

The Open House Collection

Documents from the Military Archives of
Former Warsaw Pact Countries
in the Library of Congress

Historical Office
Office of the Secretary of Defense
and
Joint History Office
Office of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Washington, DC 2000

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Foreword

This publication is a compilation of the keynote address and papers presented at the Conference on Cold War Archives in the Decade of Openness sponsored by the Department of Defense and the Library of Congress. The conference, held at the Library of Congress on June 28-29, 2000, highlighted the microfilm document collections of the Defense Department's Open House Program, deposited in the European Division of the Library and open to the public for research.

The Open House Program was initiated in 1996 by the Department of Defense and will end in September 2000. It was fortunate to have the assistance of the Department of the Army's Center of Military History, the Library of Congress, the Department of State, the United States embassies in Warsaw, Budapest, and Bucharest, and independent scholars and consultants. Special acknowledgement, of course, is owed the directors of the military archives in Poland, Hungary, and Romania—Col. Andrzej Bartnik, Dr. Jolán Szijj, and Col. Alexandru Oșca—whose indispensable cooperation helped make Open House a success.

Many people made important contributions to the program. David O. Cooke, Director of Administration and Management in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, signed the protocols with the three cooperating countries and assigned overall responsibility for the program to the Historical Office of the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD). He maintained an abiding and encouraging interest in the project. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy officially endorsed the effort, while the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence (C³I), supplied the funds for its organization and operation and provided logistical and technical assistance consistently of the highest order. The Librarian

of Congress, James H. Billington, lent the resources of the Library for the conference.

Ronald D. Landa of the OSD Historical Office and John T. Greenwood of the Department of the Army's Center of Military History performed the essential spadework that launched Open House and got it well under way during its first two years, 1996-1998. They were largely responsible for establishing the project in the cooperating countries and provided informed and discriminating guidance in selection of records and finding aids. Richard Peze and Susan Bockius of C³I furnished the technical and logistical support without which the work could not have been carried forward. They gave constant expert and effective attention to the many problems that arose and made required periodic visits to the European countries to ensure the continuity of operations. Microfilm technician Robert K. Balmer applied his expertise to servicing the cameras and equipment faithfully and effectively throughout the project.

For more than the last two years of the project, Frank Schubert of the Joint History Office of the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff acted as the coordinator between the OSD Historical Office and the participating countries, maintaining frequent contact with them and shaping the work of the program. His strong belief in the program and enthusiasm for collecting and preserving records greatly facilitated the production of microfilm reels of records and enhanced the overall effort. He also played a major role in planning the conference at the Library of Congress and edited this publication. Stuart Rochester, Deputy OSD Historian, also helped shape the program and made productive overseas visits.

David A. Armstrong, Director for Joint History, and Irene Schubert, Chief of the Preservation Reformatting Division in the Library of Congress, were generous with their support. John Van Oudenaren, Chief of the European

Division of the Library of Congress, helped in many ways, particularly in making arrangements for the conference.

Special thanks are also due Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Walter B. Slocombe, who delivered the keynote address at the conference, and Brigadier General John Sloan Brown, Chief of Military History for the US Army, who presided at one of the sessions of the Cold War Archives Conference.

Many others who contributed to the success of Open House included: Eftimie Ardeleanu, Ronald Bachman, Jack M. Beard, Richard H. Becker, Lesia J. Bodnaruk, Stephanie Brown, Rebecca Cameron, Sharlene L. Capobianco, Brewster Chamberlin, Gary B. Chamberlin, Richard H. Cleaveland, Vasile Coşofreţ, James H. Cox, József Csárádi, Romana Daniel, Domitru Dobre, Kasia Dragan, Helen Fedor, Paul Fish, Mary Gambill, Thomas Geary, Patricia Grimsted, Joseph Harrington, Grant Harris, Robert L. Hicks, András Horváth, Ioana Ieronim, Radu Ioanid, Elek Kiss, Annemarie Alina Keszler, László Korsós, George Kovtun, Zdzisław G. Kowalski, Mark Kramer, Ernest H. Latham, Jr., Robert Litwak, Igor Lukes, Radomir Luza, Alexandru Manafu, György Markó, Jon L. Martinson, James P. Mault, Bruce Menning, Mateo Natividad, James Neighbors, Penny Norman, Jan Nowak, Kenneth Nyirady, Imre Okvath, Christian Ostermann, Jeffry Platt, Robert M. Ponichtera, Paul D. Quinlan, Cheryl Roby, Rick Russell, John Salvatori, Abby Smith, Andrzej Suchcitz, Michael Swiderski, Arpad Szurgyi, Witold Szymanski, Winston Tabb, Carmen Toma, Kurt W. Treptow, Eileen Usovicz, Alexandru Varga, Robert Veale, Cristina Vlad, and Piotr Wandycz.

Alfred Goldberg
OSD Historian

Preface

This publication is the culmination of a unique collaboration among the US Department of Defense, the Library of Congress, and partner institutions in Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Building on an earlier cooperative Library of Congress-Department of Defense program to microfilm rare books, manuscripts, and periodicals in Russia and Lithuania, in 1996 the Department of Defense initiated a new program to microfilm military records relating to World War II and the early Cold War in countries that were formerly members of the Warsaw Pact. Archivists at the partner institutions recommended which records they desired to microfilm for preservation purposes. They also joined with area specialists and reference librarians from the Library, historians from the Department of Defense, and outside scholars to select for filming documents and record inventories likely to be of interest to American scholars. The European Reading Room of the Library of Congress was designated as the US repository of the microfilm produced by this project.

For nearly five years the Department of Defense worked with the Polish Central Military Archives in Warsaw, the Hungarian War History Archives in Budapest, and the Archives of the Ministry of National Defense in Bucharest, using equipment and supplies provided by the Department. The result was the production of approximately eight hundred reels of microfilmed documents dealing with topics ranging from the suppression of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet resistance in these countries after World War II, the establishment of new armies and ministries of defense, and such key events as the Korean War, the 1956 uprising in Hungary, and the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia—as seen from inside the military establishments of these countries.

The papers in this volume were presented at a conference held at the Library of Congress on 28 and 29 June 2000. This conference was intended to mark an ending—the phasing out of the Department of Defense role in the project and the transfer of the project resources to the partners in central and eastern Europe. But it also marked a beginning. With the transfer of the film to the custody of the European Reading Room, it is to be hoped that military historians and Cold War scholars will begin to make full use of this resource in their research and writing. The descriptions of the archives presented in this volume are intended to encourage scholars to use this resource and to assist them in locating those materials relevant to their research topics.

The conference also presented an excellent opportunity for taking stock—for reviewing the experiences of the archival institutions in the former Communist countries in making their records available to the international scholarly community and for looking at the experiences of the major Cold War history projects at universities and research institutions in the United States and abroad. It is for this reason that the Library of Congress, working with the Department of Defense and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, was especially pleased to welcome to the conference the directors of the cooperating military archives in Hungary, Poland, and Romania, and the Cold War history project directors from the Wilson Center, George Washington University, Harvard University, and elsewhere.

Many organizations and individuals worked to make possible both the conference and the project on which it was based. Their names are listed in the acknowledgments of this book. As Chief of the European Division of the Library of Congress, I would like to add a special word of thanks to our partners in Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Their work

in making these materials available to the international scholarly community attests not only to their dedication and professionalism as archivists but also reflects the remarkable turn to democracy and openness that has taken place in their countries since 1989. Thanks also to our collaborators at the Department of Defense, who made possible this important addition to the Library's collections. On the staff of the European Division, Helen Fedor handled the logistical arrangements for the conference. Three specialists from the European Division—Ronald Bachman, Grant Harris, and Kenneth Nyirady—were involved in the project from its inception. They have worked most extensively with the collections that are featured in this volume, and their efforts are greatly appreciated. Scholars interested in using the military archival material in the custody of the Library are encouraged to contact them for guidance, as well as to consult the on-line guides to the collection, which can be found at www.loc.gov/rr/european/specproj.html.

John Van Oudenaren
Chief, European Division
Library of Congress

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Introduction
An Overview of the Open House Program

Ronald Landa
OSD Historical Office

The Open House Program, a joint initiative of the Library of Congress and the Department of Defense, quietly began opening new avenues of research for western scholars in 1996. The program, carried out in cooperation with the military archives of Hungary, Poland, and Romania, microfilmed military records and inventories in these three countries, all of which were formerly members of the Warsaw Pact. The filming focused primarily on World War II and the early Cold War years. In its four years of existence, Open House generated more than seven hundred and fifty reels of microfilm.

Projects were undertaken at three institutions: the Central Military Archives (Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe) outside Warsaw, the Military Archives of the Ministry of National Defense (Archivele Militare ale Ministerului Apararii Nationale) in Bucharest, and the War History Archives (Hadtortenelmi Leveltar) in Budapest. The projects were designed to assist these archives with their records preservation programs, to make their records more accessible to scholars in the United States, and to promote closer contacts between former Cold War adversaries. Alfred Goldberg, Historian in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, coordinated the program, with assistance from historians in the military services and the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Several non-governmental specialists rendered advice and assistance.

Under the terms of formal agreements, the Department of Defense loaned the military archives microfilm cameras and provided other equipment, film, and supplies; and it also paid the cost of processing the microfilm. The cooperating archives furnished the labor to do the filming. Records were selected for filming by mutual consent. One positive copy of the processed microfilm was given to the Library of Congress, where the generally excellent film was examined for quality in the Preservation Reformatting Division. The film is available to researchers in the European Reading Room in the Jefferson Building. The contributing archives retain both a positive and negative copy for themselves.

The program involved the reproduction of records inventories as well as records themselves.¹ The intention was not only to facilitate research by American scholars at a centralized location in the United States but also to allow them to prepare for and more knowledgeably plan their visits to the military archives of Eastern Europe.

