclear weapons.

Reports of several game participants, and also an analysis of the decisions and plans presented concerning the combat employment of troops, reveal a casual approach to the use of those terrible weapons and to the estimate of the situation that will have arisen as a result of the massive use of nuclear strikes by both sides.

The availability of great numbers of nuclear weapons does not at all mean that they can be used without detailed and comprehensive estimates. These are certainly not ordinary artillery rounds or aerial bombs, but very powerful means of destruction. Their use must be approached in a most serious manner and with comprehensive, precise estimates. When delivering strikes against the enemy we obviously are thinking only that we "are clearing a road for the troops", but at times we forget that at the same time, additional difficulties are also being created for us, especially in mountains, forests, and river valleys. We also forget about the safety of our own troops.

It is necessary to take into consideration all of the casualty-producing elements of nuclear weapons. This was often overlooked in the game; strikes with megaton warheads were delivered without considering the aftereffects. And these aftereffects are very grave. Allow me to remind you of them.

First, when there is an air nuclear burst of a warhead with a yield of one megaton the radius of the zone of destruction of the shock wave is 8.5 kilometers, and that of the thermal radiation is 11 kilometers. Second, zones of fires, demolitions, and floodings will result. The radius of the zone of fires in our example will equal 16 to 17 kilometers. Third, and most important, we must take into consideration the danger zones of

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radioactive contamination of the terrain, not only in the zone of burst, but also in the fallout pattern of the radioactive cloud. These zones may be very large depending on the direction of the wind. Finally, when surface bursts are delivered, we must estimate the time of decay of levels of dangerous radiation.

As you can see, when planning the delivery of nuclear strikes it is necessary to produce the most exact estimates, to take into account their possible aftereffects, the relief, vegetation, meteorological conditions, and other factors.

I also want to caution you against underestimating the results of enemy nuclear strikes. Players did not always make allowances for these. The enemy delivered many nuclear strikes, but large units and units continued to attack as if nothing had happened.

Situation at sea and plans of fleet commanders

The situation was characterized by successful actions of allied navies in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

The enemy carrier strike and surface ship groupings in the Mediterranean Sea were routed and five nuclear missile submarines were sunk.

Allied navies continued their aggressive combat actions, provided fire support to the coastal flank of the Second Southern Front, and activated an amphibious landing force. At the same time they carried out measures eliminating the aftereffects of enemy nuclear attacks and restoring the combat effectiveness of their own forces.

Having estimated the situation that had developed, the naval commanders, in our opinion, adopted sound and practical plans.

Plan of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet

The main efforts of the fleet were concentrated on supporting troops of the Second Southern Front in the debarkation of the amphibious landing force and capture of the Bosphorus straits in coordination with the Bulgarian Navy, and with the subsequent movement of a portion of the fleet forces into the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas.

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We must note the well-thought-out organization of cover for the amphibious landing during the sea crossing, and also the neutralization of the enemy anti-amphibious defense in the landing area.

The method of moving a portion of the fleet forces through the straits zone after it was seized was well worked out and the organization of combat utilization and logistical support of these forces in the Aegean Sea was well thought out.

Plan of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The plan contemplated having the remaining forces conduct aggressive combat actions in coordination with forces of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet to provide support to ground forces and to prevent the evacuation of the enemy grouping pinned to the sea in the Igneada-Midye area.

I have no reason to object to the way the main forces of the Navy, which comprised more than 20 units, including submarines, missile and torpedo boats, and minesweepers, were moved out through the straits into the Aegean Sea.

The problems of clearing obstacles and sweeping mines from the straits, and also of organizing bases for forces in the Aegean Sea, were dealt with expediently.

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This, in short, was the essence of the plans of the players for the concluding phase of the game, a phase in which a number of the most important problems of conducting operations under conditions of the use of nuclear weapons were worked out. We believe that the training purposes of this phase were also achieved.

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Comrades!

During the game you also solved problems of rear services support under conditions when the operational rear services of the allied armies were not fully deployed, and when their work was reorganized during the operation.

As is well-known, in peacetime the rear services of our formations will be kept at reduced complements. Therefore the rear services of allied troops and navies must be ready to immediately build up their means and organs at the initiation of military operations. The importance of this requirement stems from the colossal increase in the materiel demanded by operations. For example, in our game the Southwestern and Second Southern Fronts alone required approximately 200 thousand tons of fuel for a period of 13 to 14 days, which is eight to ten times more than for any front operation of the World War II period.

Formation commanders and staffs must carefully take into consideration the state of the rear services when planning an operation.

In the game we again became convinced of the vast importance of lines of communication and of the skilful use of transport. The timely construction of bypasses around large transportation centers and cities, approaches to bridges and crossings, and reliable technical cover of communication lines; and the timely restoration of the most important routes, are indispensable conditions for ensuring the uninterrupted operation of rear services in present-day operations. It is also very important to maintain vehicular roads in a passable condition, to establish stocks of construction materials, and to utilize under a single plan all forces and means for the restoration of roads.

In the Southwestern Theater communication lines and transport constitute one of the principal problems in preparing the theater in an operational rear services context.

The precise organization of rear services work has acquired great importance, requiring that the positioning and displacement of rear

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services be carried out only in a centralized manner according to the plan of the staff of the front (fleet) and the army.

An important condition for the uninterrupted rear services support of troops, especially when formations have a coalition complement, is to have the rear services organs of the allied armies work in well-organized coordination. This coordination must be strengthened in every possible way while we are still in peacetime. I must note that we have already achieved the necessary unity of views on a great number of fundamental matters.

A problem requiring further research and solution is that of the reciprocal use of the territory of allied countries for the needs of the deployed fronts and armies. A rear services zone is often allocated to a front. Within this zone the front utilizes the entire network of rail and vehicular roads, territory, structures, etc. All of this requires the precise coordination of fronts with the general staffs and local and central government control organs of the allied countries.

The game showed that operational formations which are to move out and conduct military actions in the theater will need help from the rear services of friendly states. Thus problems on the mutual use of foodstuffs, medicines, transport, and on help with the water supply, etc., will have to be coordinated with the central rear services of the government on whose territory troops from other countries will be located.

As you can see, comrades, the problems of rear services support are very complex. That is why we have made provisions to conduct in Prague this year a military science conference on rear services in which we shall discuss in more detail the most important problems of rear services.

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CONCLUSION

Comrades!

Upon completing the critique I wish to emphasize again that having performed important and strenuous work, we have successfully concluded a very important measure in the operational training system of the armies and navies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

Major operational-strategic problems were worked out during the game.

We have all become convinced that these are very complex problems and all of us must think of how to best resolve them and of how to train troops, navies, and staffs.

During the game we pointed out many positive features and a number of deficiencies. Thus there is no need to speak about them once more.

I only want to emphasize that the commanders, staffs, and operations groups of the fronts, navies, air defense forces, and air forces successfully coped with their tasks. All participants obtained more experience in preparing, conducting, and supporting operations under varied conditions.

All the generals, admirals, and officers exhibited good theoretical preparation and practical skills, teamwork, and the ability to solve important, complex, and varied tasks when organizing and conducting present-day operations. All the game participants worked hard, long and fruitfully; they completed a large number of operational estimates, and worked out many useful documents. All worked conscientiously and with great energy and creativity.

We were not able to examine during every phase of the game how the chiefs of arms of troops and services worked and solved their problems.

As a general conclusion, I may state that the chiefs of rocket troops and artillery, air defense troops, rear services, engineer, chemical, and communications troops, and all other services fulfilled their tasks.

They should take into consideration in subsequent training and practical work the comments they got from us and from their own formation

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commanders during the game.

I must also remark on the fact that during the game creative collaboration and complete mutual understanding were always evident among the generals and officers of the fraternal armies, navies, and the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces.

During the entire game there were very close, business-like contacts among generals, admirals, and officers of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Soviet armies and navies. They provided each other with mutual assistance and consultation when resolving many problems. This cooperation continues to improve uninterruptedly year after year through their combined military work.

Allow me to express deep gratitude to all game participants for their great diligence and conscientious work. We have commended in orders of the Combined Armed Forces those comrades who most distinguished themselves. This should be done in the military districts and navies.

I wish to express particular gratitude for their assistance and fruitful work to the deputy directors of the game, Colonel General Comrade Semerdzhiyev, and General-Leytenant Comrade Kara Chem, to my assistants in the game, Colonel General Comrade Podgorny, Generals-Leytenant Comrades Ostroumov, Pashuk, and Golushko, and Vice Admiral Comrade Vasilyev.

A large number of generals and officers of the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces participated in the preparation and conduct of the war game under the guidance of the experienced and well-known General of the Army Comrade Sergey Matveyevich Shtemenko. They devoted much work and effort to preparing and conducting the game, for which I express sincere thanks to them. This was the first large-scale game for the Staff under its new organization, and the Staff successfully coped with the tasks assigned to it.

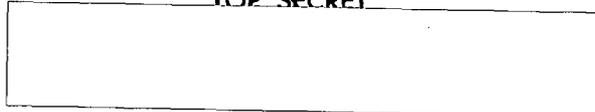
We also convey our thanks to all workers and employees who participated in the support and conduct of our military game.

Comrades!

The game which ended has permitted us to discern precisely those tasks whose solution requires the subsequent concentrated attention of formation commanders and staffs.

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The deficiencies in the training and work of staffs which were discovered during the game must be eliminated during the summer training period.

The Staff of the Combined Armed Forces, national commands, and staffs of military districts and navies must assimilate all that was positive in the game and must use it to further improve their own preparations.

Increased demands are now imposed on control organs. Formation commanders and chiefs of staff must now focus attention on further improving the training levels of staffs. Staff style and methods of work must be perseveringly improved, staffs must be trained to skilfully control troops under various conditions of initiating and conducting war. Great attention must be devoted to the field training of staffs, to the inculcation of practical working skills under field conditions, to the rapid production of operational estimates, to the transmittal down of tasks to troops, and to the maintenance of communications when control posts are relocated and under conditions of strong jamming.

It would be useful for the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces and naval staffs to exploit the experience they have accumulated in coordinating allied navies so as to work up documents defining how the coordination and control of allied navies are to be organized when combined tasks are to be accomplished.

The summer season is now at its height. You must take all measures to fulfil completely and properly the tasks of the summer training period. I ask you to devote special attention to the preparation of the combined-arms exercise in which troops of all allied armies will participate. It will be carried out in October under the direction of the Minister of National Defense of the the German Democratic Republic in the territory of the GDR, Polish People's Republic, and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In essence, this will be the summing-up exercise of the year. Ministers of defense and the Combined Command attach great importance to it.

Within the next few days we will begin a large-scale exercise of air defense forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. During the short time remaining it will be necessary to complete preparations for this exercise in order to carry it out in the best manner possible.

I request that military district commanders and commanders of navies and air defense forces conduct on-the-spot critiques in which they evaluate the work and preparations of every staff, headquarters, general, admiral and

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officer, and issue orders on the elimination of deficiencies.

While accomplishing tasks related to the further improvement of the combat readiness and operational and combat training of troops, we must also prepare for the new training year.

Thus the Staff of the Combined Armed Forces must already begin planning the combined measures of the Combined Armed Forces for 1971. While planning, naturally, we must take into consideration the results of the present game and of the October operational-tactical exercise.

X X X

Comrades!

We are all now on the territory of hospitable Hungary. The Minister of Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, Colonel General Comrade Layosh Tsinege, the Chief of the General Staff of the Hungarian People's Army, General-Leytenant Comrade Kara Chem, and the Commander of the Southern Group of the Soviet Forces, Colonel General B. P. Ivanov, provided all of us with excellent conditions which were conducive to the successful conduct of the game.

For this allow me to personally express special thanks to them on your behalf and also on mine.

To all game participants, I wish much success in their work, a strengthening of the friendship among our fraternal peoples and armies, and an increase in the combat power of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Countries.

To each of you I wish personal well-being and health.

I thank you for your attention.

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REPORT
of the Chief of Staff of the Combined Armed Forces
General of the Army Comrade S. M. Shtemenko
at the Critique of the Operational War Game
on the Southwestern Axis

Comrades!

The operational war game which has ended was carried out according to the combined measures plan for 1970 of the Combined Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact. It is an important measure in the operational training of the highest staffs of the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

THOSE INVOLVED IN THE OPERATIONAL WAR GAME:

From the Bulgarian People's Army:

- operations groups of the front headquarters and of a composite air corps in the role of the field headquarters of the First Southern Front and of the headquarters of the First Composite Air Corps respectively;
- operations groups from the Air Defense, Air Force, and Navy -- in the role of the air defense and naval headquarters of the People's Republic of Bulgaria respectively.

From the Hungarian People's Army:

- an operations group of the General Staff;
- an army and corps headquarters -- in the role of the headquarters of the Second Army and Sixth Army Corps respectively;
- an air defense and air force operations group -- in the role of the command and staff of the Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic.

From the Armed Forces of the USSR:

- the headquarters of the Southern Group of Forces and the Air Army
- in the role of the field headquarters of the Southwestern Front and the

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First Air Army respectively;

-- operations groups of the Odessa Military District and Air Army -- in the role of the field headquarters of the Second Southern Front and the Third Air Army respectively;

-- an operations group of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet -- in the role of the fleet headquarters.

THEMES, PURPOSES, AND TRAINING PROBLEMS OF THE WAR GAME

The theme of the operational war game was: "The Preparation and Conduct of Front Offensive Operations and Combat Actions of Allied Naval Forces and Air Defense Forces of the Combined Armed Forces in the Southwestern Theater of Military Operations."

In preparing this large-scale war game, we established as our purposes: Studying the methods of operationally deploying groupings of allied troops and naval forces in a period of threat and from the beginning of a war, and also working out the problems of disrupting enemy troop deployments; improving the work of operational staffs when preparing and conducting front operations with breakthroughs of fortified positions by troops of allied armies and when preparing and carrying out combat actions of naval forces and air defense forces of Warsaw Pact countries; and finally, providing staffs with practice in working out problems of control and coordination when preparing and conducting combined combat actions.

Furthermore, the game had the goal of further improving coordination among the staffs of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Soviet armies.

Stemming from the training purposes established, the following training problems were worked out in the game:

1. Bringing troops up to combat readiness, covering state borders, mobilization deployment of troops and rear services units and installations (these were worked out by the participants in the war game and reported directly to the chiefs of the general staffs of the Bulgarian and Hungarian People's Armies).

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2. The operational deployment of troops and naval forces in the Theater of Military Operations. Preparing front (army) operations, naval combat actions, and combat actions of air defense forces.

3. Conducting combat actions using conventional means of destruction with a subsequent transition to the use of nuclear weapons.

4. Developing an offensive under conditions of breaking through fortified areas, of making forced crossings of water barriers, and of overcoming mountain ranges of the Alps.

