The book deals with the political, military, and economic aspects of Soviet occupation in Austria, Hungary, and Romania in a comparative perspective. The documents come from Hungarian, Romanian and Russian archives. The editors argue that the nature of Soviet foreign policy has been misunderstood. Existing literature has revolved around the explanation of Soviet foreign policy from the perspective of when and why Stalin made the decision to introduce Bolshevik political systems in the Soviet sphere of influence. But as the book will show the Soviet conquest of East-Central Europe had an imperial dimension and allowed the Soviet Union to use the territory it occupied as military and economic space. The book will also focus on the human experience of Soviet occupation: atrocities, rape, plundering and deportations.

"This fascinating collection of declassified documents from Austria, Hungary, Romania, and Russia sheds valuable comparative light on Soviet military occupation policies in Central Europe during the final year of World War II and the first several years after. The editors have done a splendid job of introducing and annotating the documents, allowing readers to trace the similarities and differences of the Soviet occupation regimes in Austria, Hungary, and Romania. The book not only reveals the Soviet Union's underlying political, military, and economic goals and methods in these three countries, but also vividly brings out what the occupation was like for ordinary people, including the atrocities perpetrated by Soviet troops against civilians. "

Mark Kramer, Director of Cold War Studies, Harvard University

"This documentary volume will make a timely contribution to our understanding of the origins of the Cold War in Central Europe by focusing on the economic depredations of Soviet occupation policies in Romania, Hungary and Austria, next to Moscow's political goals of the communization of these countries. By bringing key documents together in one single volume in English, this book offers penetrating new insights into Soviet policies in these three countries."

Günter Bischof, University Research and Marshall Plan Professor of History and Director of CenterAustria, University of New Orleans

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Csaba Békés, Cold War History Research Center, Budapest, Hungary

László Borhl, Indiana University, USA

Peter Ruggenthaler, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on War Consequences, Graz, Austria

Ottmar Trasca, Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, Romania



Central European University Press Budapest - New York Sales and information: ceupress@press.ceu.edu Website: http://www.ceupress.com

SOVIET OCCUPATION OF ROMANIA, HUNGARY ND AUSTRIA 1944/45-1948/49



SOVIET OCCUPATION OF ROMANIA, HUNGARY, **AND AUSTRIA** 1944/45-1948/49



EDITED BY CSABA BÉKÉS, LÁSZLÓ BORHI, PETER RUGGENTHALER, OTTMAR TRAȘCĂ





SOVIET OCCUPATION OF ROMANIA, HUNGARY, AND AUSTRIA 1944/45–1948/49

Edited by

Csaba Békés, László Borhi, Peter Ruggenthaler, and Ottmar Trașcă

Members of editorial board

Dieter Bacher, Florian Banu, Magdolna Baráth, Dorin Dobrincu, Walter M. Iber, Stefan Karner, Harald Knoll, Claudiu Secaşiu, Tamás Stark, Barbara Stelzl-Marx, *and* Virgiliu Țârău

Editorial assistant
SILKE STERN

Translators

ALEX J. KAY, MATTHEW WILLIAM CAPLES, CĂTĂLIN CRISTOLOVEANU, OTMAR BINDER, and JULIJA SCHELLANDER



Central European University Press Budapest–New York









© 2015 Csaba Békés, László Borhi, Peter Ruggenthaler, Ottmar Trașcă

Published in 2015 by

Central European University Press

An imprint of the Central European University Limited Liability Company Nádor utca 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary Tel: +36-1-327-3138 or 327-3000 Fax: +36-1-327-3183

E-mail: ceupress@ceu.hu Website: www.ceupress.com

224 West 57th Street, New York NY 10019, USA Tel: +1-212-547-6932

> Fax: +1-646-557-2416 E-mail: meszarosa@ceu.hu

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the permission of the Publisher.

The research project was sponsored by: Zukunftsfonds der Republik Österreich (Project number: P1-0758 "Sowjetische Besatzung Österreichs, Ungarns und Rumäniens 1944/45-1949 in Dokumenten. Ein Vergleich")

ZukunftsFonds

der Republik Österreich

and:

Austrian Cultural Forum Budapest



ISBN 978-963-386-075-5 cloth

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Printed in Hungary



(





Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Documents	29
ROMANIA	
DOCUMENT No. 1: Memorandum on Atrocities Committed by Soviet Troops, September 12, 1944	31
DOCUMENT No. 2: Note on Soviet Abuses, September 13, 1944	35
DOCUMENT No. 3: Romanian-Soviet Memorandum regarding Romanian Participation in the War against Germany and Hungary, September 28, 1944	39
DOCUMENT No. 4: Report No. 30.001 from the Intelligence Service (SI) of the War Ministry Presented to the Minister of War, General Mihail Racovitză, on the Surveillance of the SI's Activities and Personnel by Special Soviet Authorities, October 4, 1944	44
DOCUMENT No. 5: Romanian Note to the ACC regarding the Implementation of the Armistice Agreement, November 11, 1944	47
DOCUMENT No. 6: Report on the Interrogation of Intelligence Officers by SMERSH regarding Romanian Intelligence Activities on the Eastern Front, October 12, 1944	50
DOCUMENT No. 7: Letter by the Deputy Chairman of the Allied Control Commission in Romania, Lieutenant- General V.P. Vinogradov, to the President of the Council of Ministers, Army Corps Adjutant General Constantin Sănătescu,regarding the Armistice	
Agreement, November 2, 1944	53