Consideration was given to starting similar projects with the Slovak Military History Institute in Bratislava and the Russian Central Naval Archive at Gatchina near St. Petersburg.² Like other attempts to establish microfilm

¹ In addition to filming inventories, the program supported publication of the first volume of a bi-lingual two-volume guide to the records of the Allied Armistice Commission in Bucharest, Romania, *Structures Involved in the Enforcement of the Armistice Agreement and the Treaty of Peace, 1944-1948* (Bucharest: Editura Militară, 1999).

² Regarding the holdings of the Slovak Military Historical Archive at Trnava, which administratively is under the Military History Institute, see Pavel Vimmer, "Miesto a hlavne ulohy VHA v systéme vojenskeho archivnictva" [The Place and Main Tasks of the VHA (Military Historical Archive) in the Slovak Military Archival Structure], *Vojenska Historia*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1997), pp. 74-81. A short description of the Russian Central Naval Archive is in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

projects in the Czech Republic and Bulgaria and with other Russian archives, these did not yield results.

The microfilm program had its roots in two developments growing out of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the loosening of its hold over countries in Central and Eastern Europe. First, the opening of formerly closed Soviet-bloc archives, for the most part, made available to researchers diplomatic and Communist Party records. Military and intelligence records remained less accessible. In 1991, for example, an American scholar noted that little was known about records at the Polish Central Military Archive, which is located in Rembertow just east of Warsaw. Military documents here, he observed, were “still considered to be ‘top secret’—even for the 1940s and 1950s.” Researchers were allowed access to the records only by special permission of the Ministry of Defense, but apparently no one had yet received such permission.³ Thus, the need became apparent to encourage the opening of military records, not only in Poland but also throughout the former Soviet bloc. Second, the end of the Cold War allowed greatly increased contacts and communication between Department of Defense historical offices and their counterparts in Russia and Eastern Europe. During the late eighties and early nineties a series of bilateral visits kindled a new spirit of cooperation among

et al, eds., *Archives in Russia, 1993: A Brief Directory* (Washington, DC: International Research & Exchanges Board, 1992), p. C-5.

³ P. J. Simmons, “Report from Eastern Europe,” Cold War International History Project [CWIHP] *Bulletin*, no.1 (Spring 1992), p. 12. The article is condensed from Simmons’ longer paper, “Archival Research on the Cold War Era: A Report from Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw,” CWIHP Working Paper No. 2, May 1992.

them.⁴ A key milestone was the April 1990 address to a standing-room only audience in the Pentagon auditorium by the former director of the Russian Military History Institute, General Dmitri A. Volkogonov, about the research and writing of his biography of Joseph Stalin.

Out of this new atmosphere emerged plans by the Office of the Secretary of Defense to hold a conference in Washington, DC, in March 1994 on the military history and records of the Cold War. Nearly one hundred and forty representatives from seventeen countries, including former Warsaw Pact nations, attended the conference, which was hosted by the US Army Center of Military History.⁵ Military archivists from Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Hungary presented papers

⁴ Brooke Nihart, "Soviet Military Museum Leaders Tour Historical Center," *Fortitudine*, vol. XVIII, no. 4 (Spring 1989), pp. 16, 23; Henry I. Shaw, Jr., "Hungarian Military Historians Visit Center," *ibid.*, vol. XIX, no. 2 (Fall 1989), p. 21; Burton Wright III, "International Military History Exchanges: The Hungarian People's Army Visits Washington, D.C.," *Army History*, no. 14 (April 1990), pp. 17-18, and "International Military History Exchanges: Soviet Military Historians Visit Washington, D.C.," *ibid.*, no. 15 (Summer 1990), p. 28; Henry I. Shaw, Jr., "U.S. Military Historians Find Warm Welcome in Poland," *Fortitudine*, vol. XX, no. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 15-18; Frank N. Schubert, "The Exchange Program with the Hungarian Military Institute and Museum," *Army History*, no. 18 (Spring 1991), p. 17. See also Daniel R. Mortensen, "Downed Aircrew over Europe: Revival of Polish Affection at the End of the Cold War," *Air Power History*, vol. 40, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 44-51; and Richard A. Russell, "A Return to Russian Naval History," *Pull Together*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1995), pp. 4-6.

⁵ See Judith Bellafaire, "The Cold War Military Records and History Conference" *Army History*, no. 31 (Summer 1994), p. 36. An account of the conference by a Slovak participant, Miloslav Pučík, is in his "The Cold War International History Project." *Vojenska Historia*, vol. I, no. 1 (1997), pp. 142-144.

describing their holdings.⁶ Participants also discussed a number of ways to continue their collaboration, including bilateral research visits, publication of a newsletter on Cold War history, joint publications, and the microfilming of archival materials.

Following the conference a Department of Defense Cold War Historical Committee, chaired by John Greenwood of the US Army Center of Military History, was established to promote the exchange of information between the historical offices of DoD and various US government agencies and other countries' official history programs. In August and September 1994, the committee sponsored the visits to the United States by fifteen military historians and archivists from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Austria, Romania, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Canada to conduct short-term research on Cold War topics. That winter the first

⁶ For the papers presented at the conference, see William W. Epley, ed., *International Cold War Military Records and History: Proceedings of the International Conference on Cold War Military Records and History Held in Washington, D.C., 21-26 March 1994* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1996). Papers that describe former Soviet-bloc archives and their holdings include V. V. Mukhin, "The Military Archives of Russia," pp. 185-92; N. P. Brilev, "The Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation," pp. 193-202; Vladimir Pilat, "Cold War Military Records in Czech Military Archives and Possibilities of Their Study," 213-17; Adam Marcinkowski and Andrzej Bartnik, "Polish Military Records of the Cold War: Organization, Collections, Use, and Assessment," pp. 219-31; András Horváth, "The System of Distrust: The 'Top Secret' Document Management System in the Hungarian People's Army, 1949-1956," pp. 233-45; and Alexandru Oșca, "The Romanian Military Archives: An Important Source for the Detailed Study of the Cold War," pp. 247-54.

issue of the committee's *Cold War History Newsletter* was published.⁷

Although several private commercial ventures had been undertaken to microfilm materials in former Soviet-bloc countries, a model program existed close at hand within the US Government. In 1992 the Department of Defense and the Library of Congress had begun collaborating to microfilm rare books, manuscripts, and pamphlets in libraries in Moscow and St. Petersburg,⁸ and subsequently in Vilnius. Building on the experience gained from this program, the DoD historical offices approached several military archives in 1995 with formal proposals to begin joint microfilm projects. The Open House Program represents the expansion of this cooperative program into the field of Cold War records. The results include preservation of valuable materials in Hungary, Poland, and Romania, improved access to these materials, and a number of valuable professional contacts between colleagues from all of the participating nations.

⁷ US Department of Defense Cold War Historical Committee, *Cold War History Newsletter*, vol.1, no. 1 (January 1995). A description of the program that brought the fifteen researchers to the United States in the summer of 1994 is on pp. 2-3.

⁸ James H. Billington, "Bear and Eagle," *Civilization*, April/May 1998, p. 90.

**Keynote Address at the Conference on Cold War
Archives in the Decade of Openness, June 28, 2000**

**The Honorable Walter B. Slocombe
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy**

The Library of Congress is a very suitable venue to address this distinguished conference. This is an important audience because, as a policymaker, I know that historians are the ultimate judges and teachers; they are the ones who write the history that leaders learn. History not only informs the present but it also shapes our worldview and therefore governs the present. As Winston Churchill advised, “Study history, study history—in history lie all the secrets of statecraft.” History does not repeat itself mechanistically, but it informs and guides.

A very clear example of this lesson came for me in 1996 during that tense period in the Taiwan Straits. China had launched missiles over Taiwan and the President responded by ordering two carrier battle groups to the Taiwan area. As you can imagine, the Pentagon was a busy place at the time as we considered what might happen next. I asked for a history of the 1958 conflict over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Not the classified history—I know we would never locate that—but the unclassified history in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) series. I found this to be indispensable, containing interesting guidelines that without question informed our analysis of the situation as we considered what to do at the time.

For history, sources are essential. The FRUS is an amazing historical series. It began in 1962, during the Civil War, when President Lincoln asked Secretary of State William Seward to provide a report to document American

diplomacy during the previous year. At that time, the Secretary submitted annually the official dispatches of the previous year. Today it lags events by thirty years, but it remains an invaluable source of diplomatic history.

The topic that brings us here tonight is preserving an important part of the historical record of the Cold War. The conflict with Soviet Communism was a conflict that consumed those who lived it and will hold the attention of historians for decades to come.

The Cold War came to an abrupt end on December 25, 1991, when the hammer and sickle flag last flew over the Kremlin. Serge Schmemmann began his report from Moscow that ran in the *New York Times* the following day with this obituary—

The Soviet state, marked throughout its brief but tumultuous history by great achievement and terrible suffering, died today after a long and painful decline. It was 74 years old.

No sooner had the Soviet flag been lowered than historians began re-examining its history—and examining as a past, completed event, not an ongoing process. For that reexamination, it was essential that historians and archivists seek access to the enormous archives behind the Iron Curtain. Many of those efforts will be discussed tomorrow during the afternoon panel.

We are now beginning the first truly retrospective examination of what happened during the Cold War. History was written during the Cold War. The crucial change is that we can now examine the history of that period with a much broader range. The opening of records from the Communist side is a crucial aspect of that effort. During the Cold War, it was obviously much easier for historians to focus on the United States and its allies. As

John Lewis Gaddis points out in his first cut at examining the history of the Cold War in his book, *We Now Know*, we are now able to evaluate the “old” Cold War history—the work published during the conflict with a “new” Cold War history. He writes:

The “new” Cold War history will be multi-archival, in that it will at least *attempt* to draw upon the records of *all* major participants in that conflict. It will abandon the asymmetry that provided clinical detail on the public *and* behind the scenes behavior of western leaders, but little beyond speculation when it came to backstage maneuvering within the Marxist-Leninist world. It will thus be a truly international history, affirmative action for the “second” as well as the “first” and “third” worlds.