INITIAL SITUATION
(diagrams 1, 2, and 3)

In accordance with the purposes established for the conduct of the war game, a concept was worked out and a corresponding military-political and operational situation was developed.

The essence of the initial situation was that during the second half of June NATO countries undertook a number of military-political actions which aggravated the international situation in Europe and simultaneously began direct preparations to unleash war.

The Supreme High Command of the Combined Armed Forces of NATO in Europe, under the guise of preparing exercises, concentrated large-scale groupings of ground forces and aviation in the direction of the state borders of the Warsaw Pact countries and also redeployed naval forces in the theaters of military operations.

Up to 29 June the "Westerners" secretly carried out the bringing up to strength of the permanently-ready forces and completed the deployment of new military units.

In so doing, the "green" (West German) Sixteenth Army Corps and the "yellow" (Italian) Third Army were concentrated along the Austrian border, and the Fourth Army Corps of the "yellow" Third Army, under the guise of exercises, was transferred to the southern part of the FRG.

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Two armies: the "black" (Turkish) First Field Army and the "orange" (Greek) First Central Army completed regrouping in the direction of their state borders with Bulgaria.

In the theaters of military operations the enemy increased the number of nuclear weapons forces, air defense means, and aircraft on alert.

In the Mediterranean Sea there were six "brown" (US) nuclear submarines on combat patrol, and a "brown" aircraft carrier strike large unit (two strike aircraft carriers and one antisubmarine aircraft carrier with escorting and support forces) and a "blue" (British) naval aircraft carrier strike group (one aircraft carrier and seven escorting ships) had been deployed.

The "brown" Second Amphibious Squadron and a detachment of combat ships (one cruiser, two frigates, and one destroyer) were maneuvering near the Greek coast.

Antisubmarine forces in the Gibraltar and Tunis straits and to the south of the island of Sardinia increased their activities. On the Israeli - Arab front both sides increased the activities of their aircraft, and the Israeli troop grouping on the ceasefire line in Syria and along the Lebanese border was reinforced.

In connection with the sharply aggravated situation in Europe, on 28 June the Swiss government announced that it was adhering to its neutrality. At this time NATO leaders were conducting talks with the Austrian government concerning the latter's entry into the war on the side of the North Atlantic Alliance.

In the situation that had developed, the "Easterners" brought their armed forces up to full combat readiness and fully mobilized their troops and rear services units and installations.

The headquarters of the Southern Group of Forces and the Odessa Military District were deployed as the field headquarters of the Southwestern and Second Southern Fronts. The Bulgarian People's Army deployed the field headquarters of the First Southern Front and the Romanian Army deployed the headquarters of the Third Southern Front.

The Hungarian and Bulgarian People's Armies organized the cover of state borders and carried out a partial regrouping of their forces in readiness to repel possible enemy aggression.

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The Second Southern Front completed its troop concentration in northeastern Bulgaria. Troops of the third Southern Front were brought up to combat readiness and positioned in concentration areas.

Allied naval forces in the Black Sea were dispersed and carried out reconnaissance, and a portion of the Soviet Navy was on combat duty in the Mediterranean Sea.

Air defense forces of the Warsaw Pact countries reinforced the cover of the most important installations, troop groupings, and air and naval forces in the territory of their own countries.

Front, army, and naval staffs by this time had occupied their previously prepared control posts.

CONCEPT OF THE ACTIONS OF BOTH SIDES
(diagram 1)

"Westerners." On 2 July NATO troops went over to the offensive in the Central European Theater of Military Operations with forces of the Northern, Central, and Southern Army Groups.

The Central Army Group delivered the main attack on the Prague-Krakow axis. Its Sixteenth Army Corps (FRG) advanced into Austrian territory when combat actions began and delivered an attack from an area to the northwest of Vienna in the direction of Brno.

The Southern Army Group ("yellow" Third Army; "rose Austrian First, Second, and Third Corps Groups), at the outbreak of war and under cover of "rose" troops, moved the "yellow" Third Army forward from Italy and the FRG to the eastern borders of Austria, and in coordination with forces of the right wing of the Central Army Group (Sixteenth Army Corps of the FRG) went over to the offensive on the Budapest axis with the task of defeating the allied armies and breaking out to the borders of Romania and the Soviet Union.

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The offensive of the Southern Army Group was supported by the Fifth Allied Tactical Air Force and by a portion of the aircraft forces of the "brown" carrier strike large unit and "blue" carrier strike group deployed in the Mediterranean Sea.

On the southern wing of the bloc the "orange" First Central Army and "black" First Field Army, in coordination with the Sixth Allied Tactical Air Force and a portion of the forces of the "brown" and "blue" carrier aircraft, went over to the offensive starting on the morning of 3 July with the task of defeating the troops on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of seizing the line of the Balkan mountains, and of taking Bulgaria out of the war. Subsequently, when the offensive developed successfully on the eastern axis, they contemplated making a forced crossing of the Danube River and breaking out into Romanian territory.

NATO naval forces in the South European Theater of Military Operations were given the task of destroying "Eastern" naval forces in the Mediterranean Sea, of inflicting a defeat on enemy naval groupings in the Black Sea, and of supporting the actions of friendly ground forces.

NATO planned to initiate combat actions using conventional means of destruction. Nuclear weapons were to be used upon special orders.

When making the transition to combat actions using nuclear weapons, the "Westerners" planned to use: in the zone of the Southern Army Group -- 302 nuclear warheads; in the zone of the First Central Army -- 170; in the zone of the First Field Army -- 214; against "Eastern" naval forces -- 121 warheads.

In total, 807 nuclear warheads with an overall yield of 112 megatons.

The "Western" ground forces grouping at the beginning of the offensive included:

-- on the Southwestern Axis -- six divisions, of these: two infantry, one motorized infantry and one mountain infantry, two armored divisions; fourteen separate brigades and regiments, 24 launchers (two "Sergeant" and 22 "Honest John"), 66 nuclear guns, 1950 guns and mortars, and approximately 1700 tanks and 400 aircraft;

-- on the Southern Axis -- 20 divisions, of these: sixteen infantry, two mechanized, and two armored divisions, five separate brigades; five separate regiments; 20 "Honest John" launchers, 120 nuclear guns, over 3500 guns and mortars, more than 2100 tanks, and over 540 aircraft.

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The "Easterners" planned, in case of enemy aggression, to switch over to a decisive offensive, defeat "Western" forces, and force them to withdraw from the war.

The Central Front contemplated delivering attacks on the Stuttgart and Munich axes, destroying the enemy in the southern part of the FRG, making a forced crossing from the march of the Rhine River, and seizing a bridgehead on its western bank.

When NATO forces violated Austrian neutrality, the "Easterners" prepared to go over to the offensive on the Vienna and Italy axes.

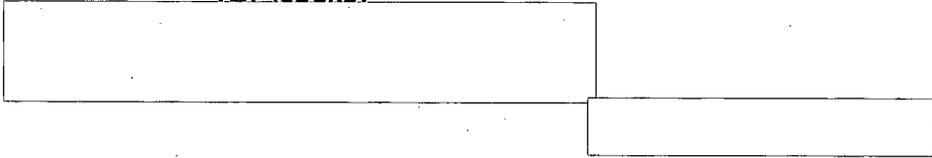
In the south, upon receiving information on the offensive being prepared by the "oranges" and "blacks", the "Easterners" in turn went over to the offensive with a force of two fronts in coordination with allied navies.

To accomplish tasks employing nuclear weapons, the "Easterners" planned to use 830 nuclear warheads with an overall yield of approximately 127 megatons.

Nuclear weapons would be used upon special orders.

The ground forces groupings of the "Easterners" at the beginning of combat actions included:

- on the Southwestern Axis -- 11 divisions, of these: eight motorized rifle and three tank divisions, 61 tactical and operational-tactical missile launchers, approximately 2200 guns and mortars, 2400 tanks, and 330 aircraft;
- on the Southern Axis -- 25 divisions (not counting the Third Southern Front), five brigades, 112 launchers for tactical and operational-tactical missiles, approximately 5000 guns and mortars, 4760 tanks, and 826 aircraft.



Thus, the concept envisaged the following relationship of forces:

on the Southwestern Axis

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|---|-----|--------------------------------|
| in nuclear weapons | 1.2 | : | 1 | } in favor of the enemy |
| in divisions | 1 | : | 1.1 | |
| in tanks | 1 | : | 1.4 | |
| in artillery and mortars | 1 | : | 1.2 | } in favor of the "Easterners" |
| in combat aircraft | 1.1 | : | 1 | |
| | | | | } in favor of the enemy |

on the Southern Axis

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|-----|--------------------------------|
| in nuclear warheads | 1 | : | 1.1 | } in favor of the "Easterners" |
| in divisions | 1 | : | 1.2 | |
| in tanks | 1 | : | 2.4 | |
| in artillery and mortars | 1 | : | 1.4 | |
| in combat aircraft | 1 | : | 1.5 | |

TASKS OF "EASTERN" FRONTS, NAVIES, AND AIR DEFENSE FORCES
(diagrams 2 and 3)

In accordance with the concept and initial situation set up for the operational war game, the fronts, navies, and air defense forces of the countries were assigned the following tasks:

Southwestern Front -- prepare and conduct an offensive operation on the Northern Axis -- Vienna, and on the Southern Axis -- Klagenfurt, with the objective of destroying the enemy on Austrian territory and breaking out into the northern areas of Italy.

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Immediate task -- making the main effort of the front on the Vienna axis, destroy "rose" covering units (First and Second Corps Groups) and advancing NATO forces, seize the cities of Vienna and Graz and by the sixth to eighth day of the operation break out on the Linz-Klagenfurt line.

Subsequent task -- developing the offensive on the Northern and Southern axes, destroy the main body of NATO troops in Austrian territory and, concentrating the main body of the front on the Southern Axis, by the twelfth to sixteenth day of the operation, break out into the northern areas of Italy and seize the Bolzano - Trieste line.

First Southern Front -- prepare and conduct an offensive operation with the objective of destroying "orange" forces and break out into the central areas of Greece.

Immediate task -- destroy main forces of the First and Second Army Corps in Thrace, make a forced crossing of the Vardar River, and on the fifth to sixth day of the operation break out on the line of Edhessa - Aiyinion - Aegean Sea Coast.

Upon breaking out to the coast, organize with a portion of the forces a defense against landings in the Salonika-(excluded)/Alexandroupolis sector.

Subsequent task -- developing the offensive with the main body on the Veroia - Larisa axis and covered from the northwest by a portion of the forces, destroy approaching reserves and on the ninth to tenth day of the operation seize the Trikkala - Larisa area, establishing conditions for the commitment to battle of the of the Third Southern Front on the Athens axis and of a portion of the forces against Ioannina. By the same time break out to the coast of the Gulf of Salonika and organize a defense against amphibious landings on the Magnesia Peninsula - Aiyinion sector.

The Tenth Army (motorized rifle divisions -- four, tank brigades -- one, and artillery brigades -- one) was transferred to the Second Southern Front effective at 1800 hours 30 June.

The Soviet 89th Motorized Rifle Division was transferred to the First Southern Front effective 0800 hours 4 July in the area to the southwest of Knezha.

Second Southern Front -- prepare and conduct an offensive operation with the objective of destroying the enemy in Eastern Thrace, seizing the

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Black Sea straits zone, and supporting the exit of allied naval forces into the Mediterranean Sea.

Immediate Task -- delivering attacks on the Gallipoli and Istanbul axes, and in coordination with the First Southern Front, destroy the main body of the "orange" Third Army Corps and "black" First Field Army without permitting their units to withdraw behind the Gallipoli and Çatalca fortified areas and on the fourth to fifth day of the operation break out to the Alexandroupolis - Sarkoy - Tarfa line.

Subsequent task -- break through the Gallipoli and Catalca fortified areas, in coordination with allied naval forces and an amphibious landing make a forced crossing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and developing the offensive on the general axes of Çanakkale - Balikesir - Istanbul - Eskisehir, destroy approaching enemy reserves, seize the principal Turkish naval base of Gölcük, and on the ninth to eleventh day of the operation break out to the Edremit - Akçakoca line.

To support fulfilment of the subsequent task, the 99th Airborne Division was transferred on Day 3 to the front in an area to the west of Kishinev.

To support troops in the forced crossing of the Bosphorus straits, provisions were made for the allied navies to debark in the Sile area an amphibious force made up of a motorized rifle regiment of the Second Southern Front, a naval infantry regiment of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, and a naval infantry battalion of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

To support the First and Second Southern Front six regimental sorties of Long Range Aviation (four by the First Tactical Air Army and two by the Twenty-Eighth Tactical Air Army) were allocated for strikes against enemy airfields.

Readiness to attack -- the Southwestern Front was to be ready by 2000 hours on 1 July and the First and Second Fronts were to be ready by 2000 hours on 2 July.

The Third Southern Front had the task of concentrating in the southern part of Romania in readiness to advance and be committed to battle on the Athens axis.

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The Red Banner Black Sea Fleet had the task of destroying, jointly with Long Range Aviation (six regimental sorties) and combat duty forces, the enemy carrier strike groups and nuclear missile submarines in the Mediterranean Sea.

In coordination with the navies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania, destroy 'Western' naval forces in the Black Sea, and on the sixth to seventh day of the operation debark an amphibious landing force of the composition indicated above, with the task of seizing the Şile area and attacking on the Şile - Beykoz axis. Support troops of the Second Southern Front in the forced crossing of the Bosphorus and the crossing of the Dardanelles. When the straits zone is seized, bring the main forces out into the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas to destroy enemy ship groupings and support the ground forces attack on the coastal axes. Provide sealifts in support of the Second Southern Front and provide for the defense of its own naval communication lines.

The Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was assigned the task, in coordination with the forces of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet and the Navy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of destroying enemy naval forces in the Black Sea and of providing fire support to attacking troops of the Second Southern Front, of providing base facilities to a portion of the forces of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, and of securing naval communication lines within its operational zone. When the straits zone is seized, transfer a portion of its forces into the Aegean Sea.

The Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, jointly with the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, supported the debarkation of an amphibious landing force in the Şile area.

The commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet was made responsible for coordinating the combat actions of allied navies in the Black Sea.

The Air Defense Forces of the Countries had the task of preventing enemy air strikes against the most important installations in the territory of their countries and also against troop groupings and naval forces, during the time they were moving forward and deploying. Special attention was devoted to ensuring reliable cover for crossing sites on the Danube River and for passes in the Balkan and Rhodope Mountains.

During the operation these forces, in coordination with the air defense troops of the fronts, were charged with the task of covering

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troops, naval forces, communication routes, and rear services installations, and of preventing enemy aircraft from flying deep into the territory of the countries.

These were the operational considerations which formed the basis of the concept of the war game and the overall nature of the initial situation, and also of the tasks assigned to the fronts, navies, and air defense forces.

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I will now proceed to set forth the course of the war game and the substance of the plans of the participants.

