

THE WARSAW PACT: AN ALLIANCE IN  
THE AGE OF NEGOTIATIONS

by

11  
349 5839

BILLY CARL BROWN

B.S., Texas A&M University, 1962

---

A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1973

Approved by:

  
Major Professor

LD  
2668  
R4  
1973  
B79  
C.2  
Document

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is dedicated to Connie, Elizabeth, and Billy -- whose sacrifice enabled me to continue when the family was being asked to give too much.

A special acknowledgement goes to my close friend and former fellow officer, Anthony P. Terracciano, who has, over the years, probably unknowingly, stimulated my intellectual curiosity and broadened my horizons of life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . . .	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. ORIGIN OF THE WARSAW PACT . . . . .	4
Post World War II Russian Foreign Policy	
Russian-East European Security Prior to	
the Warsaw Treaty Organization	
Establishment of the Warsaw Treaty	
Organization	
III. THE WARSAW TREATY . . . . .	14
An Alliance of Equals?	
Provisions of the Treaty	
Status-of-Forces Agreements	
IV. THE WARSAW PACT AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1968 . . . . .	22
External Defense or Internal Control	
Sovereignty and the Brezhnev Doctrine	
Post Invasion Pact Changes	
V. THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION IN THE	
AGE OF NEGOTIATIONS . . . . .	37
The Impact of Detente	
Ostpolitik and the WTO	
Russian and WTO Support for a Conference	
on European Security and Cooperation	
VI. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE . . . . .	59
Problems Within the Warsaw Treaty	
Organization	
A New Forum for Europe?	
Conclusion	
FOOTNOTES . . . . .	74
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	81
APPENDICES . . . . .	86

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) in relation to the period of intensive international negotiations conducted since 1960. Specifically, the examination will consider the Pact's formation, significant events that have affected the Alliance, and what may be some of the prospects for change as a result of intra-alliance and international discussions.

It is assumed, a priori, that the WTO has been and continues to be in 1973, both a means of external defense and internal control for the Soviet Union. Military considerations will be discussed primarily in relation to the overall military-political nature of the organization. Examination of WTO developments in individual countries will be discussed only to show the impact on the alliance as a joint East European and Russian organization.

Credit has sometimes been given to alliances for preserving peace by insuring order and stability among the major nation-states. Modern alliances, such as the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have also been rated as instruments of peace even though they have prepared for war since their beginning. Alliances have in fact shown this duality of personality -- war promoting and peace-seeking -- throughout the ages.<sup>1</sup>

Alliance strategies have often been linked to primarily domestic needs, but common perceptions of threat have probably been the most frequent sources of such strategies. As Thucydides noted over 2000 years ago, "mutual fear is the only solid basis upon which to organize an alliance."<sup>2</sup>

What has been the "nature" of the Warsaw Pact as an alliance? Is the WTO still an integral part of the Soviet Union's strategic and diplomatic considerations? What impact has the age of intensive international negotiations since 1960 had upon the alliance? These are some of the questions that will receive a close analysis in this study. But before these questions are considered, the events which led to the formation of the WTO should be examined in an attempt to understand the Soviet Union's view of the need for such an alliance.

Chapter II will concentrate on the events leading to the creation of the WTO. The political and military structure established by the Warsaw Treaty and subsequent agreements will be discussed in Chapter III. Chapter IV will analyze the Czechoslovakian crisis of 1968 and the role of the Warsaw Pact as an alliance in the crisis. The impact of the age of intensive negotiations of the 1960's and 1970's will be examined in Chapter V. The concluding section, Chapter VI, will evaluate some of the problems facing the alliance and consider what may be some of the prospects for the future.

### Methodology

The emphasis of the discussion in the study will be