The DOD Cold War Archives Project program is an important part that provides raw material for this effort. The initial idea for the project moved forward with the support of my predecessor, Paul Wolfowitz. The project was inaugurated in 1996; it sought to microfilm military records and inventories from archives in the former Soviet bloc. Although it is much more romantic to attempt to decipher intercepted messages—as NSA and its predecessor did with the VERONA project—it is certainly more practical, and more informative, to get them directly from the archives. The project has gathered significant files from Romania, Hungary, and Poland. We welcome the participation of Colonel Andrzej Bartnik, Dr. Jolan Szijj, and Colonel Alexandru Oșca, each the head of military archives in their respective countries.

Beyond this project, the US Department of Defense has made it a priority to declassify and release historic

documents. Since 1995, when President Clinton signed EO 12958 setting out our policy to reduce secrecy and speed up declassification, DOD has declassified 195 million pages of classified documents.

I will leave the interpretation of the Cold War to you historians. Policymakers do not have the luxury to wait until the definitive history is written—and they seldom really have time to master the published literature. What we do know is that things have changed radically since late December 1991.

The most important change is strategic. The greatest threat to our national security—war on a global scale against an adversary with nuclear weapons and aggressive global ambitions—has been all but eliminated. I served in the NSC staff and Department of Defense in the 1970s at a time when our activities were centered on a single, remote, but terrible threat: the danger of global war with the Soviet Union. Each local conflict was inevitably analyzed through the prism of confrontation. The passing of that danger is a very welcome change.

The second major change is that we no longer live in a world of clear ideological conflict. The exact degree to which Marxist-Leninist philosophy actually shaped Soviet policy is—of course—one of the great questions of Cold War history. But in some sense, the Cold War took its special character from being a conflict, not just about power or national position, but about worldview—with the Soviet leadership ostensibly and to some considerable degree really committed to the Marxist worldview and interested in expanding the reach of its ideology to every corner of the globe. And the resistance to Soviet aspiration was—to some very important degree—itself based on ideas—if not ideology. In some sense, these ideas triumphed. Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Francis Fukuyama had asked in his famous article if we were witnessing “The End of History?”

The century that began full of self-confidence in the ultimate triumph of Western liberal democracy seems at its close to be returning full circle to where it started: not to an “end of ideology” or a convergence between capitalism and socialism, as earlier predicted, but to an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism.

It is not surprising at the end of a long conflict for euphoria to cloud perceptions. A measure of the euphoria with which the Twentieth Century was welcomed can be found with the creation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1910. In establishing the Endowment, Andrew Carnegie directed that

when the establishment of universal peace is attained; the donor provides that the revenue shall be devoted to the banishment of the next most degrading evil or evils, the suppression of which would most advance the progress, evolution and happiness of man.

Drawn by careful lawyers and a canny Scot, even with the end of the Cold War, it is not necessary to revise the charter.

There were similar illusions of world tranquility at the end of the Twentieth Century. We witnessed the end of the Soviet Union, and the possibility of global conflict has been reduced by several orders of magnitude, but we did not witness the end of conflict. The end of the Cold War has created its own challenges with threats that are no less real.

The security challenges now are very different from those of 1917, 1941, 1945, or even 1989, but they are real,

ranging from regional conflicts and ethnic hatred that threaten to spread, to the growing dangers from weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. Without security against these threats as well as against the classic threat of direct invasion, the promise of a new century free of the horrors of the last will prove hollow.

Ten years ago, NATO faced one central mission, defending its borders against Soviet tanks and troops. Today in a new NATO, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are now members and twenty-one other countries are affiliated through the Partnership for Peace. The fundamental tenets of security and our fundamental interests remain the same. Military power remains a key factor in international relations. We still need to have military power to protect American interests, defend against military threats, and back up diplomacy. But the threats are very different.

Perhaps the largest threat to stability since the end of the Cold War has been the Balkans. Operation ALLIED FORCE ended a year ago this month and provides a good example of the kind of threat that the alliance will have to find ways to meet. When Milosevic started to execute a long-planned and carefully prepared assault on the Kosovar Albanian majority in the province, NATO was in a position to respond if it chose—a choice that may not have been entertained during the Cold War. World attention focused on the humanitarian aspects of the conflict in Kosovo, on the brutality of ethnic cleansing, and on the refugees forced from their homes, a spectacle we had hoped had been banished in Europe. NATO chose to act not only as a response to the obvious imperative to do what we can to redress violations of basic humanitarian standards. Our goal in Kosovo has been to protect regional stability in Europe generally and in Southern Europe in particular.

Stability in Kosovo has long been in the interest of the United States. If we could have been certain that the

problems in particular parts of the former Yugoslavia would not spread, our response might have been different. But we are all too aware that indifference to small conflict in remote places was the proximate cause of World War I, and we learned the lesson of history.

This does not mean that we can—or will—act wherever there is conflict. There are times when we do not perceive a national security interest, or when others have stronger interests and choose to lead. For instance, when violence erupted in East Timor, it was Australia that took the lead, with the United States playing a supporting role.

Virtually any conflict we anticipate being involved in will require working in coalitions. That is why the United States—including the US military—invests so much effort and energy in shaping a more stable international environment and in preventing sparks of instability from igniting into conflagrations—as well as in being ready, when fires do start, to douse them before they spread.

Some have charged that we are over-engaged—that we have unrealistic faith in multilateral action. But this is a time to engage the world, not to retreat into fortress America. In one of the great poems of the English language, John Donne wrote “No man is an Island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.” That is equally true of countries.

Americans have learned from the march of history in the Twentieth Century one clear and crowning idea about international affairs: That the prospects of America being an island secure in its tranquility and prosperity are not promising if this nation is surrounded by a global ocean of instability and conflict.

In working with others, the United States has not succumbed to the supposed blandishments of romantic multilateralism instead of national interest as the guide to our actions.

Engagement in international affairs is not a favor we do the rest of the world. It is a matter of cold-blooded protection of our own interest. Interests in:

- a stable world where aggression is deterred or met early, not allowed to flourish and spread.
- an open international market system where US enterprise and energy can find financial reward even as others also grow and develop.
- a fair and democratic political system where elections and law determine policies and priorities, not dictators and corruption, and where individuals are free to choose their own destinies, not subject to racial, religious, or ethnic repression.

These interests have long shaped United States policy and more and more countries are pursuing similar interests. Where we can, we will work to these ends with allies and in coalitions.

Some of these new coalitions were unimaginable ten years ago. Russian soldiers have stood with troops from America, from NATO, from partner countries and from elsewhere in Bosnia. The close collaboration between Russia and NATO in Kosovo is giving hope for better communication and cooperation across a range of issues. There is great potential for cooperation with Russia, but we also have real differences. We recognize that the US and Russia need each other and that there is a practical prospect of cooperation.

For someone who spent a career working on these issues, to see Russian officers come to KFOR staff meetings in Kosovo, give reports to American officers, discuss options, listen as the US commander gives orders, and then go out and execute those orders to carry out a common mission, brings enormous satisfaction. Vaclav

Havel came to a joint session of the United States Congress and said, “The world is changing so rapidly I have little time to be astonished.” And yet it is astonishing.

Russians and Americans sat side-by-side at the NORAD command center in Cheyenne Mountain to monitor events as the millennium changed, to avoid any misunderstanding between our nuclear forces as the bells tolled for the Year 2000.

Earlier this month, Presidents Clinton and Putin expanded upon this idea and established a permanent monitoring station that will be manned by Russian and American military personnel to monitor all missile and space launch activities—again so neither side misinterprets some event as an attack.

In closing, there was natural exuberance that came with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union. We can forgive those who thought it marked the end of conflict. Of course it did not. But it did remove a formidable adversary with an ideology that proclaimed it had the answers and would eventually supplant all other ideology, violently if need be. Many have assumed that the sole remaining superpower would sooner or later adopt a unilateral national security policy. To the contrary, this new era has so far been marked by close cooperation with our allies and friends and an honest effort to reach out to former adversaries. This is not an afterthought. It is not an act of charity to the rest of the world, but a vital element of security goals that are crucial to the future of America and the world generally.

This conference focuses on the military archives of three Warsaw Pact countries from the 1940s and 1950s. This was a point in their history when the primary mission of their militaries was to defeat the United States and NATO. Now that the end of the Cold War has changed that mission, we find that there is no natural reason for the United States and the former Warsaw Pact countries to do

anything but welcome this change. Two of the countries you will study in this conference, Poland and Hungary, are now NATO members and Romania, the third, has applied for membership.

The Cold War was a seminal period in world history and it deserves the careful detailed study that conferences and research efforts such as this one provide. As Gaddis wrote, you are writing a “new” Cold War history, one that will shape another generation of policymakers. It is an enormously interesting and important endeavor, and I congratulate you and am pleased that the Department of Defense took part in this important effort.

Part I

Central European Archives in the Decade of Openness

War History Archives, Budapest, Hungary

Dr. Jolán Szijj
Director, War History Archives

History of the War History Archives

The history of the Hungarian archives began in the middle ages. The use of written records (Literature) in the Royal court administration—which became general in the Royal offices during the 13th century (on the field of executive branch and jurisdiction, etc.)—was started by King Béla III in 1181. In the same period, the Royal Archives was established. There the royal books (*libri regii*), in which documents written by other offices of the Royal Court had been copied, were preserved. In the 14th century the first Archives of the cities emerged and afterwards the first county archives were established during the 18th century. The “*Archivum Regni*” was organized in 1723. Its legal successor is the National Archives of Hungary. Since that time, the Hungarian archival system has been divided, with the military and civil documentation in separate agencies.