The Plans of Operations Groups and Staffs, brought in from the Bulgarian and Hungarian armies, which dealt with bringing troops up to combat readiness and covering state borders; and with the full manning, mobilization deployment, and materiel support of troops; were reported directly to the chiefs of the general staffs of these armies. The war game Control started the briefings with reports of the plans adopted by the players on the initial situation.

PLANS OF THE PLAYERS ON THE INITIAL SITUATION AND
THE STAVKA DIRECTIVE FOR THE OFFENSIVE
(diagrams 2 and 3)

The players adopted the following plans on the initial situation and the Stavka directive.

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The Commander of the Southwestern Front decided to deliver the main attack with six divisions on the Vienna axis and with four divisions on the Klagenfurt axis, to destroy "rose" covering units and advancing NATO troops, and on the sixth day of the operation seize the Linz - Klagenfurt line.

Subsequently, concentrating the main efforts of the front on the Klagenfurt - Udine axis, complete the destruction of the NATO main forces in Austrian territory, break out into the northern areas of Italy, and on the twelfth day of the operation seize the Bolzano - Trieste line.

He planned to use the 215 nuclear warheads issued to the front as follows: 155 warheads in the initial nuclear strike and to fulfil the immediate task, 45 to fulfil the subsequent task, and 15 warheads were allocated as a reserve.

While front forces carried out combat actions using conventional means of destruction, he planned to fulfil the immediate task on the eighth day of the operation and the subsequent task on the sixteenth day.

The front was operationally disposed in a single echelon with one motorized rifle division allocated as the reserve.

The Commander of the Second Army decided to deliver two strikes to destroy the "rose" Second Corps Group before the approach of the "yellow" Fifth Army Corps: the main strike with a force of three divisions on the Szent - Gotthard - Dobl axis and the secondary one with one division on the Torony - Bruck axis.

Advance guard battalions of first-echelon divisions were designated to destroy the enemy in the forward security zone.

He planned to destroy the Fifth Army Corps by attacking with the main forces of the first-echelon divisions (12th and 13th Tank Divisions) and by committing the 14th Motorized Rifle Division to battle on the second day of the operation on the Szent - Gotthard - Graz - Sulz - Leibnitz axes.

He contemplated fulfilling the army's immediate task by breaking out to the Bruck - Leibnitz line on the third day of the operation.

Following this, the main efforts of the army would be concentrated on the Graz - Klagenfurt axis with a portion of the forces operating on the

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Bruck - Teufenbach axis for the purpose of destroying reserves of the "yellow" Third Army and then breaking out on the sixth day of the operation into the area of Judenburg - Klagenfurt - Koflach.

The operational disposition was in two echelons (the 10th and the 12th Motorized Rifle Divisions and the 13th Tank Division in the first echelon and the 14th Motorized Rifle Division in the second echelon).

The Commander of the Sixth Army Corps planned to deliver a strike along the adjacent flanks of two divisions in the general direction of Sopron - Baden, break through the enemy defense and, developing the attack of the 16th Motorized Rifle Division towards Vienna and of the 18th Motorized Rifle Division towards St. Veit, destroy territorial defense troops and units of the Second Corps Group.

After this, and exploiting the attack on the St. Pölten axis, destroy in a meeting engagement the main body of the "yellow" Fourth Army Corps, seize the city of Vienna in coordination with the 60th Motorized Rifle Division of the Thirteenth Army, and on the third day of the operation break out to the St. Pölten (excluded) - Traisen line.

After seizing Vienna and breaking out to the St. Pölten line, the corps took over the 60th Motorized Rifle Division, became the reserve of the front, and was concentrated in the area of Baden - Neunkirchen - Eisenstadt.

The 18th Motorized Rifle Division of the corps was transferred to the Thirteenth Army.

The Commander of the First Air Army concentrated the main efforts of his aircraft on fulfilling the task of destroying enemy missile/nuclear means and aircraft on the airfields and of covering and supporting forces operating on the principal axis.

In delivering the initial nuclear strike he planned to use 20 nuclear warheads against large units of the "green" Sixteenth Army Corps, "yellow" Fourth and Fifth Army Corps and against operational reserves.)

When conducting combat actions using conventional means, he contemplated delivering bombing strikes against the Aviano and Linz airfields in coordination with Long Range Aviation.

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The following allocations were made to support front troops: seven regimental sorties for the Thirteenth Army, two for the Sixth Army Corps, and four regimental sorties for the Second Army with the corresponding use of nine, two and 11 nuclear bombs.

The Plan of the Commander of the Air Defense Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic contemplated concentrating the principal efforts on covering the administrative-political and industrial centers of the country and also groupings and installations of the Southwestern Front in the areas of Budapest - Sopron - Pecs.

The Plan of the Commander of the First Southern Front for the operation consisted of the following: deliver the main strike with the main forces of the Eighth and Ninth Armies on the Godeshevo - Nigrita - Veroia - Larisa axis, in coordination with the Second Southern Front destroy "orange" troops in Western Thrace and Northern Greece, and create conditions favoring the commitment to battle of the Third Southern Front.

A portion of the forces of the Ninth Army were designated to operate on the Podkova - Komotini axis.

In fulfilling the immediate task, achieve a breakthrough of the "Metaxas" fortified zone with six divisions (in seven sectors with an overall extension of 11 kilometers) and having destroyed the "orange" First and Second Army Corps, break out on the fifth to sixth day of the operation to the Arnissa - Veroia - Aiyinion line and the shores of the Aegean Sea. On breaking out to this line, occupy with two divisions a defense against amphibious landings in the Salonika - Alexandroupolis sector.

Following this, and developing the attack of the main forces on the Veroia - Larisa axis under the cover of three divisions from the northwest, destroy approaching "orange" reserves and on the ninth to tenth day of the operation seize the areas of Pendalofon - Panayia - Grevena - Trikkala - Larisa - Elasson, creating conditions for the commitment to battle of the Third Southern Front and its actions on the Athens axis, and with a portion of the forces move on Ioannina.

At the same time a portion of the forces were to break out to the shores of the Gulf of Salonika and occupy a defense against amphibious landings in the Magnesia Peninsula - Aiyinion sector.

The front was disposed in a single echelon. Two motorized rifle divisions and one tank brigade were allocated as the reserve.

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The nuclear warheads issued to the front were distributed as follows: 25 to deliver the initial nuclear strike, 50, 35, and ten respectively to fulfil the immediate and subsequent, as well as reserve tasks.

The Commander of the First Composite Air Corps concentrated the main efforts of his aircraft on the axis of the main front strike for the purpose of destroying, in coordination with Long Range Aviation, enemy nuclear and aircraft groupings, and of supporting troops of the Eighth and Ninth Armies when they were breaking through the 'Metaxas' fortified zone, making forced crossings of the Struma and Vardar rivers, and defending against assault landings.

Strike groupings and principal rear services installations of the front were covered by the forces of two fighter aviation regiments in coordination with the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and fighter aircraft of the Third Army of the Second Southern Front.

To support the attack of the Eighth and Ninth Armies, 14 and eight regimental sorties respectively of fighter-bomber aircraft were allocated.

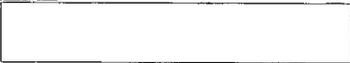
The Plan of the Commander of the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria envisaged concentrating the main efforts on covering the most important installations of the country and the main troop groupings. It was planned to fulfil this task in coordination with air defense troops of the First, Second, and Third Southern Fronts, and also with forces and means of allied navies.

In his plan, the Commander of the Second Southern Front contemplated breaking through the enemy defense in the Mikhalich - Vaysal sector, and by delivering the main strike with adjacent flanks of two armies on the Elkhovo - Lüleburgaz axis and by attacking towards Uzunkoprü and Pinarhisar with a portion of the forces of these armies, split the Thrace grouping of the 'Westerners' and, in coordination with the First Southern Front and allied Black Sea navies, destroy the main body of the 'black' First Field Army and the 'orange' Third Army Corps, prevent them from withdrawing behind the Gallipoli and Çatalca fortified areas, and on the fourth to fifth day of the operation seize the Alexandroupolis - Tarfa line.

Following this, by committing to battle the second-echelon army, develop the attack on the Dardanelles and Bosphorus axes, break through the Gallipoli and Çatalca fortified areas, complete the destruction of the enemy grouping in Thrace, seize the straits zone jointly with the navies and airborne and amphibious landing forces, and on the ninth to eleventh

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day of the operation break out to the Edremit - Akçakoca line.

The front was operationally disposed in two echelons: the Tenth and Eleventh Armies in the first and the Twelfth Army in the second. Two motorized rifle divisions were designated as the reserve.

Plans were to debark the amphibious force, made up of a motorized rifle regiment of the 90th Motorized Rifle Division, a naval infantry regiment of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, and a naval infantry battalion of the Bulgarian People's Army, in the Şile area and to land the airborne force (99th Airborne Division) in an area ten kilometers to the northeast of Kartal.

Nuclear warheads were allocated: 84 for the initial nuclear strike, 115 to fulfil the immediate task, 65 for the subsequent task, and 14 as the reserve.

The Plan of the Commander of the Third Air Army made provisions for engaging main forces in destroying and neutralizing enemy missile/nuclear and aviation groupings and in supporting front troops, especially on the Bosphorus axis. A portion of the aviation forces were designated to support the landing of the amphibious and airborne landing forces and the overflights of Long Range Aviation.

Plans were to use 30 nuclear bombs in the initial nuclear strike against three divisions of the "black" First Field Army, one division of the "orange" Third Army Corps, three "Honest John" battalions, and three control posts.

Flight resources of the army were allocated: to deliver the initial nuclear strike -- one army sortie, to fulfil the immediate and subsequent tasks and for the reserve -- nine, ten, and one army sortie respectively.

The Commander of the Black Sea Fleet concentrated his main efforts on destroying the enemy nuclear missile submarines and strike carriers in the Mediterranean Sea. Ships on combat duty in the Mediterranean Sea were designated to fulfil this task in coordination with naval aircraft and Long Range Aviation.

Enemy ship groupings, convoys, and amphibious landing forces in the Black Sea were to be destroyed jointly with the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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To support the Second Southern Front in the seizure of the Bosphorus strait, plans were to debark an amphibious force in the Sile area.

As the seizure of the straits zone proceeded, the plan was to move a portion of the naval forces into the Sea of Marmora and subsequently into the Aegean Sea.

Combat duty forces, naval missile-carrying aviation, and Long Range Aviation forces were to use 108 missiles when the transition to the use of nuclear weapons was made.

The Commander of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria directed his principal efforts towards destroying enemy naval forces in the southwestern part of the Black Sea in coordination with the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, providing fire support to troops of the Second Southern Front, and securing strike groupings and naval lines of communication in the Navy's operational zone.

A portion of the Navy forces was designated for actions in the Sea of Marmora; for this purpose, torpedo boats and one battalion of coastal missile artillery were transferred overland (on trailers) through the zone of the Second Southern Front.

To debark the amphibious force and move troops of the Tenth Army across the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, it was planned that 12 small amphibious landing craft and a naval infantry battalion would be transferred and operationally subordinated to the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet.

After working out the plans of front and army operations, the combat actions of navies and of air defense forces of the countries, and also the respective orders for the troops, at 1800 hours 3 July staffs and operations groups were given hypothetical exercise situation No. 1 with the position and condition of troops on the third day of the operation. The situation and plans in accordance with the hypothetical exercise No. 1 were as follows.

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COURSE OF COMBAT ACTIONS FROM THE MORNING
OF 2 JULY UP TO THE CLOSE OF 4 JULY
(diagrams 4, 5, and 10)

In the Western Theater of Military Operations

The "Westerners", beginning the morning of 2 July, unleashed war in Europe by massive air strikes using conventional means of destruction against the Warsaw Pact countries. At 0430 hours NATO ground forces groupings went over to the offensive on the Berlin, Dresden, and Prague axes.

Troops of the Central Army Group had penetrated in the three days of the offensive up to 80 kilometers on the Prague axis and up to 40 kilometers in the Brno area.

The "Easterners", repelling the attacks of the NATO troops, in turn went over to the offensive on 2 July with their main groupings.

Troops of the Central Front on the Nurnberg and Munich axes routed the opposing enemy and advanced up to a depth of 100 kilometers into FRG territory. On the Prague axis and in the Brno area they withdrew from fighting 40 to 80 kilometers.

In the Southwestern Theater of Military Operations

Simultaneous with the transition of NATO troops to an offensive in the Western Theater, "green" and "yellow" troops invaded Austrian territory.

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On the NATO right wing, "orange" and "black" armed forces prepared to take the offensive beginning the morning of 3 July.

Their aircraft delivered strikes against naval forces, troops, airfields and the most important rear services installations of the "Easterners".

The Southwestern Front, as a result of the incursion into Austria of "green" and "yellow" forces, went over to the offensive on the northern (Vienna) and southern (Klagenfurt) axes, routed the "rose" First and Second Corps Groups, repelled the attacks of forward units of the "yellow" Third Army and "green" Sixteenth Army Corps and, overcoming tenacious enemy resistance, continued the offensive towards the Austrian Alps. Large units of the left wing of the front, having advanced up to 80 kilometers, encountered the approaching "yellow" Fifth Army Corps and engaged them in stubborn fighting. At the same time, the front was completing the destruction of the enemy troops in the Vienna area with a portion of its forces.

The "Western" Southern Army Group, having suffered a defeat in the border zone and not having achieved success by committing to battle the "yellow" Fourth and Fifth Army Corps, strove by fire and counterattacks to halt the offensive of the navies of the Southwestern Front and retain Vienna and Graz. At the same time, it moved forward to the Graz area large units of the "yellow" Third Army Corps to reinforce the grouping operating on this axis.

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The First and Second Southern Fronts, after delivering massive air and artillery strikes, went over to the offensive at 0500 hours 3 July and within two days had advanced 50 to 80 kilometers.

On the Greece axis the troops broke out to the approaches to the Struma River and to the shores of the Aegean Sea.

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On the Turkey axis the troops overcame the resistance of large units of "orange" Third Army Corps and "black" Fifth Army Corps and, having repelled counterattacks of their second echelons and reserves, broke out to the defensive line of Uzunkoprü - Lüleburgaz - Pınarhisar. On separate axes they penetrated to this line.

The "orange" First Central Army and "black" First Field Army conducted tenacious defensive battles in the border zone. But under the strikes of superior "Eastern" forces, the army corps of the first echelons of these armies were forced to withdraw to a depth of 50 to 80 kilometers within their own territory and attempted to organize a defense on favorable lines.

"Eastern" aviation, beginning 2 July, delivered strikes against nuclear attack means, airfields, and control posts; and starting 3 July, supported the combat actions of ground and naval forces, delivered strikes against enemy groupings and approaching reserves, and, in coordination with air defense forces, repelled enemy air raids.