DOCUMENT No. 8: Note by Marshal Rodion Malinovskii on the Administration of Northern Transylvania, November 20, 1944	57
DOCUMENT No. 9: Order of the Allied Control Commission in Romania on Relations between the Red Army and the Romanian Authorities, November 29, 1944	58
DOCUMENT No. 10: Note regarding Conduct of Police and Gendarmerie Personnel vis-à-vis Representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces, February 2, 1945	60
DOCUMENT No. 11: Note by Chief of Staff Army Corps Adjutant General Constantin Sănătescu to Lieutenant-General Vinogradov regarding Disarmament of Romanian Units, March 5, 1945	63
DOCUMENT No. 12: Report to L.I. Beriya on the Political Situation in Romania, March 5, 1945	65
DOCUMENT No. 13: Agreement of Economic Cooperation between the Kingdom of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, May 8, 1945	70
DOCUMENT No. 14: Memorandum of Agreement on Economic Cooperation between the Kingdom of Romania and the USSR, May 8, 1945	75
DOCUMENT No. 15: Romanian Position on the Establishment of a Joint Romanian-Soviet Timber Company, Undated [1945]	81
DOCUMENT No. 16: Note by General Vinogradov to Minister of Internal Affairs Teohari Georgescu regarding the Quartering of Soviet Troops, December 6, 1945	86
DOCUMENT No. 17: Meeting of the Council of Ministers regarding the Establishment of the Soviet-Romanian Forestry Company, February 14, 1946	88
DOCUMENT No. 18: Report of the Meeting between Stalin and the Romanian Communist Party Leaders on the Situation in Romania, April 2–3, 1946, Moscow, April 2–3, 1946	102
DOCUMENT No. 19: Transcript of Meeting of Romanian-Soviet Commission of Economic Cooperation, January 28, 1947	119
DOCUMENT No. 20: Aide-memoireDrafted by British Oil Companies Operating in Romania [Excerpt], April 15, 1947	124
DOCUMENT No. 21: Note regarding Soviet Claims on Formerly German- Owned Insurance Companies, April 1948	126
DOCUMENT No. 22: Soviet and Romanian Speeches Delivered on the Occasion of Signing Agreements on Joint Soviet-Romanian	
Companies in Bucharest, November 1, 1948	128



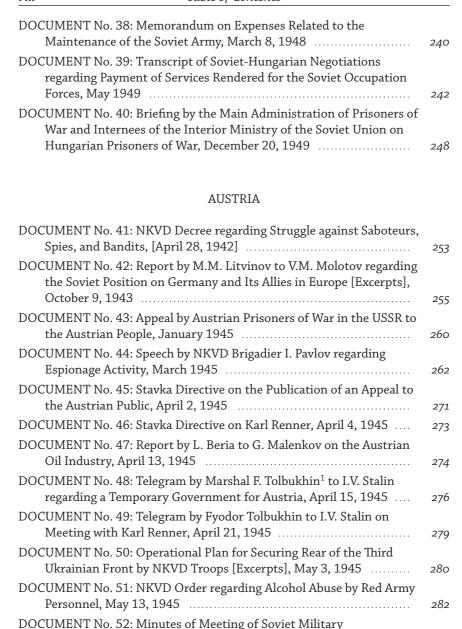




Table of Contents	vii
DOCUMENT No. 23: Founding the Soviet-Romanian Film Company, Sovrom Film, August 9, 1947	134
DOCUMENT No. 24: Transcript of CC Romanian Workers' Party Session regarding the Fate of Sovroms [Excerpts], March 7, 1953	138
HUNGARY	
DOCUMENT No. 25: Letter by the Archbishop of Szatmár to the Apostolic Nuncio on Soviet Deportations from Hungarian Territory, January 25, 1945	145
DOCUMENT No. 26: Letter by the Lord Lieutenant of Szabolcs and Ung Counties to the Minister of Interior on the Roundup of Civilians,	
January 25, 1945 DOCUMENT No. 27: Letter to the Foreign Ministry on Behalf of an Individual Deported by the Soviets, Undated [1945]	150 153
DOCUMENT No. 28: Letter to the Foreign Ministry regarding the Soviet Deportation of Civilians, Undated [1945]	154
DOCUMENT No. 29: Report to the Sixth Hungarian Army Headquarters on Soviet Deportations, May 24, 1945	156
DOCUMENT No. 30: Note regarding Soviet Removal of United Incandescent Bulb and Electrical Company, June 22, 1945	158
regarding Provisions for the Red Army for the Fourth Quarter of 1945, Undated [1945]	163
DOCUMENT No. 32: The Hungarian Foreign Ministry's Note Verbale to the ACC and Georgii Pushkin, the Soviet Representative in Hungary, July 9, 1945	160
DOCUMENT No. 33: Note by the Ministry of Defense Requesting Foreign Ministry Intervention on Behalf of Deported Persons, August 1,	169
1945	171
Soviet Bauxite-Aluminum Companies, April 8, 1946	172
Central Committee, May 17, 1946	185
DOCUMENT No. 36: Note by the Supreme Economic Council on Provisioning and Quartering the Soviet Army, November 19, 1946	222
DOCUMENT No. 37: Memorandum on the Economic and Financial Situation of Hungary, May 17, 1947	225