Hungary was part of the Danube monarchy of the Habsburg family from the beginning of the 16th century. Hungary did not have independent status as a country. The most important decisions were made in Vienna, and, therefore, the documents remained there as well. Accordingly, written relics of the Hungarian military past and history were preserved in Vienna, where King Ferdinand I established in the royal court the War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) in 1556 for the administration of military matters.

After a few decades it became necessary to separate archival activity from the everyday official work because of the huge rise in the quantity of documents. At the suggestion

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of Duke Eugene of Savoy, Emperor Joseph I appointed the first archivist, Bernhard Rosenbaum, on 4 April 1711. We may speak of the history of the military archives from this date.

According to a decree of Emperor Francis I, dated 23 March 1801, the Archives acted as the War History Archives (Kriegsarchiv). The main duties of this institute were to collect, preserve, organize, and scientifically appraise all of the documents belonging to it, including the written relics referring to the Hungarian military past. The situation did not change even after the Compromise of 1867 between Austria and Hungary because the Hungarian military administration in the dualist state was not independent. Accordingly, the formation of the Hungarian Army (Magyar Honvédség) as a part of the common Army of the Monarchy was not followed by setting up a military archives. The possibility of establishing a Hungarian military archives was not realized until the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed in October 1918 and an independent Hungary emerged.

At the beginning of November 1918, the Hungarian Ministry of Defense (MoD) was reorganized and for a short time was named the Ministry of Military Affairs (MoM). By that time, there were beginnings, somewhat, of precedents for organization of a military archives. In accordance with an imperial and royal decree that remained valid even during World War I, all documents, papers, and maps belonging to the military units, including Hungarian Army troops (Honvédség), had to be sent to the Kriegsarchiv of Vienna. From the autumn of 1915 on, all troops and units of the Hungarian Army (Honvédség) were allowed to send their written relics or documents to the MoD directly. Within Section 1/a of the ministry, an archival group was established with the task of copying all the documents carried back home and afterwards sending the original papers to the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna. At the same time several sub-groups were formed subordinate to that section, for example: museologist,

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statistical, POW affairs, war historical, and so on. Their work was helped by a photo lab and numerous draftsmen. All of the sub-groups mentioned above collected archival materials from the outset. So the first photos, banners, weapons, and other valuable objects were acquired by the well-equipped World War I Collection of the Museum at this time.

Let me tell you an interesting story. In 1916 the museological sub-group took up the task to help collect military songs. The participants were accompanied by two world-famous Hungarian composers, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. They visited garrisons, military hospitals, and recreation centers with a special order from the Minister of Defense, which ensured for them entrance to the military institutes. Their experience shows the legal stature of the archives. The institute was ready to operate officially.

According to a ministerial decree issued on 11 November 1918, the Military Archives was subordinated to the First Section of the MoM. Our institute was renamed in January 1919 as the Archives and Museum of Military History and it consisted of three organizational units: (1) headquarters, with librarians, military historians, bookbinder's workshop, and photo lab; (2) archives, including the map collection; and (3) the museum. In the decades to come, there were several changes to the organization of the Archives. At one time it operated commonly and linked with the Museum, and then there were periods when it was an independent unit headed first by a director between 1920 and 1921, then by a director general until 1939, and finally by a commander.

As far as the location of the institute is concerned, at first, we were allowed to use the building of the National Archives of Hungary as our residence. The Museum moved to its final site at the Nándor Garrison in 1929 which is located in the Castle District of Buda. The first exhibition was opened to the public on 15 March 1937. The Archives also moved to the Nándor Garrison, its present site, after World War II.

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The first collections of the Archives contained those documents sent back home from the front, which were copied in the MoD. After the collapse of the Monarchy all the papers belonged officially to the military units in Hungary and historically valuable documents preserved by them were returned to the War History Archives. Enormous increases took place in the quantity of archival records when a bilateral treaty was concluded between Austria and Hungary. On the basis of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which was signed on 4 June 1920 by the Hungarian Government, negotiations began between Budapest and Vienna. The final agreement, closing many years' work, was signed at Baden bei Wien on 26 May 1926. According to this pact, Austria undertook to hand over all the documents regarding Hungarian matters as cultural property to Hungary. Those records which related to both countries remained in Vienna as common cultural materials. In order to preserve these documents, permanent Hungarian representatives were sent to Vienna by the Hungarian Government. In accordance with this agreement, a Hungarian archival delegation has been working in Vienna both in the National Archives of Austria and in the Kriegsarchiv from that time to the present.

Appraisal, registration, and systematization of the records collected by the Archives proved to be a very difficult task for the institute. There is no doubt colleagues of the Archives, and members of the auxiliary staff in particular, did their best to fulfill the requirements. As far as preparing the finding aids and the archival arrangement, the situation was not good at all. There were both subjective and objective reasons for that. Despite the difficulties, the Directorate of the Archives did undertake to issue our first publication and show the general public our activity. The first yearbook of the Archives, published in 1924, contained a great deal of information about the history, formation, organization, and the records of the Archives. In the years to come, publication of yearbooks continued to inform people about our work,

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collections, and acquisition of materials. In addition, our institute continued to answer numerous queries about our holdings.

World War II was a tragic period in the life of the War History Archives. Our institute was partially evacuated and most of the valuable records, removed by us, were destroyed. During the siege of Budapest, the building of the National Archives of Hungary was seriously damaged and several storerooms of the War History Archives were reduced to ruins.

After the war, our most important task was to clear away all the ruins and collect again the documents belonging to the Archives. Our first new name was “Military Museum and Archives,” but we operated under this name only briefly between 24 April 1945 and 15 May 1945. The reason was that the Allied Powers Control Commission (Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottság—SZEB) approved only the operation of the Museum. Accordingly, the War History Archives had to work as a section of the MoD, and our records of great value, which escaped annihilation during the war, were taken over by the Museum. In the meantime, the reconstruction of the Nándor Garrison, which was damaged during the siege, went on. Our archival documents had to be transported from the building of the National Archives, and, therefore, it became necessary to rebuild a wing of the Nándor Garrison as a convenient storeroom for archival purposes. The first Archival Act was passed through the Parliament at the beginning of 1947, helping the Archives to begin operating again in March 1947.

Nowadays, the War History Archives is an independent Directorate of the Military History Institute and Museum. Decree No. 29 of 1950 declared the War History Archives a public archives, along with the National Archives and the regional state-owned Archives. Later it was declared a professional Archive by Decree No. 27 of 1969. This status was confirmed by Act No. 66 of 1995, which is now in force.

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Accordingly, the main task of the War History Archives is to collect, preserve, and prepare for the researchers all the written documents of the Hungarian military past and history. Parallel to this activity our Archives has been acquiring the valuable documents of the Hungarian People's Army and now those of the Hungarian Army (Honvédség) from the Central File Department of the Military History Institute and Museum of the MoD.

At this time our holdings include sixty-seven hundred meters of documents and records, fifteen thousand reels of film, and eight million microcopies.

Success of the “Openness”

The last decade proved to be extremely difficult in the countries of Central Europe where political regimes have changed so profoundly. It was relatively easy to reestablish and renew legislation and change the economy; but it is more complicated attempting to change the way people think and to alter their habits of long decades. All the proceedings which influenced the whole society had affected the Hungarian public collections and archives as well.

The War History Archives, as a public, state-owned, professional archives, is entirely at the disposal of the researchers and visitors. Conditions of research work are listed in the List of Research Rules which were changed considerably in recent years as a consequence of political changes. These changes meant an extension of access and increases in publicity.

Legislation Acts and Decrees enforcing the Hungarian archival system of today are:

- Act No. LXVI of 1995 on Public Documents, Public Archives and Protection of the Private Archival Documentation—generally rules the operation of the Hungarian archival system

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- Act No. LXVIII of 1992 on Protection of Personal Data and Publicity of Data of Public Interest
- Act No. LXV of 1995 on State Secrets and Service Secrets
- Decree No. 5/1996 issued 21 May 1996 by the Minister of Defense considers the special matters of military documents. This decree reflects the Minister's own conditions for researching military records.

Accordingly, the following research regulations are valid in the Hungarian archives, including the War History Archives:

- After 1 May 1990—unrestricted research is permitted thirty years after the creation of all archival records.
- Before 2 May 1990—unrestricted research is permitted after fifteen years, starting from the year of origin. (In the decades before 1990, the term of restriction went back to 1 January 1938. Documents issued before 1 January 1938 did not have any research restrictions. Documents issued after 1 January 1938 usually had a twenty-year restriction before research was allowed. Also, there were subjects that could be researched only with special permission and there were distinctions made between researchers living in Hungary and those coming from abroad.)

There are research restrictions in the case of classified documents and documents containing personal data.

Classified Documents. Research restrictions concerning classified documents are broken down in different

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ways. The Minister of Defense issued an order on 21 May 1996 on the declassification of documents. Pursuant to this Decree, all documents mentioned above had to be supervised until December 1996. Regarding documents containing state secrets or internationally related information, research restriction rules are still valid. In this aspect, time of classification is fifty to ninety years. Therefore, all documents that must be classified for thirty, fifty or ninety years remain preserved by the military units or the Central File Department of the Military History Institute and Museum. Our Archives can only acquire documents that are at least fifteen years old from the year of its creation. At this time, 1978 is the last year from which we have received documents.