"Western" aviation delivered massive strikes against troops, naval forces, airfields, and other important installations of the "Easterners", and carried out intensified reconnaissance of nuclear attack objectives.

Forces of "Eastern" Air Defense of the Countries carried out, in coordination with front air defense troops, combat actions to destroy enemy aircraft, and repelled their strikes against troops, air defense installations, and crossings over the Danube River.

"Eastern" allied navies delivered strikes jointly with Long Range Aviation and combat duty forces against enemy nuclear missile submarines, aircraft carriers, and other ship strike groupings, and supported ground forces combat actions on coastal axes.

"Western" naval forces delivered strikes against attack means, naval bases, ports and combat ship groupings. A portion of these forces supported ground forces engaged in combat actions and carried out extensive mine laying.

"Brown" nuclear missile submarines continued patrolling in the Mediterranean Sea in readiness to deliver nuclear strikes.

Thus for the "Westerners" a relatively complex situation had developed by 4 July. As they did not enjoy superiority in conventional means of destruction and had lost the initiative in operations, the "Westerners"

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concluded that they had not achieved the intended goals. Furthermore, their main groupings in the Western and Southwestern Theaters were under actual threat of destruction.

In this situation, the "Westerners" raised the question of changing over to the use of nuclear weapons. For the purpose of examining this question, a summit conference of bloc members was held during the second half of 4 July. This conference decided to make the transition to the use of nuclear weapons in all military operations beginning the morning of 5 July.

For their part, the "Easterners", having established through all types of reconnaissance the direct preparations of the enemy to use nuclear weapons, brought their nuclear weapons to readiness.

Under the situation that had developed, players adopted the following plans.

The Commander of the Southwestern Front initially planned that the Thirteenth Army continue attacking on the Vienna axis, but that the Second Army consolidate on the line it had arrived at and during a two-day period repel counterattacks of the "yellow" Third Army and Fifth Army Corps advancing on the Graz axis.

Beginning the morning of 7 July he contemplated renewing the offensive on the Klagenfurt axis for the purpose of routing the main body of the Southern Army Group and contemplated fulfilling the immediate task by the close of 9 or 10 July.

The Sixth Army Corps was charged with eliminating the enemy grouping encircled in Vienna.

In the transition to actions with the use of nuclear weapons, he planned to seize the Linz - Klagenfurt line by the close of 7 July.

However, those portions of the plan pertaining to the Second Army and the Sixth Army Corps were subsequently refined.

Since the forces encircled in Vienna had capitulated, the Sixth Army Corps was reinforced by the 63rd Tank Division, moved out to the area of St. Aegy - Gloggnitz - Sollenau, and beginning the morning of 5 July, with a complement of three divisions, it went over to the offensive.

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He contemplated carrying out the destruction of the approaching "yellow" Third and Fifth Army Corps by aggressive operations of the 10th and 12th Motorized Rifle Divisions and a portion of the forces of the 13th Tank Division, and by committing to battle the 14th Motorized Rifle Division on the general axis towards Klagenfurt.

The Plan of the Commander of the Second Army comprised the following: with the 10th Motorized Rifle Division continue attacking on the Gratwein - Koflach axis and with a portion of the forces of the 13th Tank Division, jointly with the the antitank reserve and the army's mobile obstacle detachment, consolidate on the line arrived at and repel enemy attacks on the left wing of the army.

With the main forces of the 12th Motorized Rifle Division, a portion of the forces of the 13th Tank Division, and committing to battle the 14th Motorized Rifle Division on the general Kalsdorf - Landsberg axis, inflict a defeat on the enemy reserves advancing to the west of Graz and break out to the Koflach - Landsberg line.

Second echelon -- the 66th Motorized Rifle Division was to be committed to battle during the second half of 5 July on the Wildbach - Twimberg axis.

The Commander of the Sixth Army Corps planned to regroup a division during the night of 5 July in an area 50 kilometers to the southwest of Vienna, resupply units and large units with ammunition and fuel, and beginning at 1000 hours deliver these strikes: the 18th Motorized Rifle Division in the Mariazell - Hieflau axis and the 16th Motorized Rifle Division on the Kapfenberg - Zeltweg axis and by the morning of 7 July seize the Liezen - Strassburg line.

Subsequently he planned to develop the offensive on the Murau - Spittal axis. The 63rd Motorized Rifle Division was in the second echelon.

The Commander of the First Air Army planned to have ready at dawn on 5 July the nuclear echelon (26th Bomber Regiment and 25th Fighter-Bomber Regiment) to deliver a strike with 18 warheads against "yellow" ground forces groupings and nuclear weapons means. Provisions were made for subsequent air actions to carry out searches for and destroy enemy missile/nuclear means and to support front troops as they fulfilled their assigned tasks.

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The forces of two fighter regiments provided cover for the troops and the principal installation of the front by intercepting the air enemy from airborne alert zones, with forces to be built up by sorties from airfield alert status.

The Commander of the Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic concentrated his main efforts on covering Budapest, the capital of the Hungarian People's Republic, the most important industrial-economic installations, troop groupings, and communication routes.

The restoration of partially disrupted groupings of surface-to-air missile troops was carried out by repositioning one battalion from a second-echelon air defense division and by deploying combat equipment of the training center.

The Commander of the First Southern Front adopted the following plan. Upon receiving the signal to use nuclear weapons, employ 29 nuclear warheads in the initial strike against "orange" nuclear attack means, airfields, and ground forces groupings.

Beginning the morning of 5 July, commit to battle the second echelons of the armies (two tank brigades and one motorized rifle division) on the Serrai - Veroia general axis and, exploiting the results of nuclear strikes, destroy the enemy First Army Corps in a meeting engagement and by the close of 6 July fulfil the front immediate task. Encircle and destroy with a portion of the forces the main body of the Second Army Corps to the east of the Struma River and also finish destroying the "orange" Tenth Infantry Division in the area to the southeast of Komotini.

Upon destroying these two groupings, occupy a defense against amphibious landings with two divisions on the shore of the Aegean Sea in the Salonika - Alexandroupolis sector. But in fact one division was to operate on a frontage of 160 kilometers for the defense against landings. It was planned that subsequently a second division (56th Motorized Rifle Division) in the second echelon of the Ninth Army would be ready to fulfil the task of defense against landings.

Protection against enemy nuclear strikes was provided for by increasing the readiness level of front rocket troops, by shifting troop location areas, and by preparing troops to carry out measures to eliminate the aftereffects of nuclear weapons used by the enemy.

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The Commander of the First Composite Aviation Corps planned to hit enemy missile/nuclear and aircraft groupings during the initial nuclear strike with one corps sortie in coordination with front rocket troops and Long Range Aviation.

He planned to concentrate fighter aircraft on covering rocket troops and the Eighth and Ninth Armies operating on the axis of the front main strike.

The plan of the Commander of the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, provided for concentrating the main efforts of air defense forces on repelling massive "Western" air raids, and on covering the overflights of Long Range Aviation and naval missile-carrying aviation, and covering the actions of the amphibious landing force.

The Commander of the Second Southern Front planned, under the situation that had developed, to deliver a decisive strike against the enemy grouping in Thrace, using 99 nuclear warheads.

Following the nuclear strike, and by committing to battle the second echelons of the armies beginning the morning of 5 July to complete destroying the "black" main forces, and developing the offensive on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles axes, fulfil by the close of 6 July the front immediate task and create conditions for seizing the straits zone.

Subsequently, by committing to battle the Twelfth Army on the Bosphorus axis and the 86th Motorized Rifle Division on the Dardanelles axis, break through the Çatalca and Gallipoli fortified areas from the march, make a forced crossing of the straits in coordination with allied navies and an amphibious landing, and attack on the Çanakkale - Balıkesir and Istanbul - Hendek axes.

It was contemplated that during the night of 5 July front troops would carry out an anti-nuclear movement and implement measures to overcome enemy nuclear minefields.

The Commander of the Third Air Army directed the main effort at the destruction and neutralization of enemy missile/nuclear means, aircraft on airfields, and advancing reserves; and also on covering and supporting troops, particularly those on the Bosphorus axis. A portion of his forces supported the landings and combat actions of the airborne and amphibious forces. He planned to use 40 nuclear bombs in the initial nuclear strike.

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He planned to have the 30th Fighter Aviation Division, in coordination with air defenses of the front and of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, repel massive enemy air raids and cover front troops.

The Commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet concentrated main efforts on destroying nuclear submarines and carrier strike groups in the Mediterranean.

Missile-carrying aviation of the fleet, missile and gunnery ships, and submarines were brought in to destroy ship forces of the enemy navy in the Black Sea and in the straits zone.

The debarkation of the amphibious force in the Şile area was to be carried out beginning the morning of 7 July in two echelons: the first in landing means and the second in four transports.

The Commander of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria planned, exploiting the results of the use of nuclear weapons by the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, to continue fulfilling the assigned tasks, concentrating the main efforts of the Navy on participating in the destruction of the enemy in the southwestern part of the Black Sea, providing defense for landing detachments, and providing fire support to troops of the Second Southern Front.

After working out all the problems associated with the plans adopted according to the situation that had developed at the close of 4 July, the players were given hypothetical exercise situation No. 2, which in essence consisted of the following.

COURSE OF COMBAT ACTIONS FROM 5 JULY TO 7 JULY
(diagrams 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10)

During the period from 0345 to 0745 hours 5 July both sides delivered massive strikes with strategic and operational-tactical means against rocket units, troop and ship groupings, naval bases, airfields, rear services installations, and communication routes. As a result of this, zones of continuous demolitions and high levels of radiation were created in a number of areas. Under these conditions the following situation had

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developed in the Theater of Military Operations.

The "Easterners", exploiting the results of the massive nuclear strike, frustrated the counterattacks of enemy troops on the southwestern and southern axes and, using nuclear weapons, continued to develop the attack deep into the territory of the FRG, Austria, Greece, and Turkey.

The "Westerners", following the nuclear strikes, committed fresh reserves to action for the purpose of renewing the offensive on the Prague and Budapest axes and of carrying out counterattacks against troops of the First and Second Southern Fronts. However, their attempts were unsuccessful.

As a result of their heavy losses, they were forced to go over to defensive actions on the lines they had occupied. Simultaneously they quickly moved deep reserves forward for the purpose of organizing a firm defense on the important strategic lines of the Rhine River, Italian Alps, Linz hills, and in the zone of the Black Sea straits.

At the same time, both sides carried out measures to eliminate the aftereffects of the use of nuclear weapons and to restore the combat effectiveness of their troops.

On the Southwestern Axis

The Southwestern Front fulfilled its immediate task, eliminated the enemy grouping in Vienna, destroyed the main forces of the "yellow" Third Army, and together with Czechoslovak forces, inflicted a severe defeat on the "green" Sixteenth Army Corps.

Front troops developed the offensive to the north and south of the Eastern Alps mountain chain and completed destroying enemy groupings in areas to the northeast of Linz and to the south of Graz, with the object of having the main forces break out into the northern areas of Italy. During three days, front troops used 155 nuclear warheads. Strategic means delivered 22 strikes in the front zone.

The Southern Army Group, in coordination with the Fifth Allied Tactical Air Force and concentrating its main efforts on the Klagenfurt

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axis, held the mountain passes in the Eastern Alps. At the same time, it moved forward up to two divisions to oppose the "Eastern" offensive on the Italy axis.

On the Southern Axis

The First Southern Front inflicted a defeat on the main forces of the "orange" First Central Army, made a forced crossing of the Vardar River and, pursuing the withdrawing enemy, tried to break through the prepared defensive line of Mounts Vermion and Pieriya from the march and develop the offensive into the central areas of Greece. With a portion of its forces it implemented a defense of the Aegean Sea coast against landings and repelled an "orange" counterattack to the east of Komotini.

Over a period of three days, front troops used 86 nuclear warheads. Stavka means delivered 19 strikes in the zone of the front.

The "orange" First Central Army, with withdrawing units of the First and Second Army Corps and two divisions which were approaching, endeavored to halt the offensive of troops of the First Southern Front on the Mounts Vermion - Pieriya line and prevent "Easterners" from breaking out into the central areas of Greece. With forces of the Third Army Corps it conducted delaying actions for the purpose of securing the evacuation, which had been initiated by sea, of troops from the Alexandroupolis area.

The Second Southern Front, delivering a massive nuclear strike, frustrated the counterattack of the "black" Second and Third Army Corps. Exploiting the results of the nuclear strikes and committing two divisions to battle, front troops split the "black" First Field Army into three isolated groupings and carried out combat actions to destroy them. Its leading units approached the positions of the Çatalca and Gallipoli fortified areas.

Over a period of three days front troops used 184 nuclear warheads. Strategic means delivered 21 strikes in the zone of the front.

The "black" First Field Army, with the main forces of three army corps, fought hard inside an encirclement in two areas to the north of Saray and Tekirdag.

With forces of the Fifteenth Army Corps and approaching reserves it

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organized the defense of the Gallipoli and Çatalca fortified areas and the eastern shore of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits.

The "Eastern" Third Southern Front was in the Samokov - (excluded) Plovdiv - Pleven - Mikhailovgrad area ready to move forward for commitment to battle.

"Eastern" aircraft delivered strikes against enemy nuclear attack means, troop groupings, and in coordination with front air defense troops, repelled raids of "Western" aircraft, supported the offensive of the troops, and also destroyed aircraft on airfields and important rear services installations of the enemy. The First and Third Air Armies retained their air supremacy.

"Eastern" Air Defense Forces of the Countries continued to carry out combat actions to repel enemy air raids and restored the combat effectiveness of units which had been subjected to nuclear strikes.

The navies of the allied "Eastern" countries (diagrams 8 and 10) completed destroying enemy ship groupings in the Black Sea, prepared the amphibious assault landing operation which was to debark the assault landing of the Second Southern Front on the Anatolian coast, and provided fire support to the attacking troops.

The Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, in coordination with Long Range Aviation and combat duty forces, destroyed "Western" aircraft carrier groupings in the Mediterranean Sea with nuclear strikes and engaged in combat against "brown" nuclear submarines.

"Western" naval forces and aircraft of the Sixth Allied Tactical Air Force continued providing support to "black" and "orange" ground forces holding the straits zone and defense lines and coastal axes.

By the close of 7 July this was the situation, in accordance with which the players adopted the following plans.

The Commander of the Southwestern Front contemplated aggressively developing the offensive with his main forces on the Klagenfurt - Gemona - Padova axis, and with a portion of his forces on the Salzburg - Innsbruck - Verona axis; completing the destruction of the remnants of the "yellow" Third Army and routing with nuclear strikes the approaching reserves (two infantry divisions), overcoming from the march the defense line along the

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northern slopes of the Italian Alps, seizing the important industrial centers of Brescia, Mantova, and Trieste; and by the close of 13 to 17 July, breaking out into the areas of Brescia, Verona, and Padova.

During the period 7 and 8 July, 23 nuclear warheads were used to strike advancing reserves and nuclear attack means of the enemy.

