

## **The Warsaw Pact and Romania**

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### **SUMMARY**

The Warsaw-Pact was the political-military alliance of the socialist European states allied at the Soviet-Union and found under its influence. The member countries used its huge military potential and tried to defend their interests in spite of the presence of another rival military block on the continent.

In the same time the Warsaw Treaty or Pact represented a specific structure for the post - war historical period, called the Cold War period, materialized in the military field of Europe in the apparition and existence of two rival alliances. N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Treaty, which were gouverned by the two world super-powers : SUA and URSS, promoting two opposite models of economical and social political organisation of the contemporary society: capitalism and socialism.

The competition for supremacy in military field, especially on the condition of the nuclear armament apparition, determined a huge development of the armament industry, never seen before in the humanity history, as well as a big loss of material, financial and human intelligence resources, all these have been finalised through the collapse of URSS, which disappeared on the political map of the world, being separated in a few component republics, the place and role of the inheritor of the Soviet Union being taken by the Russian Federation.

On its turn, the political-military alliance the Warsaw Treaty, finished its activity after 36 years of existence, and N.A.T.O. succeed to include in its structures, in two sessions, the ancient members of the Treaty, except the Russian Federation and its republics, and also without the three Baltic states, which finally became members of the North Atlantic Pact.

During the 36 years of existence, between 1955 and 1991, under the conditions of the “Iron curtain” which devided the continent, of the ideological war, of certain periods of détente and tension of the relations between the two pacts, even of crisis, on the European continent thire were years of peace and stability, even more then during the anterior historical periods of our continent.

Romania was a founding member of the Alliance, but after 1964 it had distinct position even unique in the Treaty, refusing constantly the full integration in its structures.

Between the relations existing in the Treaty there have been also tensioned moments, caused by the will of certain members to reform the system or even to leave it.

This is the cause of the three crisis moments in the history of the Treaty and I could mention the Hungary revolution (1956) “The five” intervention in Czechoslovakia (1968) and the Poland crisis (1980-1981).

Those who study seriously the history of the continent or the history of the European socialist states couldn't ignore the existence and the actions bound up with this political-military alliance. Even more in the Romanian situation which had a distinct position.

That's why I considered that an analysis of the Warsaw Treaty history, underlining Romania particular position, is a necessity.

We also must take into account the fact that during the Pact existence, it was impossible to make studies on this subject, the Treaty activity being a quasi-taboo subject, and the access at documents was discouraged by the extraordinary restrictions of the military secret.

Beside this, all which was written until 1990 on the both sides of the “Iron curtain”, was influenced by the ideological war between the two systems: capitalist and socialist.

I think that after the Warsaw Treaty finished it's activity, its time for the historians to study seriously this period of recent history, even more since, they are the living protagonists which could after valuable testimonies in keeping with the ancient motto “sine ira et studio”.

The historiography is not too rich especially concerning the ancient member states of the Alliance.

During the first ten years after its foundation, there were elaborated only official documents and discourses, propaganda commentaries, which eulogized the initiative of its apparition.

Another works were also edited at anniversary dates. We could quote in this direction the two volumes of official documents edited in Bucharest, Political Editure in 1975 and 1980, due to the celebration of twenty and respective twenty five years of the apparition of the Treaty.

After 1989, and especially after the self dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty in 1991, the subject was not very analysed by the specialists. Most frequently it was bound with the rival military organisation which survived, NATO.

Also, after 1990, many volumes with memorial character appeared being written by some members of the leadership of the PCR and of the

army, where a lot of very important information for this work subject is present.

I would quote in this direction the Lavinia Betea, discussions with the communist leaders or the books written by C. Olteanu, Ion Gheorghe and Corneliu Soare. I have also used the personal discussions of the superior officers which worked for the Moscow Treaty structures or at the military department of C.C. of PCR.

The documents which talk about the Romania involvement became accessible only after 1992 and only until 1974, but they were very useful, especially concerning the issue regarding the leadership structures and the Moscow control.

The works about this subject are more numerous in West and SUA, but we must take into account the same missing of the direct information as well as the fact that the Treaty was the NATO adversary.

Between the recent international manifestations dedicated entirely to the present work subject, we must underline the "International Project of History of the Cold War" edited by the Centre of Studies "Woodrow Wilson", from Washington DC, created in 1991, which offered a rich programme of identification and classifications of the archivist finds from different states as well as the specialists formation in this field. There have been created, study centres for the cold war period in the states of central and South-East Europe-for example: The Centre of Contemporary History of the Cold War from Prague, the Institute of Political Studies from Warsaw, being a part of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the department of resources for the cold war from Budapest, and in Romania, The Institute of Defence Political Studies and Military History, founded in 1969 and reorganized in 1998. A part of this project was represented by the printing of some important documents from the archives, among which a could mention: the documents belonging to the Consultative Political Committee, for the years 1956-1958; to the Ministries of Defence Committee between 1969-1990, materials accessible on internet.

In the same regards, on April 2001, Bucharest was the amphitryon of an international Seminar concerning the Cold War studies, the Symposium works being edited.

Also in Bucharest, on October 2002, hosted by the same Institute of Defence Political Studies and Military History, took place an International Symposium having as topic exactly the title of the present work: Romania and the Warsaw Treaty.