Research restrictions do not mean that no one is allowed access to the documents mentioned above. There is only one way to lift any research restriction concerning classified records and that is by written permission of the owner or that of the trustee of the maintainer (this is the MoD in our case). As for the War History Archives, the competent offices to lift restrictions on our documents are the following: (1) for the records of the General Staff, the competent authority is the Legal and Administrative Office of the General Staff; (2) in the case of documents of the MoD, the competent authority is the Chief of Staff of the Administrative State Secretary; and (3) for documents of military courts, the competent authority is the Military Division of the Capital Court.

Personal Documents. Research restrictions apply to archival records containing personal data of individuals for ninety years starting from their birth, thirty years from their death, or, if these dates are unknown, then sixty years from the year the document was created.

Documents containing personal data are accessible without any restriction for the individuals concerned or all of their relatives who can prove legal relationship to them. They are allowed to copy, at their own expense, provided there is no

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other reason to classify the document (e.g., other individuals mentioned within the document). Scientific researchers can receive permission to do research only after they have showed their credentials. Copying has another set of conditions as well: copies with names removed, a declaration foreswearing release of personal data, or written agreement from the individuals concerned to deal freely with personal data.

Archival records of lawsuits in military courts containing personal or sensitive data among the documents are preserved by the War History Archives, and, therefore, these records can be researched only with restrictions. In the last decade, interest increased mostly in the records of military courts, as a consequence of an extension of research availability. Those individuals who were involved in criminal case proceedings in question, their relatives, and scientific researchers continue to use these documents as sources.

It is interesting to cast a glance at the statistics of the research room. In comparison with the end of the 1980s, the number of researchers has increased to half again as many, from about two hundred to about 300–330 at the beginning of the 1990s, and in the next few years this number came close to four hundred. In addition, during the first half of 1999 we saw 286 researchers; and the number of research cases keeps increasing from about twelve hundred to more than two thousand.

Sixty percent of our researchers do their work in fonds of the period before 1945 (length of 4500 meters) and the rest are interested in the history of the Hungarian Democratic Army or that of the Hungarian People's Army (fonds of 2200 meters in length). Half of these researchers mentioned last are engaged in research of records of the military courts.

We receive an enormous number of official requests sent to us by military courts or other organizations. Most of them are related to rehabilitation processes or actions for damages. Colleagues of the War History Archives have to

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work hard to fulfill all these requirements (for example: making of certifications etc.).

Accordingly, we have to become better equipped to fulfill our duties, which are getting more and more difficult. It means obtaining money to acquire better equipment (microfilm readers, copiers, etc.) and to improve working conditions. We have made some progress in these areas.

The “Openness” has also achieved results in another very important field besides access for research. In the past decades, while our colleagues worked with archival documents preserved by us, huge intellectual treasures were accumulated but could not be publicized. The best way “to open” is to acquaint people, who are interested in written relics of the Hungarian military past, with the results of our efforts. Restoration of the authority to publish the War History Archives proved to be the best way to achieve this goal. So we started to issue our “Series of Publications of the War History Archives,” following the precedent set just after formation of our Archives at the end of 1918, when the Archives published its first yearbook in 1924.

The first volume of our publication series appeared in December 1997. Called *Ad acta*, this book describes the history and collections of the War History Archives and Map Collection and the Central File Department. An annotated List of Fonds and Divisions of documents preserved by our Archives was published in 1998. Since then, we have mostly published collections of source or archival finding aids.

Our books published in 1998:

Saját kezébe, ott, ahol...: Into his own hand where...—from military documents of the War of Independence and Revolution of 1848-1849. (Series of Publications of the War History Archives; editor of series: Jolán Szijj; ed.: Gyöngyi Farkas; compiler and translator: Jakab Böhm; Budapest; Petit Real; 1998.)

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Fond – és állagjegyzék: List of Fonds and Divisions— military documents preserved at the War History Archives (Series of Publications of the War History Archives; editor of series: Jolán Szijj; ed.: Jolán Szijj; Budapest; Petit Real; 1998.)

Levéltári segédlet: List of Documents of the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849 and the Period of Absolutism (Series of Publications of the War History Archives; editor of series: Jolán Szijj; ed.: Jakab Böhöm; Budapest; Petit Real; 1998.)

Our books published in 1999:

Hadifoglyok írják...: Written by Prisoners of War...— POW's fate in World War II. (Series of Publications of the War History Archives; editor of series: Jolán Szijj; ed.: Tibor Papp; Budapest; Petit Real; 1999.)

*Ad acta—*Yearbook of the War History Archives 1998 (Series of Publications of the War History Archives; editor of series: Jolán Szijj; ed.: Ferenc Lenkefi; Budapest; Petit Real; 1999.)

It is really a source of great pleasure for us that our publications are also in the collections of the Library of Congress and can be found on the INTERNET through the assistance of the Open House Program.

During the last decades, partly as a consequence of the peculiarities of the army, our Archives worked isolated from professional and social public life. In recent years we have taken steps to break free of this isolation. This is an on-going effort and it includes renewing our publication activity, as previously mentioned. Also, the authority of our Archives has recently increased. We are strengthening our connections with other archives and scientific institutes in Hungary. Our closest tie is with the Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History at the Faculty of Arts, Eötvös Loránd University, in Budapest.

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Archivist-candidate students visit our Archives to gain professional experience or to attend seminars.

Our connections with fellow institutes of foreign countries have been improving as well. First, I have to tell you about our extremely excellent relationship with the Kriegsarchiv of Vienna. Our local office in Vienna has a distinctive task. The two colleagues at this office are following the usual practice of doing special collection work for the Military History Institute and Museum of Budapest, and they are active in the field of cultural policy.

We are also in contact with the Military Archives of Romania following the pattern of close connection with the Military Archives at Freiburg. We initiated efforts to establish a good relationship with the Slovakian military archives. Mutual steps are in process.

Our participation in the Open House Program would have been unthinkable 10-15 years ago. This connection keeps proving to be very useful because we are being helped very much in conservation works, especially in the field of microfilming of our documents. It is the best example of the "Openness."

According to the Agreement concluded on 22 May 1996, for a four-year period we are microfilming documents from among records of the War History Archives as follows:

- Royal Hungarian General Staff 1938-1945
- Royal Hungarian Ministry of Defense 1938-1945
- Presidency of the Ministry of Defense 1945-1949
- all researchable and declassified documents relating to the Revolution of 1956.

These documents amount to as much as four hundred thousand images. The master and one negative and one positive copy remain preserved in the War History Archives, and an additional negative and positive copy are deposited in the care of the Library of Congress. On the basis of the Agreement, all

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of the copies handed over to the American partner can only be used for purposes of scientific research, in accordance with the Hungarian laws currently in force.

Summing up what has been said I can tell you that the decade of “Openness” was a period of new possibilities for the War History Archives and we seem to have taken advantage of this opportunity. Of course we have further measures to take and to accomplish this we need to acquire better technical equipment—computers and INTERNET connections—and to do this more money is needed. However, the Ministry of Defense that funds our Archives does not have enough funds to provide us with what is needed.

The Topic of the Cold War in the Collections of the Central Military Archives

**by Col. Andrzej Bartnik
Chief of the Polish Central Military Archives**

The Central Military Archives (Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe—CAW) is an independent, specialized archival research institution, which collects and manages archival materials pertaining to the national defense. CAW's holdings occupy more than 45,000 meters of shelf space—some three million folders of documents, which tell the history of the Polish Army since 1912. Because of the exceptional value of these materials, the collection is the primary resource in Poland for research on the history of the armed forces and military conflicts. Building the collection entails a number of coordination and monitoring tasks vis-à-vis all the document-issuing agencies and the registry of the department of defense. The CAW is responsible for collecting documents of military provenance from around the world.

Among the CAW's primary functions are selecting materials of historic value from the mass of documentation generated by military institutions and units and assembling, preserving, and providing access to these materials for research and administrative purposes. The CAW and its branches conduct training, instructional, and public educational activities. As offices of the public trust, they render services in issuing all types of certificates, duplicates, and reproductions of official documents in their possession. Conducting research in the field of archival science and

publishing archival guides and finding aids are among the statutory responsibilities of the CAW.

The entire span of postwar Polish military history is relevant to the study of the history of the Cold War because of two fundamental developments—the falling of Central and Eastern Europe (including Poland) within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Warsaw Pact. These events resulted in the imposition of the Soviet totalitarian system, unprecedented repression of the entire population, a plunderous economic policy, and, with regard to the armed forces, the forced creation of a military model completely alien to Polish tradition. In May 1955, under the domination of the USSR, Poland entered the Warsaw Pact. The alliance was supposed to be defensive, but its military doctrine in fact was aggressive. The Soviet General Staff was in charge; the commander was always the deputy defense minister of the USSR. The military doctrine imposed on Poland was based completely on aggressive Soviet doctrine. The Polish Army was placed within the group of forces preparing for action in the western theater of military operations. The territorial defense and air defense forces, which were supposed to be an exclusively national element, performed missions of support and cover for the regrouping of operational forces from the territory of Poland and the Soviet Union. It should be noted, however, that despite massive efforts to neutralize it, Polish military thought continued to function, and its proponents did much to imbue the imposed strategy and tactics with a Polish spirit.

The CAW houses the complete collection of Cold War documentary archives going back to the year 1944. The collection is accessible in accordance with regulations that obtain not only in the armed forces but also in national archival practice. The general principle is that documents can be used thirty years after their issue on the condition

that this does not violate the legally protected interests of the state and the citizens. To date no incidents of document destruction or loss have been recorded. Military documents are housed exclusively in military archives and are not deposited with any other institution.