The Commander of the Second Army planned, by exploiting the results of nuclear strikes by aircraft and of artillery fire, to develop a rapid offensive with forces of the 66th and 12th Motorized Rifle Divisions on the Hermagor - Kotschach - Tolmezzo - Villach - Tarvisio - Pontebba - Gemona axes, destroy enemy subunits defending passes through the Carnic Alps, and seize the main passes from the march.

To seize the passes, the tactical airborne forces were landed in the areas of Paluzza and Tarvisio.

Upon breaking out into Northern Italy and committing the 63rd Tank Division on the Tolmezzo - Maniago axis, to destroy enemy reserves, and by the close of 9 July to seize the line of Fanna - Udine - Cividale.

The destruction of the surrounded Third Army grouping to the southeast of Graz was accomplished by the forces of the 14th Motorized Rifle Division and 13th Tank Division.

Subsequently he contemplated committing the 14th Motorized Rifle Division to develop the strike on the Aviano - Vicenza axis, and with a portion of the forces on the Udine - Mestre axis, to complete the destruction of enemy reserves and by the close of 11 July to seize the Bassano - Vicenza - Padova line with the main forces.

The Commander of the Sixth Army Corps contemplated concentrating the main effort on the Zeltweg - Grönd axis, destroying withdrawing units of the Fourth Army Corps and the "Legnano" Motorized Infantry Division, and by the close of 9 July seizing the Irnding - Murau line.

After fulfilling this task, the corps was to concentrate in the area of Radstadt - Nikolsdorf - Spittal in the second echelon of the front ready for action on the Belluno - Padova axis.

The Commander of the First Air Army concentrated his main efforts on the North Italian axis in support of developing the offensive of the Second Army (Hungarian People's Army).

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Nuclear strikes on this axis destroyed enemy reserves in offloading and concentration areas, nuclear means, and delivery aircraft on airfields.

Particular attention was devoted to using helicopters in mountainous terrain conditions. With their help, special groups to seize and deactivate nuclear minefields were landed, as were airborne forces.

The Commander of the Air Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic planned to continue combat actions to repel enemy air strikes, concentrating his main efforts of the the Southwestern Axis. He planned to fulfil this task in close coordination with air defense troops of the Southwestern Front, First Air Army, and Air Defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Socialist Republic of Romania.

To restore the system of the Air Defense of the Country he contemplated carrying out a substantial regrouping of surace-to-air missile units.

The Commander of the First Southern Front planned, in the situation that had developed, to continue the offensive during 7 July and simultaneously carry out necessary measures to eliminate the aftereffects of enemy use of nuclear weapons.

Beginning the morning of 8 July, he planned to deliver a massive strike with 17 nuclear warheads and three regimental sorties of fighter-bomber aviation against "orange" nuclear attack means, ground forces groupings, and control posts.

Exploiting the results of using nuclear weapons and committing fresh forces to battle, three strikes were to be delivered: the main one with the forces of five large units on the Veroia - Larisa axis, the second attack with three large units on the Katerini - Larisa axis, and the third attack with two divisions on the Komotini - Alexandroupolis axis; split the opposing enemy grouping, destroy it piecemeal; and, being covered from the northwest, seize by 11 to 12 July the areas of Pentalofon - Panayia - Grevena and Trikkala - Larisa - Elasson, thereby supporting the commitment to battle of the Third Southern Front. At the same time organize the anti-landing defense of the Aegean Sea on the Magnesia Peninsula - Salonika sector.

An operational group comprising three large units was established to destroy the remnants of the Second Army Corps on the Khalkidhiki Peninsula and units of the Third Army Corps in the Alexandroupolis area, and also to

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organize the defense against landings in the sector of the shores of the Aegean Sea.

To fulfil the subsequent task, the front was allocated 32 nuclear warheads and seven aviation corps sorties.

The Commander of the First Composite Aviation Corps planned to direct his main efforts to destroying enemy missile/nuclear means, supporting troops of the Ninth Army, and supporting the commitment to battle of the Third Southern Front. A portion of the forces was designated to support troops engaged in the defense against landings.

The Commander of the Air Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria planned to continue fulfilling the previously assigned tasks of covering installations on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, troops of the Third Southern Front, communication routes of the First and Second Southern Fronts, loading of the amphibious landing force in the Burgas area, sea crossing, and covering the airborne landing force during flight over the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

At the same time, for the purpose of restoring disruptions in the air defense system of the country, he planned to carry out a regrouping of the air defense forces by reinforcing the surface-to-air missile defenses of Sofia, of the industrial centers of Plovdiv and Sofia - Pernik - Kremikovtsi, and of the Burgas naval base.

He contemplated rebasing half of the fighter aviation regiments in forward airfields in the south of the country.

The Plan of the Commander of the Second Southern Front comprised the following: during 7 July eliminate the aftereffects of the enemy's use of weapons of mass destruction and by means of nuclear strikes and aggressive troop actions destroy isolated enemy groupings in the areas of Alexandroupolis, Souflion, Kesan, Tekirdag, Silivri, and Vize with the purpose of setting up conditions for the front main forces to break out towards the fortified areas.

Beginning the morning of 8 July and following massive nuclear strikes using 37 nuclear warheads against Çatalca and Gallipoli fortified areas, commit to battle the second echelon of the front -- the Twelfth Army on the Bosphorus axis, and the main forces of the Tenth Army -- on the Gallipoli axis; break through the fortified areas, break out to the straits, and in coordination with airborne and amphibious landings and allied naval forces,

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make a forced crossing of the straits from the march during a 24-hour period. At the same time seize the line of Çanakkale - Bandırma - Bursa - Gebze - Şile with a force of four divisions.

Subsequently develop the offensive on the Balıkesir and Adapazarı axes, destroy enemy reserves approaching from the deep rear, and by the close of 12 July break out to the Edremit - Balıkesir - Akçakoca line.

Operational dispositions were in two echelons: the Tenth Army (Bulgarian People's Army) and Twelfth Army in the first echelon and the Eleventh Army in the second echelon.

To assist front troops in the forced crossing of the Bosphorus strait, plans were made to land the 99th Airborne Division at 0400 hours on 8 July in an area to the northeast of Kartal, and also to debark at 0500 hours an amphibious landing force in the area of Şile.

The Plan of the Commander of the Third Air Army contemplated concentrating main efforts on securing the commitment to battle of the front second echelon, supporting and covering troops while they were breaking through the fortified areas and seizing the straits zone, and also on destroying the enemy missile/nuclear means, aircraft, and reserves.

He planned to accomplish the securing of the commitment to battle of the Twelfth Army and the forced crossing of the straits zone by delivering massive air strikes with the use of three nuclear bombs.

A portion of the army forces was allocated to support the landings and combat actions of the airborne and amphibious forces.

The Commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, continuing combat actions to destroy missile submarines in the Mediterranean Sea, concentrated the fleet main efforts on providing support to troops of the Second Southern Front by landing the amphibious force, by providing fire support to the attacking troops, by barring enemy strikes from the sea, and by transporting troops and equipment across the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits.

When the straits were seized, the main forces of the fleet were to be moved out to the Aegean and Mediterranean seas for the purpose of destroying enemy combat ships and amphibious landing means and further supporting the attacking troops.

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In the Plan of the Commander of the Navy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the main efforts of the Navy in the Black Sea, and beginning 8 July in the Sea of Marmora, were concentrated on providing support to troops of the Second Southern Front as they destroyed the enemy in Eastern Thrace and seized the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits.

He planned to use a fire support grouping composed of gunnery surface ships, submarines, and torpedo and missile boats for the actions on the main axis in the Black Sea.

Forces of the 21st Brigade (a division of torpedo boats and a missile artillery battalion) were allocated for actions on the main axis in the Sea of Marmora.

After troops of the Second Southern Front seized the Bosphorus, the main forces of the navy were moved out to the Aegean Sea from 8 to 13 July.

After hearing the plans concerning the situation of 1800 hours 7 July and after documents on the planning of subsequent combat actions were worked out, the war game was terminated.

NOTE:

The full text of this report is stored on magnetic tape for computer text searching in CIA/CRS/DSB. For access call Extension 5434 and ask for File No. C 303 U.

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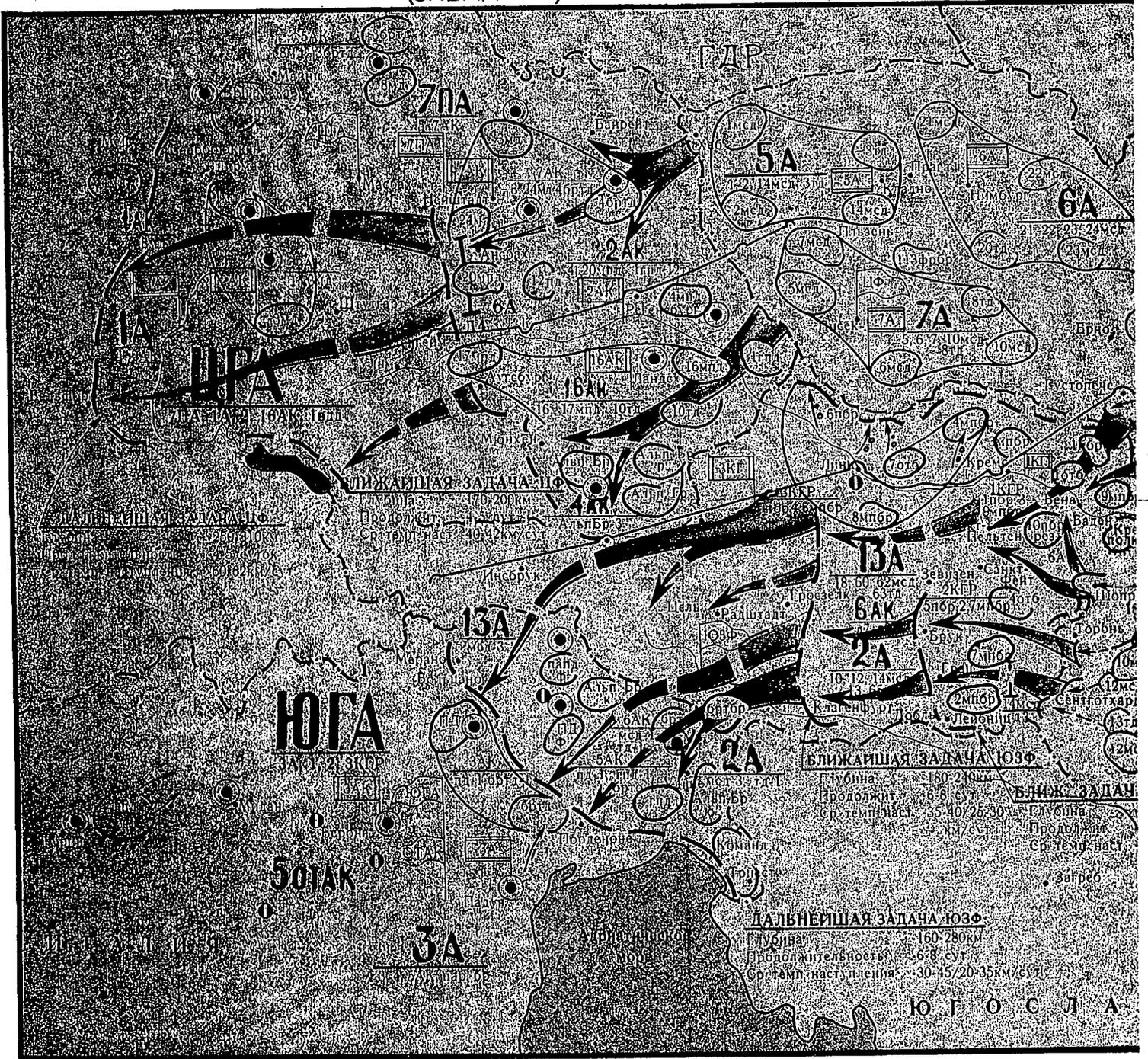
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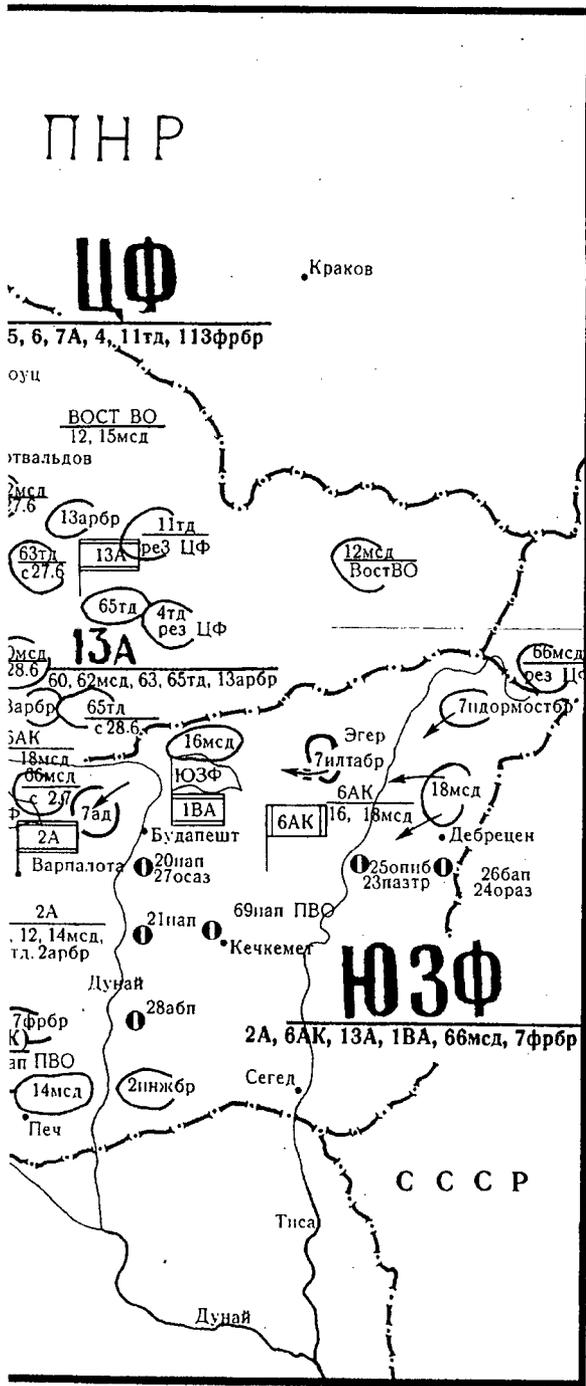
ВОСТОЧНЫЕ