284

291

Representatives and Communist Members of the Austrian

Government, May 16, 1945

DOCUMENT No. 53: Order by the Fourth Guard Army regarding Summer Routine, May 21, 1945

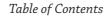


(

DOCUMENT No. 54: NKVD Report on the Investigation and Arrest of Austrians, June 4, 1945	293
DOCUMENT No. 55: NKVD Directive regarding Ideological Training among the Third Ukrainian Front Staff, July 4, 1945	298
DOCUMENT No. 56: A. Vyshinskii's Telegram to Marshal Konev regarding Elections in Austria, November 21, 1945	300
DOCUMENT No. 57: Draft Decree by the Council of Ministers on the Transfer of Austrian Assets to the Soviet Union, March 1946	301
DOCUMENT No. 58: Memorandum by Kiselev on the Political Situation in Austria, June 5, 1946	306
DOCUMENT No. 59: Report on the Moral Discipline of MVD Troops in Austria, October 10, 1946	318
DOCUMENT No. 60: Letter from the Chief of GUPVI M. Krivenko, to the Minister of the Interior, S. Kruglov, on the Repatriation of 5,000 Austrians, January 20, 1947	326
DOCUMENT No. 61: From the Personal File of an Austrian POW, February 9, 1947	328
DOCUMENT No. 62: The GOSPLAN's Report to V. Molotov on Dismantling in Austria, March 7, 1947	330
DOCUMENT No. 63: Order by the Deputy Minister of the Interior, I. Serov, on the Repatriation of Austrian POWs, November 8, 1947	332
DOCUMENT No. 64: Military Order by the Central Army Group Command on the Burial of Soviet Troops Killed in Action, November 13, 1947	336
DOCUMENT No. 65: Report by the Military Commander of Burgenland on Family Members of Military Personnel, January 20, 1948	339
DOCUMENT No. 66: Final Report by the Soviet Section of the AC on Austria for 1947—Summary, Undated [not before January 1948]	340
DOCUMENT No. 67: Record of Conversation between A.A. Zhdanov and the Leader of the Communist Party of Austria, Johann Koplenig, and Friedl Fürnberg, February 13, 1948	346
DOCUMENT No. 68: Report by Smirnov to A. Vyshinskii on the Soviet Position on the Austrian Treaty, Undated [after May 6, 1948]	353
DOCUMENT No. 69: Resolution by the Council of Ministers of the Politburo of the CC of the VKP(b), on the Repatriation of Austrian POWs, June 23, 1948	251
DOCUMENT No. 70: Report on Setting up a Christmas Tree at the Soviet Command Post in Rohrbach, January 4, 1949	355 358







(

DOCUMENT No. 71: Report by V. Merkulov to I.V. Stalin on the Employment of Experts after Foreign Assignment, June 11, 1949	360
DOCUMENT No. 72: Report by V. Merkulov to I.V. Stalin on the Value of Oil Deposits in Austria, September 23, 1949	362
DOCUMENT No. 73: Report by A. Gromyko to I. Stalin on the Status of Negotiations on the Austrian State Treaty, October 21, 1949	363
DOCUMENT No. 74: Resolution by the CC CPSU Politburo on the Interruption of Austrian State Treaty Talks, October 24, 1949	366
DOCUMENT No. 75: Report by the Soviet Political Representative in Austria, A. Koptelov, on the Effect of the Marshall Plan on Austria, June 10, 1950	369
DOCUMENT No. 76: Politburo Resolution No. 449, on the Repatriation of 431 Austrians, September 20, 1950	378
DOCUMENT No. 77: Information for Viennese Women whose Relatives Are Held as POWs in the Soviet Union, December 21, 1950	380
Index of Geographical Names	383
Index of Personal Names	000







¹ Fedor I. Tolbukhin, marshal of the Soviet Union, was the commander-in-chief of the Third Ukrainian Front from 1944 on. He was regarded as the liberator of Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest, and Belgrade. From June 1945 until 1947, he was commander-in-chief of the Southern Group of the Soviet Army (in Romania and Bulgaria). Furthermore, in 1946–1947 he acted as the head of the Military Mission in Yugoslavia.