Issues connected with the Cold War are articulated in the document sets of the following issuing agencies:

- The Cabinet of the Ministry of National Defense
- The General Staff of the Polish Army
- The Political Directorate
- The Chief Inspectorate of Combat Training
- The Chief Quartermaster Department of the Polish Army
- The Chief Inspectorate of Territorial Defense
- The Personnel Department
- The Commands and Staffs of the Military Districts
- The Commands and Staffs of the Air Force, Air Defense Force, and Navy

The collections of the CAW also contain materials issued by the National Defense Committee (Komitet Obrony Kraju—KOK). This was the institution that, beginning in 1959, decided national defense policy and the structure and mission of the armed forces, the arms industry, and civil defense. The entire set of [KOK] documents, which was transferred to the archive in 1990, mostly consists of constitutional regulations on defense matters, justifications for statutes concerning the universal obligation of citizens to defend the nation, and decrees on the state of emergency and martial law. KOK documents cover the entire gamut of issues concerning the functioning of the national leadership, local administration, the armed forces, the arms industry, and the entire economy and logistical infrastructure under emergency and wartime conditions. This collection also

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contains correspondence dealing with general systemic solutions in matters of national defense readiness. In weighing the significance of the KOK documents collection, one should underscore their great instructional value in explaining the workings of the Polish defense system under conditions of limited sovereignty and domination by a powerful neighbor.

Up to 1990, the attention of (Poland's) historians and journalists was focused on presenting the so-called "historic mission of the socialist camp against the imperialistic West," and their writings presented the mission of the armed forces in this context. This was all closely scrutinized by the agencies of the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza—PZPR). In the Army, this role was performed by the Political Directorate, which had authorization from the Central Committee of the PZPR. The Political Directorate documents enable us to study how the military depended on the party through the functioning of party and political structures within the armed forces. An important aspect of these activities was indoctrination of cadres and soldiers. The documents include guidance for propaganda/political work, the ideological training program, and other materials illustrating the variety of ways in which the party influenced the armed forces. These types of materials contain fragments about the Cold War, tendentiously laying the blame on the West for creating the dangerous atmosphere through its aggression. The results of these propaganda efforts were quite paltry. The vast majority of soldiers in the Polish Army preserved their independent thinking and rejected the message of the ideological training they were receiving.

A major undertaking of the Military History Institute, under the supervision of the Political Directorate, was entitled "The Development of the Polish People's Army

in the Years 1945-1980.” More than one hundred military specialists took part in the project. The finished product, which was more than eleven thousand typed pages in length, presented in documentary form the domestic and international factors shaping the development of the armed forces. Also included were organizational structures, the issues of combat training and military technology, as well as the problems of discipline and education. Large parts of the project dealt with the Army’s role in the process of solidifying communist rule in Poland and cooperation with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact. It was not the authors’ intention to criticize in any way the Cold War policy of the Eastern Bloc—quite the opposite, it was to glorify the professed “peaceful efforts” of Moscow and its satellites. The assembled facts and data, however, do provide a rather complete overview of the situation and the consequences for Poland.

We should regard in the same way the so-called Work Three, entitled “The Polish People’s Army during the Period of Threat to the Socialist State and Martial Law.” The six-volume work details the scope and forms of activity of the Army during martial law in December 1981. Unfortunately, it contains nothing about Soviet pressures on the Poles in 1980 and 1981, nor does it describe the preparations for the December actions.

The tendentious presentation of Cold War issues predominated in publications before 1989. Furthermore, the principle of not revealing certain obvious facts also prevailed. Among these were operational plans of action in the direction of the North Sea coast and Jutland; the mission of the territorial defense and air defense based primarily on support and cover for the regrouping of Soviet operational forces; and subordination of Polish Army troop disposition to the Warsaw Pact. For understandable reasons, research works omitted the purely instrumental treatment of Poland

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by her “Soviet friends.” Our country lay directly in the main path of the Kremlin’s interests, whether the goals of the USSR were offensive or defensive. All the most important lines of communication with Germany and the half-million-man army of occupation there passed through our territory. Poland was the most populous Soviet satellite in Europe, and our armed forces were in a position to play a major role, both offensively and defensively, on the main axis of the European theater of military operations. It was no coincidence that the Soviet Army’s large and best-equipped Northern Group of Forces was stationed in western Poland.

Beginning in 1990, research interest in the CAW’s document collection increased considerably. Researchers began to examine materials that previously had been intentionally ignored or presented in historically inaccurate ways. Among these topics were the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920, the history of the Polish Army during the interwar period, Soviet Russia’s aggression against Poland on 17 September 1939, and the underground state and its armed forces during the occupation. A large number of biographies of Polish military leaders and histories of individual detachments and tactical units are being written. Such works also have the goal of helping recreate military traditions.

Works based on materials after 1945 are random in nature, although they deal with the most important events in the history of the armed forces. Military archivists still have not undertaken integrated research projects that encompass a complete set of issues, including the topic of the Cold War. Nevertheless, research already completed enables us to identify several closely related Cold War themes:

- Soviet officers in the Polish Army
- repression of Polish Army cadres during the postwar period

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- the excessive burden imposed on the Polish economy by expenditures for the armed forces and the arms industry as a result of the Warsaw Pact's Cold War policy
- use of the Polish Army in domestic interventions
- use of the Polish Army in the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968

For several decades after the war, Soviet generals and officers performed the most important leadership functions in the Polish Army. From 1949 to 1956, Soviet Marshal Konstanty Rokossowski was simultaneously deputy prime minister of the Polish government and minister of defense, i.e., the supreme military commander. In 1945 about seventeen thousand Soviet officers were serving in the ranks of the Polish Army. After the war this number eventually dropped to five hundred officers, but they held key military positions. The Soviet cadre never ceased to be subordinate to the high command in Moscow. It was the typical pattern of establishing a system of dependency on Moscow. Since the same situation existed in the Ministry of Public Safety—although there the main role was played by so-called advisors—one can conclude that Poland had become a country “under special surveillance.”

Based on research in the CAW archives, Col. Dr. Edward Nalepa has written a valuable study entitled “Soviet Army Officers in the Polish Army, 1943-1968” (Bellona Publishers, 1995). The work is a compendium of information about the systematic restriction of Polish sovereignty for the sake of the totally alien goals of the so-called “united front of anti-imperialistic forces” in creating pretexts for conducting activities in the framework of the Cold War. Creating an atmosphere of paranoia about an imaginary military threat from the West, the political cadres adopted specific principles. They intensified the process of

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so-called “purging the officer corps of elements alien and hostile to the cause of building socialism in Poland and closely cooperating with the USSR.” Based on such “criteria,” more than nine thousand officers were expelled from military service in the years 1949-1954. The expulsions included military personnel who had served in various state agencies before the war (the Gendarmerie, the Border Protection Corps, the police, the Border Guards, Section II of the General Staff, the judicial system, and the draft board), a large share of the career and reserve officers serving before 1939 (e.g., from prisoner-of-war camps) and officers of the underground Home Army and the Polish Armed Forces in the West. These individuals were subjected to unprecedented persecution, from the mildest form—expulsion from the military service, to arrest and deportation to camps in the USSR and forced labor in special camps and coal and uranium mines—to the harshest form—long-term imprisonment and the death penalty. Baseless accusations and illegal trials resulted in the sentencing of 135 Polish Army officers to long-term imprisonment and thirty-seven to the death penalty (twenty-one were actually executed). Among those removed from the army who were later arrested and persecuted, one can mention the most famous generals: Stefan Mossor, Józef Kuropieska, Franciszek Herman, Jerzy Kirchmayer, Włodzimierz Steyer, and Stanisław Habowski, or the colonels: Franciszek Skibinski, Adam Uziembno, Jan Wyderkowski, Stanisław Skalski. Some of these officers’ names are very familiar to the Western allies with whom they fought in World War II. The CAW’s holdings of documentation of this tragic period in the history of the Polish Army have been scrutinized by military historians, among other researchers. Since the mid-90s, the collection has been supplemented systematically with documentation acquired from the archives of countries once belonging to

the former Soviet Union. Many interesting studies have appeared, e.g., Col. Jerzy Poksiński's "Tatar-Utnik-Nowicki" (Bellona Publishers, 1992).

One of the most serious problems closely tied with the Cold War was the excessive burden that investments in the armed forces and armaments industry imposed on the Polish economy over the decades. The six-year plan of 1949-1955 deserves special mention. On 30 October 1950, the Military Committee of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, which was headed by Bolesław Bierut and included former Marshal Rokossowski, made a decision concerning military matters within the framework of the plan, whereby the army was to be doubled—to three hundred and twenty thousand regular troops and sixty thousand reserves. Following proposals presented by Soviet specialists who "had researched the capabilities" of the machine-building, power-engineering, electro-mechanical, and chemical industries, drastic adjustments were made to the industrial production plan. Thus, under the clarion call of the Cold War, a military industrial complex was created, ruining the Polish economy. Documents containing the texts of agreements between the governments of Poland and the USSR concerning delivery of weapons and military equipment are enormously informative. All of these enterprises had an extremely harmful impact on the country's economy.

The public supported neither the burdening of the Polish economy to develop the military industrial complex nor the involvement of Poland in the Eastern Bloc's confrontational policy—both imposed by Moscow. The Polish people, having endured such tragic experiences in the war, were especially sensitive to any kind of actions by the communist authorities that could drag the country into a new military conflict. Nor was there popular support for a permanent lowering of the standard of living. Against that

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background, Poland witnessed frequent tense situations, mass strikes, street demonstrations, and attacks on party headquarters and secret police facilities. The party leadership directed military units to suppress these justified acts of resistance. People were killed and injured. The CAW holds all the documentation on the most important of these uprisings—Poznań in 1956 and Gdańsk, Gdynia, Szczecin, and Elbląg in 1970.

The documentation on martial law in 1981 holds a special place in all of this. It was produced primarily within the KOK and the General Staff of the Polish Army. The KOK was occupied mostly with the legal-administrative elements of martial law, whereas the General Staff was involved with precisely defining missions and the ways they were to be executed by military institutions and units. The entire set of documents was subject to a special procedure which did not allow even documents of little historical or archival value to be destroyed. All the documents are housed at the CAW, but because of national archival laws and regulations on protection of secret information, they have not been made accessible.