ЦФ, ЮЗФ, 1ЮФ, 2ЮФ, 3ЮФ



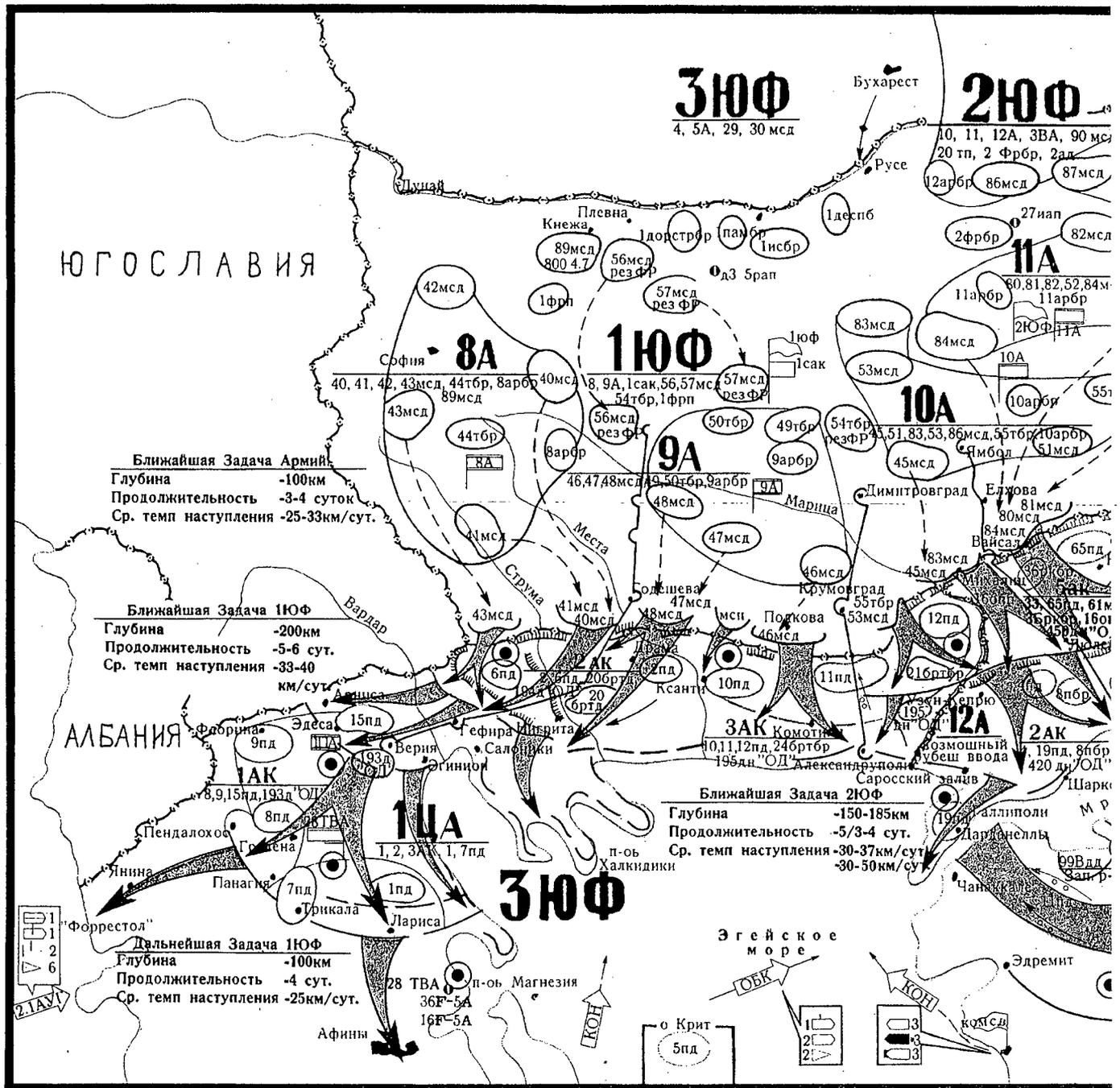
Положение войск сторон на 20.00 29.6
на Юго-Западном направлении и решения "Восточных"
(СХЕМА N 2)





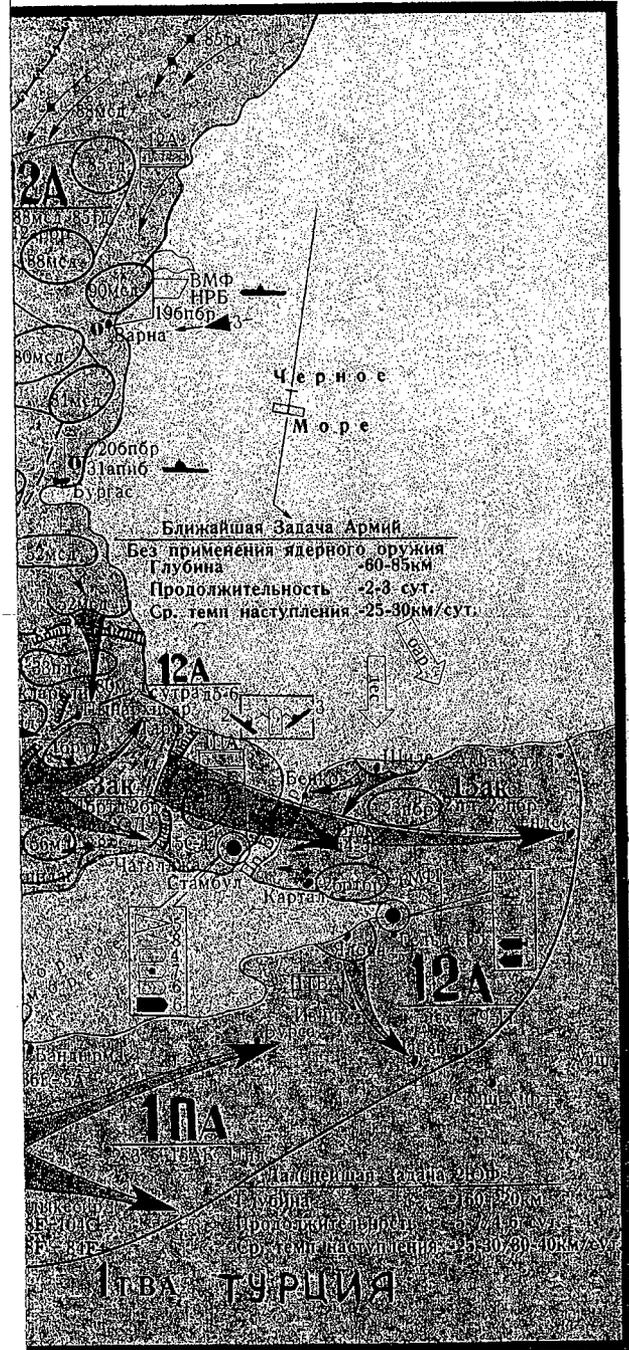
ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ ВОЙСК СТОРОН НА 20.00 29.6 НА ЮЖНОМ НАПРАВЛЕНИИ И РЕШЕНИЯ „ВОСТОЧ

СХЕМА №3



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ЫХ"



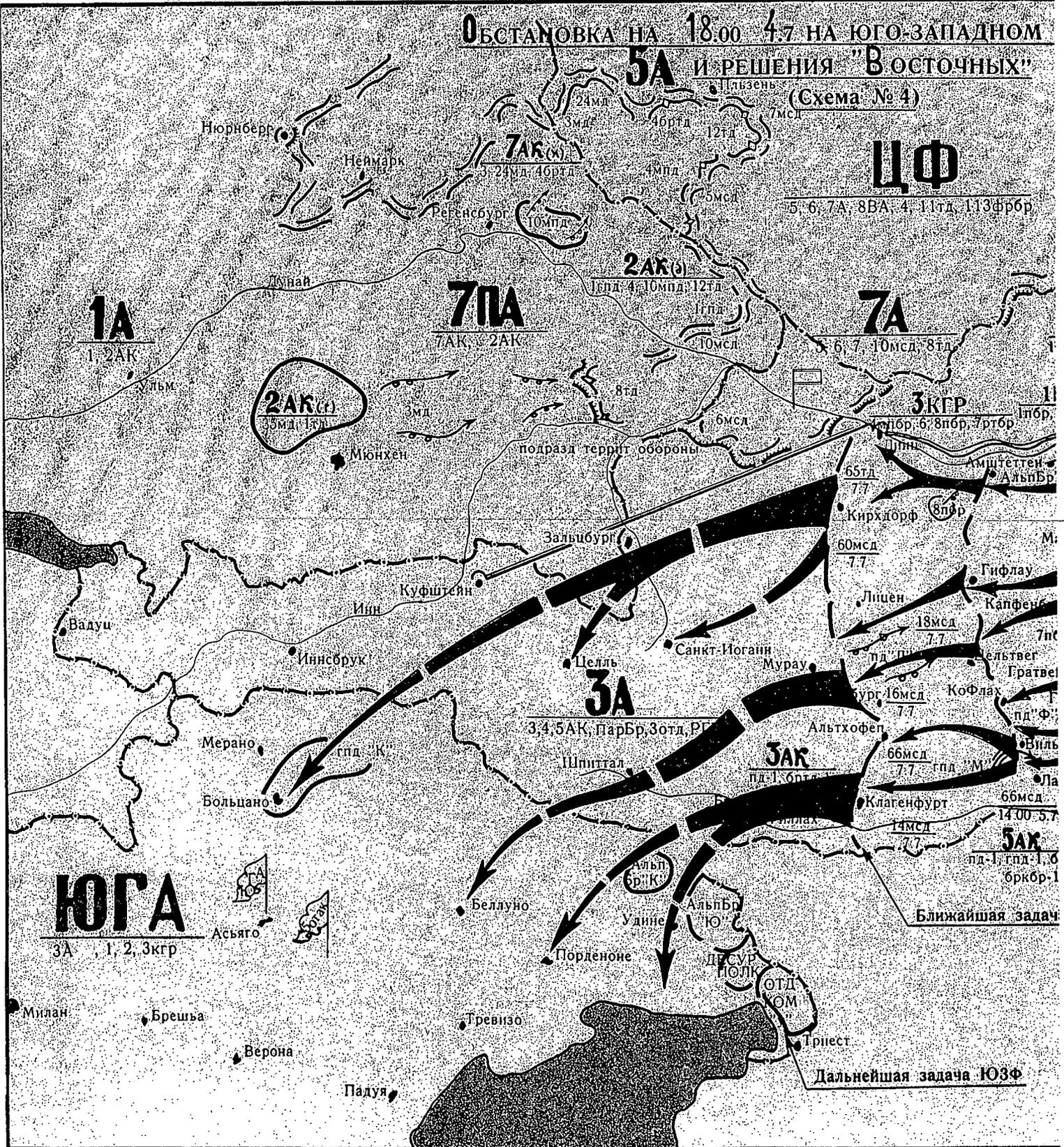
ОБСТАНОВКА НА 18.00 4.7 НА ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОМ

5А И РЕШЕНИЯ "В ВОСТОЧНЫХ"

(Схема № 4)

ЦФ

5, 6, 7А, 8ВА, 4, 11тд, 113фрбр



1А

1, 2АК

2АК(с)

7ПА

7АК, 2АК

2АК(с)

12тд, 10мпд, 11тд, 10мсл

7А

6, 7, 10мсл, 8тд

3А

3, 4, 5АК, ПарБр, 3отд, РП

3АК

14мсл, 1400-57

ЮГА

3А, 1, 2, 3кгр

Ближайшая задача

Дальнейшая задача ЮЗФ

УСТАНОВКА НА 18:00 4.7. НА ЮЖНОМ НАПР
И РЕШЕНИЯ "ВОСТОЧНЫХ"

(СХЕМА № 5)