The communications presented by the participants (SUA, Great Britain, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary and Romania) underlined the fact that the present stage of the researches is still on an incipient phase, the documentary sources are not accessible, a lot of archives are closed and

after the physical disparition of some participants a lot of unique testimonies are lost.

The work structure is in concordance with the stage of researches.

The study of the activity of the political military organisations of the Warsaw Treaty being at the beginning, I didn't find any work to present the activity of the specific military and politic structures of the Organisation, during the whole period of its existence.

Owing to this situation I realised an organisation of the material I found after a structure I considered logical, resulted from the 36 years old history of the Pact. So, the first part of my work underlines the political-military post-war situations, that determined the apparition of the two rival political-military blocks.

In this context I dedicated a particular chapter to the Romanian situation, to the reasons of its adhesion at the Treaty.

Thus, if we keep in mind the fact that NATO appeared in 1949 as a military and political structure in order to defend the old continent from the potential military and ideologic communist danger, but also to legitimate the presence of the American army forces; the constitution of the Warsaw Treaty resulted from the bipolarism logic, from the political-military doctrines which appeared during the past war period (for example: the doctrine of the communist expansion, which is named after Truman and Eiserhoven presidents), but also from the socialism, which started from one country but was transformed into a world wide system or after the propaganda of those years, into the "Socialist Camp".

Regarding the Romania situation, which I dedicated a particular sub-chapter, on the bases of the found materials, I reached the conclusion that the Romanian state government had no chance. The post war world had already been separated by the other Romania was under the Soviet influence, having the Red army troupes on its land, treated as a defeated, with a decimated army, and after the Paris Peace Treaty, it had to pay war compensations.

From a geostrategic point of view the country was situated in the Soviet domination sphere, at the URSS frontier, and near other socialist states, and in NATO military plans it was regarded like an enemy which needed to be conquered and annihilated. In the same content, the only thing Bucharest could do was to obey Moscow dispositions, to become a founding member, but to get a certain autonomy, especially after the Soviet troupes departure, to have a distinct position which is able to allow the national interest affirmation and to be as a mediator between different parts in conflict.

I dedicated the second chapter of my work to the evolution of the political military structures, taking into account the fact that at the beginning they were very simple, subordinated to the Defence Ministry

from URSS, and the Constitution of some own structures , independent from the soviet ones, was a process which lasted for years, the main stage being accomplished in 1969 and the debates and organisation measures keeping on until the Treaty cancellation.

The study of the documents linked by the Statutes elaboration, for the peace period as well as for the war one, is very important for the Romania history, because our country was the only one that reacted against the Sovietic project of integration of the members states, after NATO model (France declared against this model).

In the some time presenting each political an military organism I showed the distinct Romania position, underling the fact our country had an unique attitude among the Pact members. I mentioned in this sense the fact that Romania was the only member country which declared aganist the Treaty extension, through Mongolia inclusion, the fact that because of our country attitude, it took to decades (from 1956 until 1976)in order to form the External Politics Commission.

The third chapter is reserved to the United Army Forces, taking into account that the Treaty was firstly a military organisation and the troupes affected by each member state of the alliance, reunited in the United Army Forces, resented the basis of its military power.

I did this, taking into account the human effectives and the fight armament, the budgets allotted to the military expenses, the strategy and the tactics, the military doctrine. In this context, I underlined the fact that Romania was the only member which had no soviet troupes on its land since 1958, and after 1969, it refused systematically the participation at execises with troupes on the other states land and especially on its own territory.

Also, after 1968, our country created its own defence industry, refusing this way the integration in the production of the necessary equipment, training itself after its own rules and refusing the Moscow inspectors presence.

Beside this, Romania had its own national doctrine, and the one of the Warsaw Treaty was adopted only for the last years of its existence.

The last part, the chapter no.4, was dedicated to the political activity, and especially to the events that marked the Organisation history, the so called difficult moments, linked by the events from Poland and Hungary, then those from Czechoslovakia and Poland, correlated with the so called “the doctrine of the limited sovereignty”( Brynew-Sonneufield)

View the fact that in the communiqués and the declarations of the Consultative Politic Commiltee, the Treaty members at he URSS’s initiative took position in certain problems that marked the history of the period. I also presented those linked by the Germany and Berlin particular situation, both divided, as well by the Indo-China wars, the wars from

Near East and Middle East, the crisis from African states, Latin America states, even if the Cuba rockets.

For the final part of the Treaty history I took into account the influence the Gorbaciov's reforms had and the Germany unification, as well as the revolutionary events from 1989 from this part of Europe.

Of course that the place and the role Romania had within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, is still an open subject, which was debated in the International Symposium with the topic "Romania and the Warsaw Treaty" (Bucharest 3-6 October 2002 )

I thought after having analysed the documents and the testimonies I had access at, Romanian was neither a rebel ally, near a state that played the someoneelse games, it had a particular position, it was a special voice among the Treaty members, it was convinced that it couldn't leave it, but its position was tolerated by the leaders of the two alliances, URSS and SUA, Romania playing in a certain way, the role of France within the framework of NATO.

This is of course, an attempt to present the history of this political military alliance on the basis of the investigation of the Romanian archives in the limit of the possibilities as well as the study of the foreign works in this field.

The further researches about this subject will allow possible completions, depending on the access at the Romanian or foreign archives.

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