The role of the Polish Army in the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is a particularly dramatic example of its absolute subordination to Moscow's goals. The CAW collections include a set of documents code-named "Dunaj" (Danube) filling seventy-eight volumes. The set contains staff documents, which, among other things, include directives from then Minister of Defense Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski ordering designated forces to mobilize for Operation Danube; executive orders developed by the General Staff of the Polish Army; and operational orders of the commander of the Second Army, Gen. Florian Siwicki.

Daily operational reports submitted by the Second Army Staff to the General Staff of the Polish Army

chronologically document the actions undertaken and describe the most important events of a military or political nature. The reports illustrate the dynamics of the course of actions by the Polish units during the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the problems associated with command and communications, and also the attitude of the population toward the intervention forces. In addition, the operational part of the documentation contains the plans for the exercises that preceded the invasion, reports about the combat readiness of the forces, and extensive correspondence with the Warsaw Pact command, including a packet of decisions ordering the Polish Army to begin preparations for the intervention.

A large percentage of the Operation Danube documents concerns propaganda and political aspects of the armed intervention. These documents include information about negotiations, descriptions of the political situation after the operation began, reports on the morale and political attitudes of the Polish forces, and descriptions of the political and propaganda actions undertaken. The notes and other papers of Polish diplomatic representatives concerning other countries' reaction to the intervention are an important complement to these documents. The collection also includes a large number of operational and tactical documents produced by all types of forces and services. The Operation Danube collection was declassified last year and has been opened to research without restrictions.

The research topics that have been presented in this overview are closely tied with the subject of the Cold War, but, at the same time, they shed light on many previously ignored events of major significance for the postwar history of the Polish Army. This methodology seems to be valid, but in the future an integrated program of research on the theme of the Cold War is essential. Such an approach will

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be facilitated by providing ever greater access to archival materials, certainly including Warsaw Pact documents. At present, these materials cannot be made available—not only because of the binding law on archives. At an extraordinary session of the Political Advisory Committee in Budapest on February 25, 1991, the foreign ministers signed a “Protocol on the Cancellation of Military Treaties Signed in the Framework of the Warsaw Pact and the Dissolution of its Agencies and Military Structures.” Point three of this protocol stipulates that Warsaw Pact documents cannot be provided to anyone nor published. The historic value of the documents is another matter. The most important ones are held in Moscow archives. Poland received only documents containing specific orders of an administrative, coordinating, or legal nature. The documents concerned joint exercises. Nevertheless, one can expect to find in the documents evidence that Polish officers “dared” to try out independent Polish thinking despite dependence on Soviet doctrine and practice.

Since 1990 the number of foreign researchers using the CAW collections has increased considerably. In the 1980s there were only a dozen or so of them, but between January 1990 and mid-June 1999, seventy-six scholars and journalists made use of the archive’s documents. Clients from the East (Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine) have focused on national minorities and the history of the Second World War. Russians are also researching the war years after 1939 and certain fragments of the interwar period, particularly the fate of POWs from the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920. Western researchers (of whom there were forty during this period of the 1990s) were mostly interested in bilateral relations between their countries and Poland. A few were concerned with the Stalinist period (the late 1940s). Western researchers have

Collections of the Central Military Archives

been minimally interested in the postwar years, including Cold War issues.

On December 14, 1998, the CAW observed its 80th anniversary. The collections of the military archives now occupy more than forty-five kilometers of shelf space (about three million archival units). Each year the CAW serves more than one thousand readers; examines more than twenty thousand citizen requests for certificates confirming their work and service in the Polish Army (about 10 percent coming from abroad); conducts training, instructional, and public-educational programs; and continues to develop and improve archival finding aids.

Ongoing efforts to liberalize the law on archives may result in expanding access to materials from the 1970s and 1980s. This will make possible a more penetrating analysis of the problems of Poland's military history and issues of the Cold War as well. And it will further enhance the importance of the military archival collections, which have mirrored not only the history of the armed forces but also most other spheres of the state's activities—economic, cultural, social, scientific, and educational. At many turning points in our country's history, the military has played a decisive role. In part, this fact explains the general public service role of the military archives, where contact with documents, especially those from historically important periods, gives the reader cause to reflect and to feel.

Facilities at the Romanian Military Archives for the Study of the Cold War

**Colonel Alexandru Oșca
Chief of the Romanian Military Archives**

In Romania, Cold War subjects have attracted the attention of a large number of historians, political scientists, politicians and ordinary citizens. The general term we employ for these subjects is “contemporary history” which comprises the facts, events and processes occurring in Romania or related to it between 1944 and 1989.

Once the enthusiasm of the first post-revolution years had dissipated and historians and political scientists began to address the issues of the Cold War, we may say that the study of contemporary history entered the domain of scientific research. Using its exacting methods, this scientific research has since aimed at establishing the truth concerning the extremely complex and contradictory accounts of these events which deeply changed and affected the Romanian society for nearly half a century.

Naturally, it took some time until the writing about this period overcame the earlier, subjective accounts, especially because many scholars, who were directly involved in this writing about this period themselves, played a major role in the real tragedies and unimaginable suffering of Romanians during the communist regime. It honors them that at present the objectivity of their contributions to a balanced understanding of contemporary history is beyond any serious doubt.

The wealth of memoranda, memoirs, confessions and accounts helps us to gain an understanding of the

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intricate mechanisms operating within a political, economic, and social system that elbowed it's way into unchallenged rule over Romania, even if these narratives are frequently written by scholars who were active participants.

Obviously when studying so complex a history, we cannot limit ourselves only to the writings of those persons who are describing what they themselves witnessed. The actual documentary records are also required, along with free access to these documents. Naturally historians want such access to be complete, free, and unrestricted. This easily understandable desire of historians, however, sometimes put them at conflict with their archival colleagues who were still operating under the old, restrictive regulations, unadapted to the new realities.

Looking back these past ten years since the fall of communism, I think I can say that Romanian archivists have come a considerable distance in understanding their role in a democratic society. This change in the mind set of the profession—sometime encouraged by staffing changes—is the product of several important elements.

First, we must frankly acknowledge the pressure from Romanian civil society which demands transparency, openness, and unlimited access to historical information. At various conferences, colloquia, seminars, and press conferences, Romanian archivists have been urged to take responsibility for granting wider access to recent historical sources, despite delays in the passing the relevant legislation. Romanian archivists whose education is similar to that of the academic and institutional researchers were frequently viewed as common bureaucrats with a limited responsibility for administering and managing in their special domain.

Once the communist laws had been repealed, new laws were passed which extended access to historical sources and aligned Romanian practice with that of the

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western democratic countries. Central to this process was Law 16 for the National Archives of 1996. This law established archives as multi-purpose centers in support of research and not simply depositories. It allows the Ministry of National Defense to manage its archives without outside interference, thus reenforcing a tradition for the Military Archives which goes back to its founding in 1920, although of course, the Military Archives preserve and administer materials going back to the unification of the principalities in 1859. As a result of Law 16, scientific finding aids, collections of documents and various other records necessary to researchers and students have now been made available.

I must also mention here the relations which developed between my own colleagues and similar officials from western institutions—relations which were very important for explaining the complex role of archives and archivists in a modern, democratic society. I cannot over-emphasize the impact on the Romanian Military Archives as an institution which has followed from our contacts with western archives. It has meant a total reexamination of our professional status. These contacts taking place in an atmosphere of sincere trust have allowed for a frank and free exchange of opinions and experience across a whole range of subjects from the preservation and storage of materials to the nature of our services to researchers.

I believe I am supporting the theme of this conference when I say that it is in the best interest of all archives, most certainly including military archives, to strive seriously to make all documents available to researchers. The documents are declassified, which in Romania's case is usually after thirty years, with only such exceptions as are true in the archival practice of other democratic countries. No less is it necessary that archives scientifically process the documents for which they are responsible, providing finding

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aids where appropriate. At the moment legislation is under consideration in Romania which provides that any documents which were unclassified at the time they were issued will remain available to researchers regardless of the thirty-year rule. When passed, this law will open many new possibilities for the study of the Cold War. Similarly, parliamentary ratification of a law establishing an authority which will oversee granting individuals access to their personal files and the general files of the Securitate (the political police of the communist era) will also open new avenues of research. Doubtless, these files will contain much information concerning the Cold War, the state of the military in the two alliances, as well as the level and nature of the cooperation between the Securitate and the secret services of the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

In my opinion, the most important Romanian source for the history of the Cold War will be the records created by the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. These records came close to destruction during the revolution of December 1989 but were saved at the very last minute by the Romanian army. They are now stored at the National Archives and are largely available for study. As in any totalitarian, one-party regime, any party document has implications for the state as well. As one who has had an opportunity to study these records, I can assure you that they contain a wealth of materials directly bearing on Cold War issues. The researcher will find here unpublished material on the Berlin crisis, the Korean War, the defection of Yugoslavia from the eastern bloc, the unrest in Poland and Hungary in 1956, the Cuban missile crisis, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968; although, the Romanian army did not participate in this action with the other Warsaw Treaty countries. The researcher will be able to examine the difficulties in imposing a regime totally inimical to Romanian traditions and the numerous attempts

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and occasional successes in distancing the Romanian state from the Soviet bloc but not from the communist system. These materials cast considerable light on the abilities and inabilities of the leaders of the Romanian state to establish relations with other states both within and without the Soviet bloc.