3 ЮФ

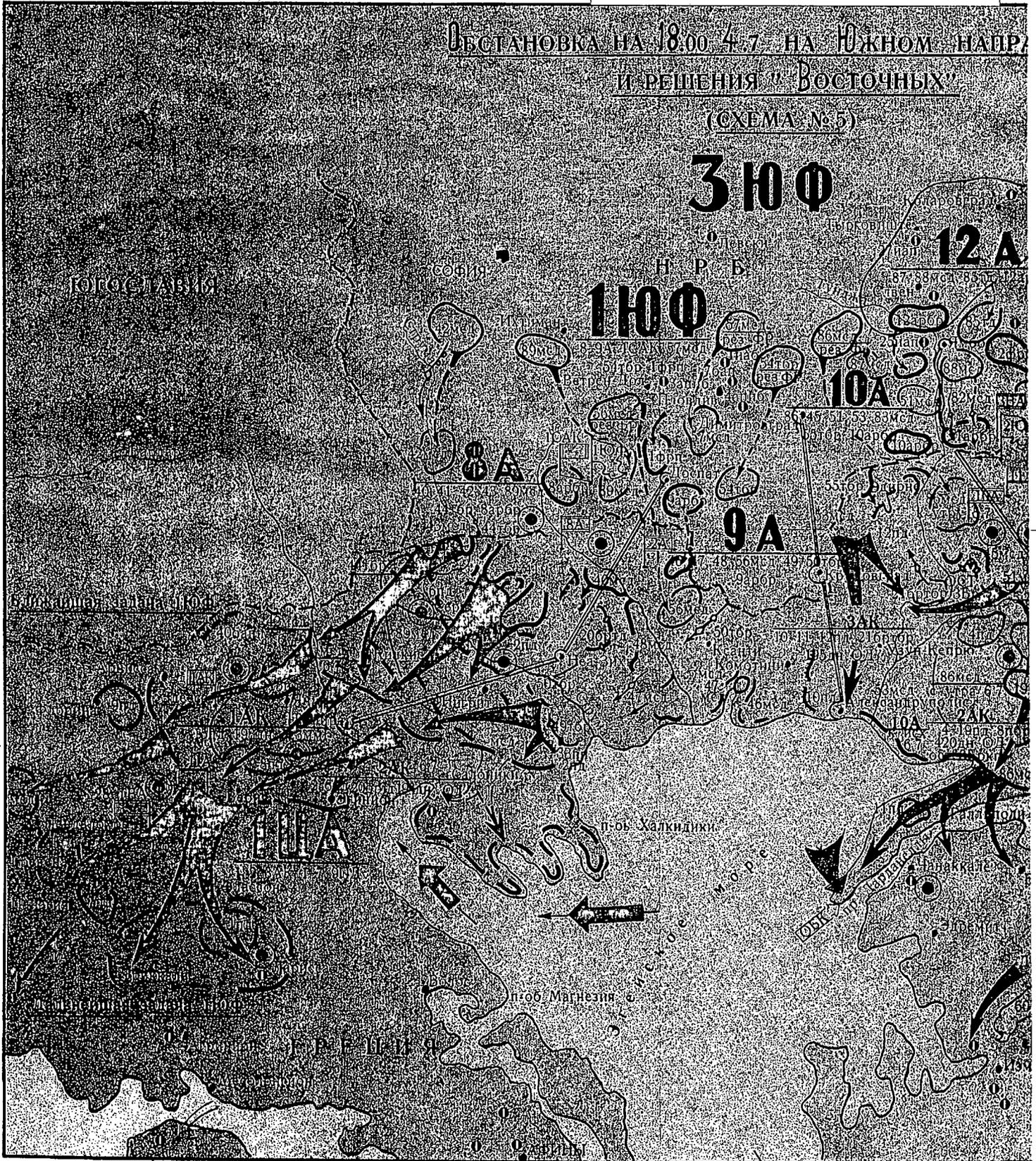
12 А

1 ЮФ

10 А

9 А

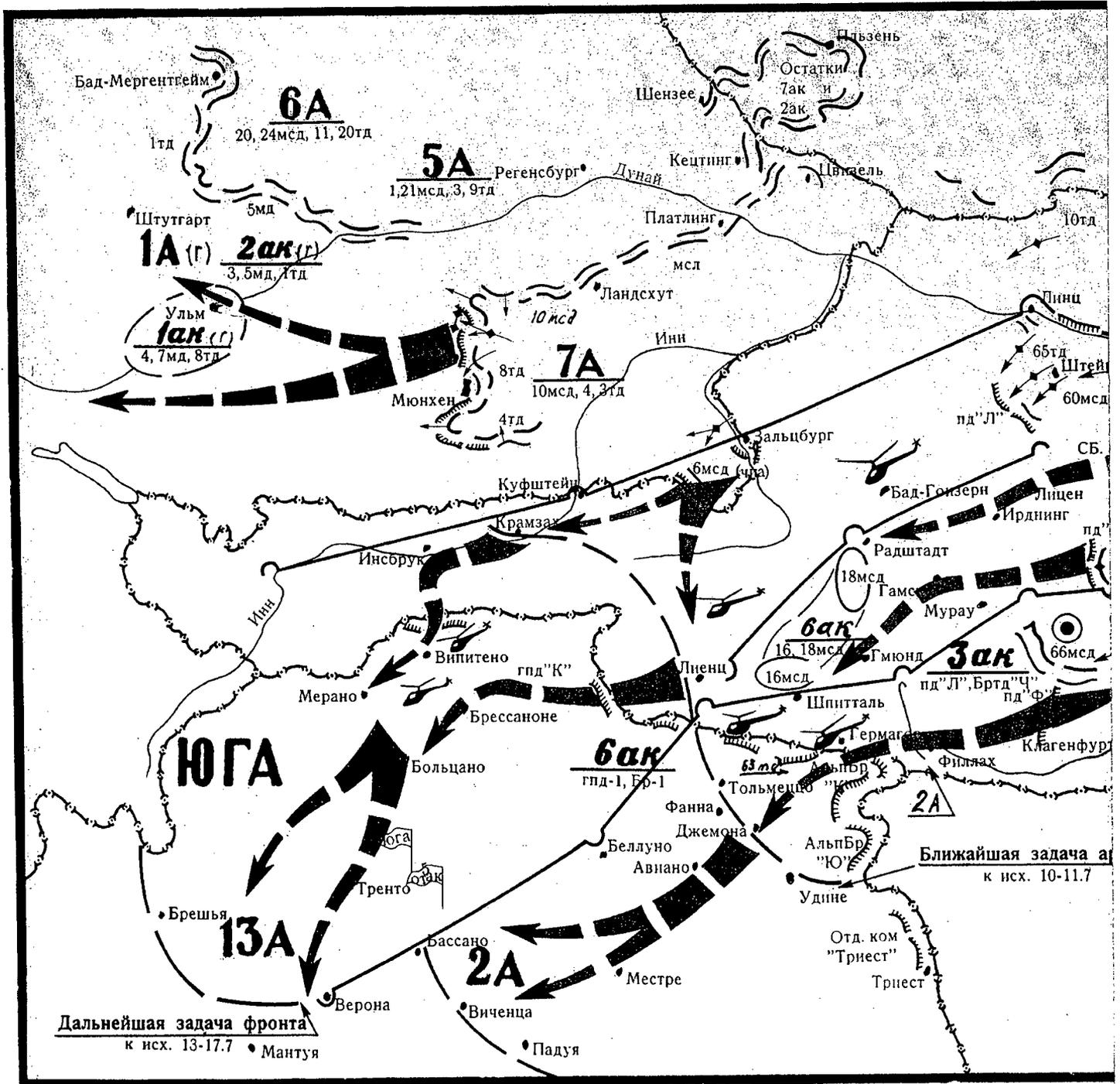
11 А



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РЕШЕНИЯ "ВОСТОЧНЫХ" ПО ОБСТАНОВКЕ НА 18.00 НА ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОМ НАПРАВЛЕНИИ (Схема № 6)



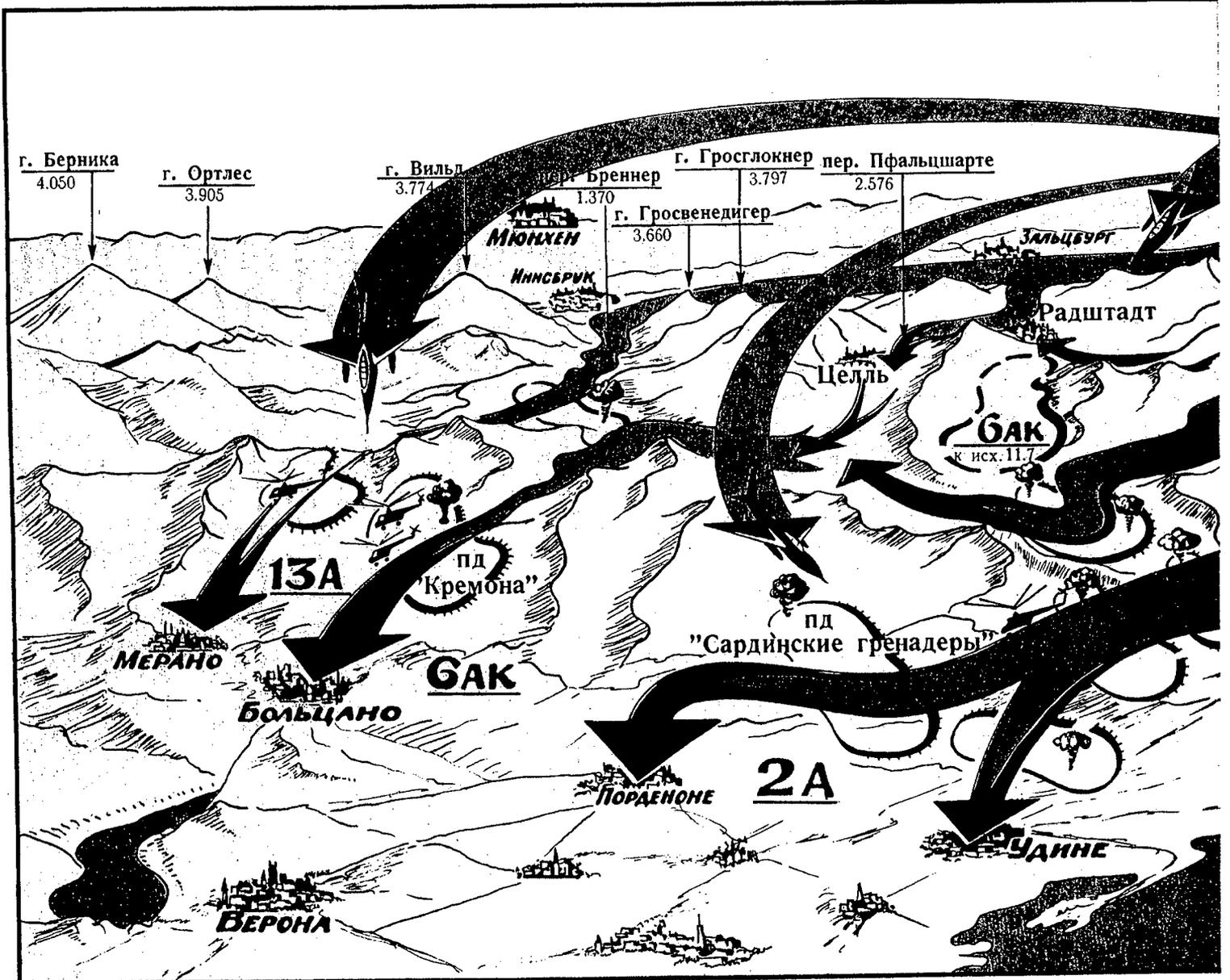
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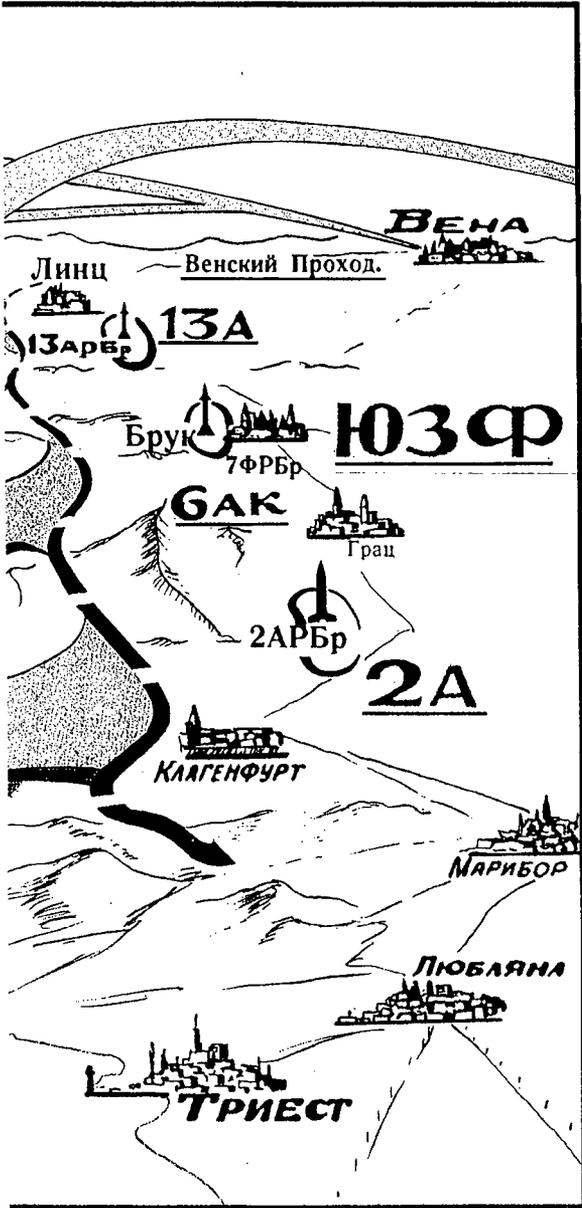
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ДЕЙСТВИЯ ВОЙСК ЮЗФ В ВОСТОЧНЫХ АЛЬПАХ

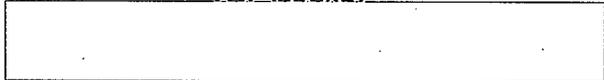
СХЕМА №7



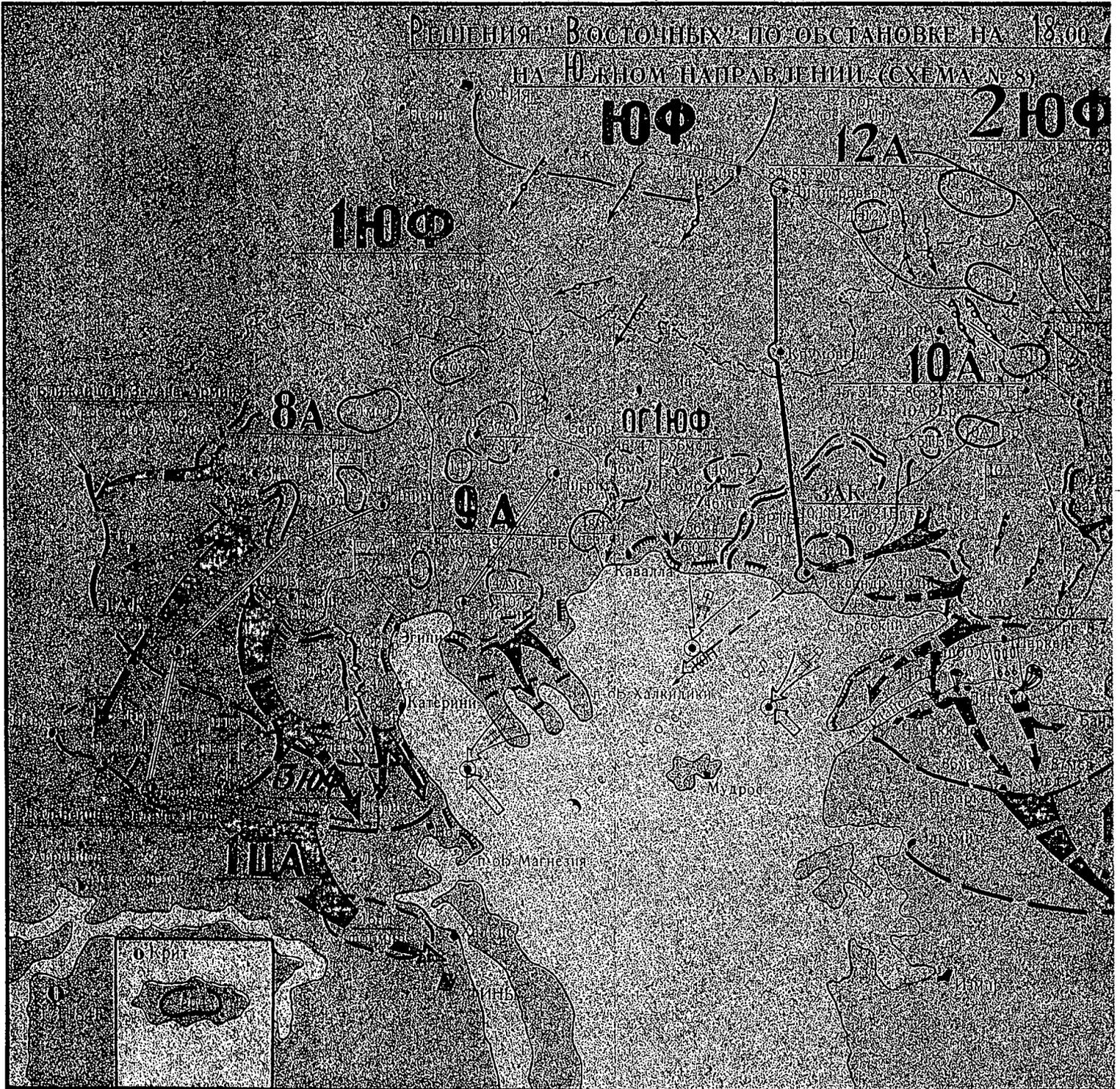
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РЕШЕНИЯ ВОСТОЧНЫХ ПО ОБСТАНОВКЕ НА 18.00
НА ЮЖНОМ НАПРАВЛЕНИИ (СХЕМА № 8)



