

August 10, 1973

**Intelligence Note, Polish Embassy in Bucharest,
'Regarding Soviet-Romanian Treaty of Friendship,
Cooperation and Mutual Assistance'**

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Summary:

The Polish Embassy in Romania reports on the changed text to the updated Soviet-Romanian treaty. The main differences were the exclusion of references to West Germany, the Warsaw Pact, and obligations of mutual military assistance.

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Urgent Intelligence Note

Regarding Soviet-Romanian treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

In December last year both parties agreed - with the Romanians' initiative - that work will be initiated to conclude a new agreement in place of the previous one, signed in 1948. As a result of negotiations that lasted - on and off - between January and May this year and were carried out on the basis of the Soviet project, the text of the Treaty was agreed, which we received from Soviet comrades. This Treaty is not significantly different - it seems - from the Soviet project and does not differ significantly from agreements concluded in recent years between other socialist countries, especially between the USSR and Hungary and Bulgaria. Differences, which might require some consideration and which marked the agreed text or in the course of negotiations are as follows:

I/ During the negotiations, Romania insisted that the agreement did not contain references, even allusive, to the West German forces of revisionism, militarism and revenge.

The agreed text does not mention the revisionism, but says in the introduction of "preventing imperialism, militarism and revanchist aspirations" and in Article 7, of "preventing aggression on the part of any forces of imperialism, militarism and revenge."

II/ During the negotiations, Romania initially sought to ensure that there was no mention of the Warsaw Pact. In the course of further discussions they agreed only on the statement in the text of a positive assessment of the existence of the Warsaw Pact, as a response to the emergence of NATO, but avoided any mention of the obligations arising out of the Warsaw Pact, claiming that it could be interpreted as a denial by the socialist countries declared readiness to liquidate military blocks.

However, the agreed text says in the introduction: "... definitely and fully comply with the obligations laid down firmly in the Warsaw Pact of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 14th May 1955, concluded in response to the threat posed by NATO, during the term of the Treaty," . / the final fragment: " during the term of ... " is not present in any of the agreements between the socialist countries/.

In addition, Article 7 states:

"The contracting parties express their determination to take all necessary steps to prevent any aggression on the part of the forces of imperialism, militarism and revenge, together with other countries-parties to the Pact in accordance with the Warsaw Pact provisions to ensure the integrity of national borders of the Warsaw Pact contracting parties and to repel the aggressor".

III/ In the first phase of talks, Romanians did not agree on any mention of the obligations of the parties to mutual assistance in order to defend existing borders. Although they later retreated from this position, but they still did not agree on a commitment to defend national borders of the Warsaw Pact countries claiming, that provisions regarding the borders of both Contracting States are sufficient.

Article 7 of the agreed text deals with these issues:

"The parties declare that one of the main conditions to ensure European security is the integrity of national borders in Europe, formed after World War II", / The same

provision was in the Soviet-Hungarian Agreement /.

The text of Article 2 has been described above.

IV/ Romanians initially insisted, that provision ensuring the other contracting party's assistance in case of aggression by a third country or a group of countries, be limited to cases, where aggression is made by an "imperialist" or "capitalist" country. However, the agreed text omitted these terms - it is said in the Agreement about "armed aggression from any country or group of countries" - as in many other Agreements between socialist countries.

In the same article Romania gained provisions to reduce its obligations as a contracting party, only to assistance "necessary to repel the armed attack" / no such limitation in any of the other agreements between SS [Socialist States].

V/ The "principles of socialist internationalism" are highlighted more clearly in this agreement than in other agreements, particularly in the context of bilateral friendship and Soviet-Romanian. Cooperation.

A much greater emphasis than in other Agreements is placed on "strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries" with a special article dedicated to this issue.

VI/ Romanians initially did not want to agree on putting "the principles of international socialist division of labor" in the Agreement - but later relented.

The article related to developing cooperation "within the CMEA" was supplemented at the initiative of the Romanians with the words: "and the other countries of the socialist community."

VII/ In the initial phase of the talks Romanians did not express their consent to the regulation, which would provide for the consultation of major international issues. Then they agreed to do so, but did not want to put in the Treaty the principle of agreeing positions on these matters, which are found only in certain Agreements between socialist countries. Eventually, a compromise text was agreed upon as follows: " In order to agree their position, the contracting parties shall consult each other on all important international issues, related to the interests of both countries."

As one may know, Romania has taken the initiative of concluding similar agreements with Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Negotiations with Bulgaria ended with the text agreed , in negotiations with Hungary there was a pause, talks with Czechoslovakia probably has not yet begun.

The negotiations with Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary have revealed differences of views similar to those that occurred during the Soviet-Romanian negotiations.

In the current situation, especially after the USSR - SRR and PRB -SRR treaties have been agreed upon, one cannot rule out that Romania will propose the new treaty with Poland.