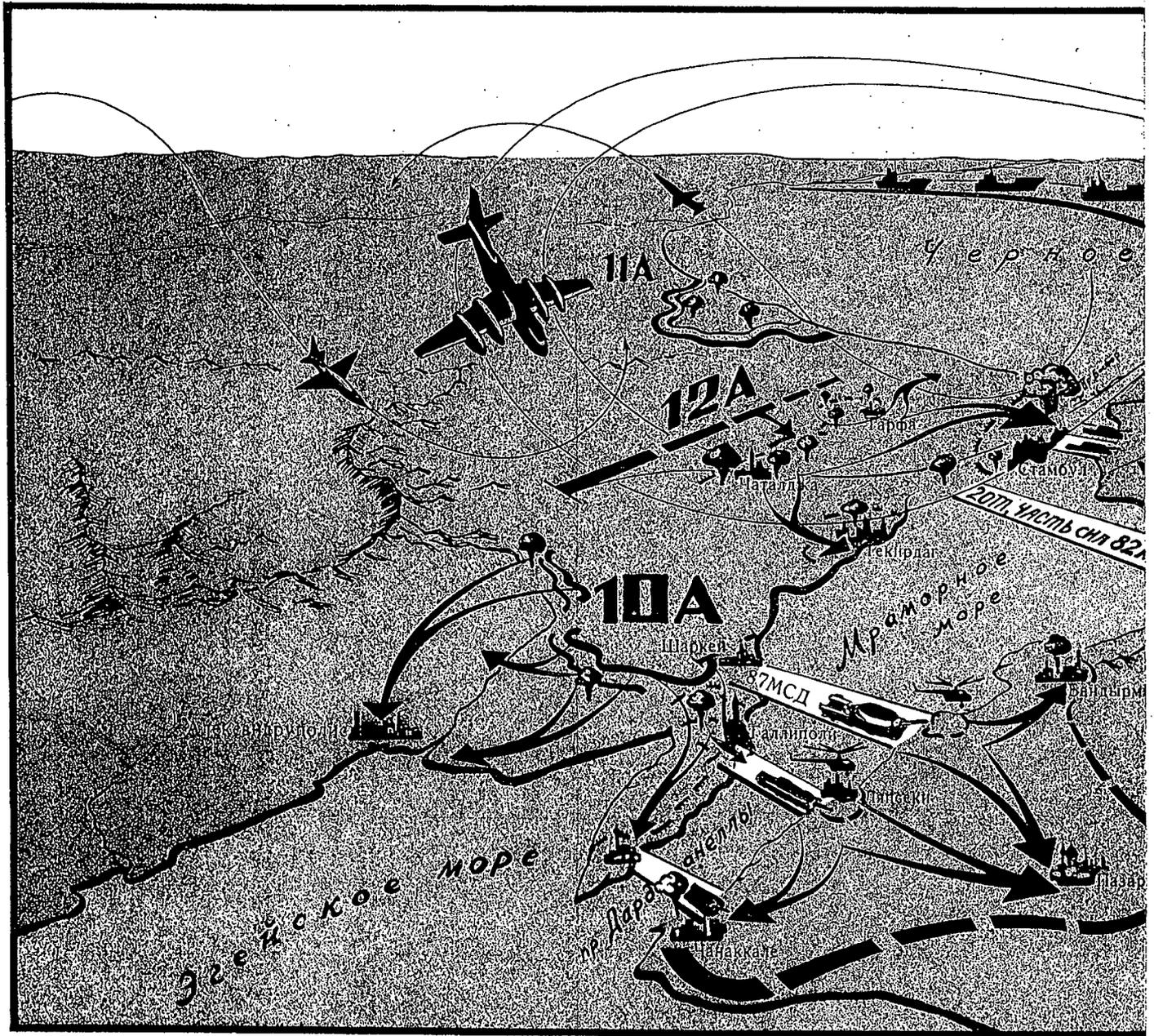


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ДЕЙСТВИЯ ВОЙСК 2 ЮФ НА ПРИМОРСКОМ НАПРАВ

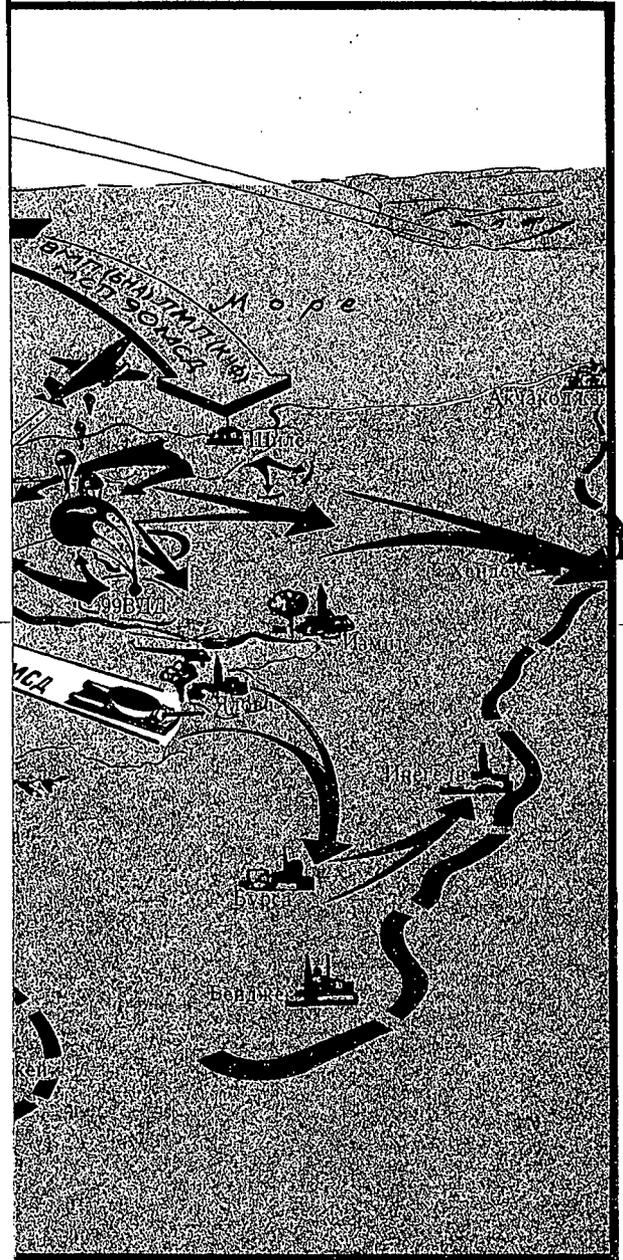
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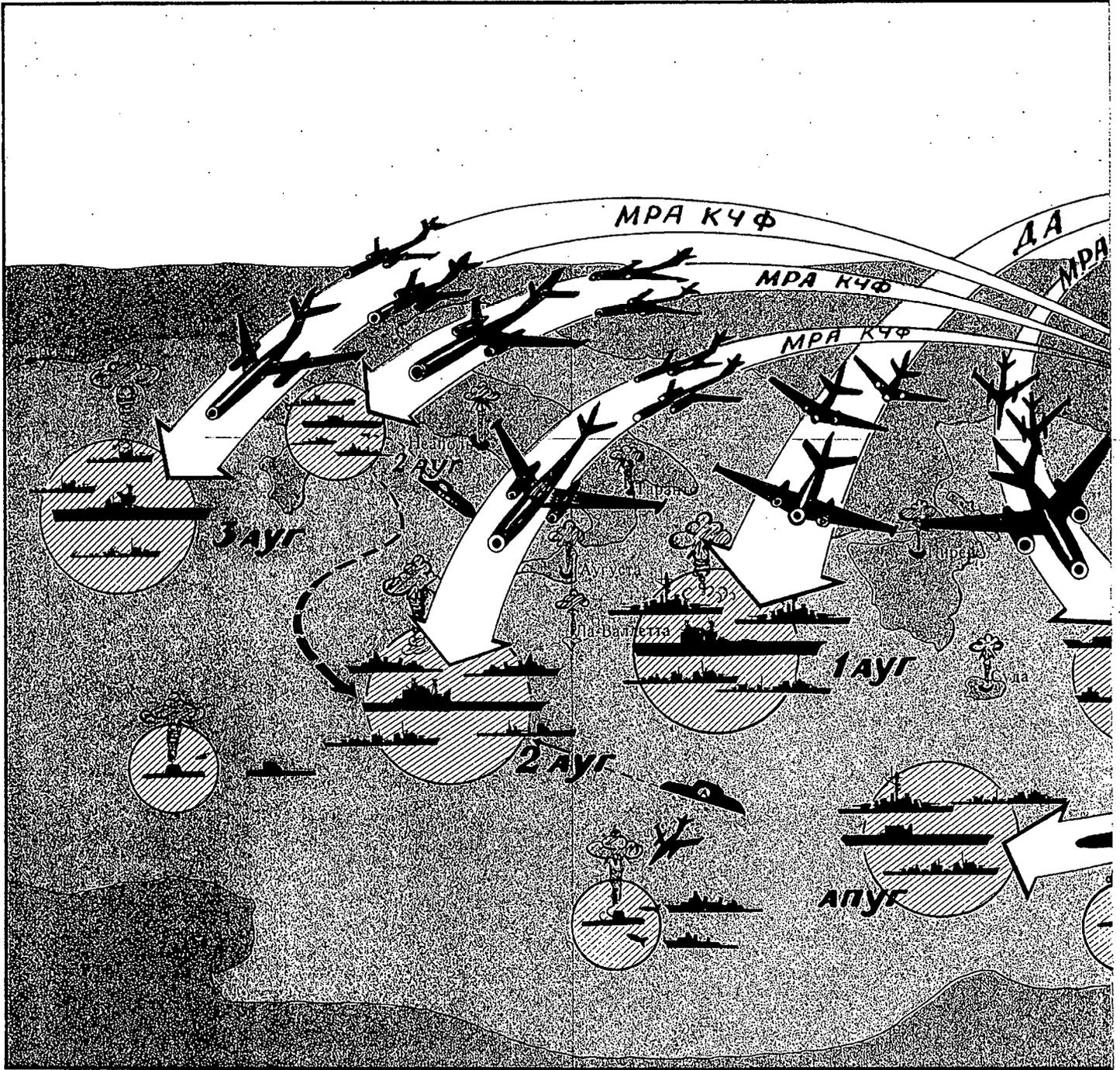
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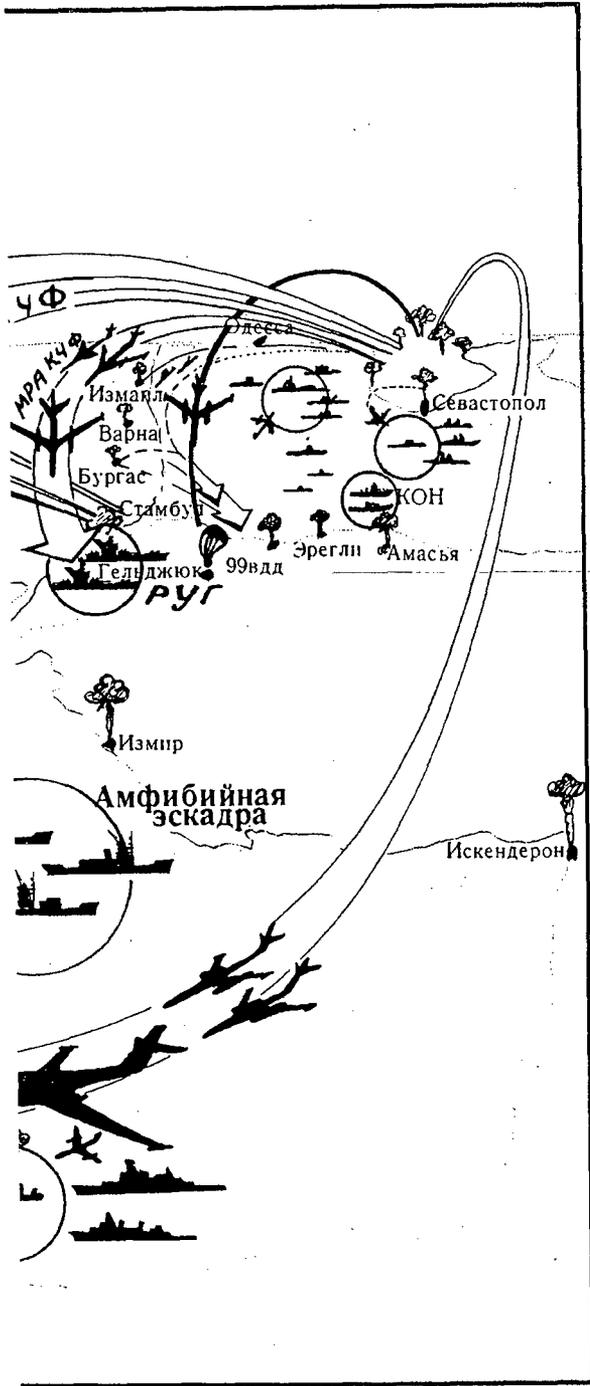
БОЕВЫЕ ДЕЙСТВИЯ ВОЕННО-МОРСКИХ ФЛОТОВ

СХЕМА №10



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ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ПРОЛИВОВ

(СХЕМА №11)

Дарданеллы

Ж

ОСНОВНЫЕ ДАННЫЕ

ДЛИНА - 117км
 ШИРИНА - 1,3-25,2км
 ГЛУБИНА - 29-106м
 Преобладающая - 50-70м
 Длина узкой части - 65км
 ШИРИНА - 1,3-7,5км
 ГЛУБИНА - 40-100м
 Грунт дна илистый
 В проливе существуют
 два течения:
 -верхнее из Мраморного
 моря в Эгейское
 (скорость - 0,5-1,5м/сек)
 -нижнее в Мраморное
 море
 Глубина границы раздела
 течений - 10-30м



Береговая линия слабо
 изрезанная, удобных бухт
 мало. Европейский берег
 высокий и приглубый, ази-
 атский преимущественно
 низкий, отмельный. В марте-
 октябре преобладают се-
 верные, северо-восточные
 ветры в остальное время—
 юго-западные. Туманы ча-
 сты в мае-октябре.

Участки удобные для
 переправы войск показаны
 на схеме.

ОСНОВНЫЕ ДАННЫЕ

ДЛИНА - 30км
 ШИРИНА - 0,7-
 ГЛУБИНА - 27,5
 Преобладающая - 65м
 Грунт дна илистый
 В проливе существуют
 два течения:
 -верхнее—к
 Мраморному морю
 (скорость - 0,5-1,
 -нижнее—к Черному
 морю
 (скорость - 0,3-0,8
 Глубина границы раздела
 течений - 10-50м



Секретно

Тосфор



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