As this conference is specifically concerned with military archives and early Cold War history, I would also like to say a few words about the work on that subject which has gone on within my own archives. We prepared a finding aid for over two thousand files created by the Romanian Military Commission for the Enforcement of the Armistice Agreement of September 12, 1944, and the Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947. Both Romanian and foreign scholars, including some attending this conference, have acknowledged the importance of this record group, now completely microfilmed, of which a copy is available to scholars at the Library of Congress. Within the Open House project we have also prepared a finding aid to this record group, now published in two volumes in both English and Romanian. To make researchers' access even easier and faster, I understand that this finding aid will be accessible on-line.

Our cooperation with the Library of Congress as facilitated by the Department of Defense also has extended to two other record groups. One is the Intelligence Section of the Romanian General Staff between 1944 and 1947. The other, and more important for the history of the Cold War, is the Political Section of the Romanian Army 1945-1965. In this record group can be found documentation on the conversion of the army into an instrument of the Soviet occupation in its drive to install a communist regime.

From these record groups have sprung a host of reviews, essays, and books in the last few years. To name only a few of the more important books there are: *The*

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Sovietization of Romania; Romania: A Window in the Iron Curtain; The Temptation of Freedom; The Explosion; and Prague 1968—From Spring to Autumn. In Romania we have an Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, which publishes its own journal. Similarly, the Romanian Military Archives publishes a quarterly, *document [sic]*, and the Institute for Political, Defense and Military History publishes the *Journal of Military History*.

I also welcome this opportunity to inform scholars attending this conference concerning the recent work in the Military Archives on the storage and preservation of Cold War records, and some of the problems we have encountered. First, there has been the problem coming from the fact that many of these documents were created by the army on the front lines, and they were delivered to the Military Archives with no attending paperwork or descriptions. This has made sorting them into coherent record groups difficult. Then, there is the fact that these documents were frequently assembled by officers of the secret services acting under direct pressures from Soviet officials. Also, some of the files were confiscated by various secret services because they were believed to contain anti-Soviet and anti-communist materials that could be used as evidence at the interrogations and trials of Romanian officers accused of being anti-regime. The Romanian Military Archives does not have these files, and they are believed to have been destroyed along with the criminal investigation files. We fear that all that now remains is the actual court decrees of sentences.

As is true for all military archives, a major share of our work load comes from requests for personnel records from Romanians and foreigners. Since the revolution of 1989, we have responded to 1.2 million requests for records from former prisoners of war, war widows, former political

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prisoners, and individuals searching for data concerning their military service.

The Military Archives are organized into record groups of the military institution or individual who created the specific files, and then within the records groups, the files are in chronological order. Therefore, all documents from one source are to be found in the same record group for the entire existence of that particular source. Thus, there are no special record groups just dealing with the Cold War; that subject must be investigated in many different record groups.

To date the subjects which appear to have generated the most interest are: the strategic defense of Romania during the Soviet occupation; the deployment of forces during the Yugoslav break with the Soviet bloc (1950-1953); and the directives given to Romanian officials by the Soviets for the expensive system of fortifications against an hypothetical enemy—money that could have been better spent elsewhere in a Romania that had not yet recovered from the Second World War and the reparation payments which resulted from the Peace Treaty of 1947. Likewise, of great interest to scholars are: the Hungarian revolution (1956); the role of the Soviet army of occupation in imposing a communist regime on Romania; the purging of anti-Soviet members of the Romanian officer corps; the abandoning of Romanian traditions and their replacement with the military doctrines of the communist bloc; and the changes in Romanian uniforms, organization, training, and procurement to conform more closely the Soviet model.

The documents surrounding the Hungarian Revolution show the great propaganda efforts among Romanian troops and officers to keep the unrest from spreading into the Romanian army. We have noted that there appears to have been no enthusiasm among the Romanian senior officers to take part in the efforts to

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suppress the Hungarian revolution, and we see strong evidence that the Securitate and the party authorities were taking stern measures throughout Romania to prevent any expressions of sympathy for the revolutionaries. Some documentation in personnel files reflects sympathy for the revolutionaries, and we observe that following the suppression of the revolution there was another purge of the officers corps, removing those who had expressed anti-Soviet sentiments.

Although it could not be well seen at the time of the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Romania in 1958, it is now evident that this withdrawal had considerable impact on the strategic, political, and economic dynamics of the Cold War. It was in that year that the Romanian army started to regain some of its traditions, as much as it could under a communist dictatorship. For example, the various divisions and regiments took back their old, traditional names. In that year too, as it is still, Armed Forces Day became October 25th, the day that Transylvania was liberated from Nazi occupation. Previously, Armed Forces Day was November 2nd, the day during World War II when the Soviets created the Tudor Vladimirescu Division from Romanian prisoners of war held in the Soviet Union. Starting in 1958 changes were also made to the Romanian uniform to make it more closely resemble the uniform worn between the wars. The beginnings of a national military doctrine and a national defense industry can also be traced back to that year.

The 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, in which Romania did not participate, was the subject of a special declassification effort on the 30th anniversary of the Prague Spring. To date three books, drawing heavily on these records, have been published in Romania on Czechoslovak events.

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The main records groups in the Military Archives dealing with that complex international phenomenon known as the Cold War are: the Political Authority of the Armed Forces; the cabinet papers of the Minister of Defense; the Higher Command of the Frontier Forces; and the Higher Commands of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Military Districts.

In conclusion I would like to say a few words concerning the functioning of the Romanian Military Archives. As noted already, the archives performs its function in accordance with national legislation and internal instructions and regulations. The Romanian General Staff is responsible for the organization and functioning of the archives. There is a special department in the General Staff which exercises this responsibility.

All researchers, both Romanian and foreign, who express a scholarly interest in documents at the Military Archives are granted permission in accordance with accepted international practice. Research can be undertaken at the headquarters in Bucharest and at the Center for Historical Military Archival Research and Preservation in Pitești. Scholars wishing to use the Military Archives should make application by letter addressed to the Chief of the Romanian Military Archives giving their full name, address, profession, the subject and scope of their research, and the dates in which they would like to conduct their research. This application can be sent by FAX to 401-410-7405 or by e-mail to oscaa@ro.pims.org. It may also be mailed to:

Arhivele Militare Române
Strada Drumul Taber, no. 9-11
Sector 6, București, Romania

We try to take the necessary action on an application within twenty days from its receipt, and we respond by e-mail if that is desired.

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As I have indicated, we operate on a thirty-year rule for declassification. With the exception of materials still important to national defense at the present time, virtually everything else is declassified and available. The actual hard copies of the record groups have been inventoried, and the relevant finding aids are available for examination in their entirety. Since the Military Archives are organized by source and not by theme, we have started a computerization program. Unfortunately, it is not yet at a stage where it can respond to all requests. This is not an obstacle to research, however, because we have a staff of well-educated, experienced archivists with a thorough knowledge of the record groups for which they are responsible, who can help the researchers find the materials they need.

When scholars cite materials from the Romanian Military Archives in a published work, we recommend the following format for hard copy: "the Romanian Military Archives, Record Group (the name of the specific fond), File no.... page no...." When quoting from microfilm: "the Romanian Military Archives, Microfilm Collection, Reel no.... frame no...." Researchers can request either Xerox or microfilm copies of any available document. We have our own cameras and can usually meet such requests promptly. Our fees are those charged locally and are in line with international fees. Such fees are payable in Romanian lei.

I must mention here in connection with such microfilming and duplicating that we have benefited immensely from the equipment and the expertise placed at our disposal by the American Department of Defense. This equipment has enabled us to enter into valuable exchanges with other military archives holding significant Cold War materials. To date we have had such exchanges with archives in France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Russia.

I conclude with thanks to the organizers of this conference on the Open House Project. I can assure you

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that I shall share the conclusions of this valuable conference with my colleagues at the Romanian Military Archives and the many other interested Romanian scholars.

Part II

The Open House Collection

The Files of the Hungarian War History Archives 1949-1951

**Kenneth Nyirady
Library of Congress**

Introduction

As of February 1, 2000, the Library of Congress had received the first eighty-nine reels of microfilm of declassified records from the War History Archives in Budapest, covering the early years of the Cold War, beginning in 1948-1949 and extending through 1951. A guide to the contents of each reel, as well as an organizational index to the material, can be found at the Library of Congress' web site,¹ and the film itself is housed in the Library's European Reading Room. The materials received so far form only a portion of a collection that, when complete, will include selected portions of files for the period up to 1956, including documents and other materials related to the 1956 revolution.

Background

The contents of the film are better understood when viewed against the radical political and economic transformation that Hungary underwent in the late 1940s, a process outwardly marked by the proclamation of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic in 1949. The Hungarian Communist Party (renamed the Hungarian Workers' Party in June 1948) had been the major political force in the

¹ <http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/european/eurohma.html>

Hungarian military since 1945, thanks in large part to the presence of Soviet forces in the country but also to the organizational work undertaken by the party among the armed forces. By 1948 nearly all the career officers were party members.² In that year, Mihály Farkas, traditionally described by scholars as a “Muscovite communist”³ and an “avowed Stalinist,” became Minister of Defense. During his five-year tenure, he set about to transform the Hungarian Peoples’ Army (HPA) into a smaller copy of the Soviet Army. Organization, equipment, uniforms, even ranks and insignia became based on the Soviet model, as was the “dual command system,” whereby the party attached political officers to each commander. These officers reported to the Chief Directorate for Political Matters (*politikai fősportfőnökség*), which was created by ministerial decree on December 1, 1948, and charged with overseeing the political-ideological indoctrination and supervision of the military. As a military organization, this directorate was responsible to the Ministry of Defense; but as a party organization, it reported to the Hungarian Workers’ Party.⁴ About the same time, the first of several waves of Soviet military advisers arrived, and Hungarian officers began to be sent to Soviet military and political academies, with the

² Zoltan B. Barany, *Soldiers and Politics in Eastern Europe, 1945-1950. The Case of Hungary* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), p. 37.

³ This term describes those Hungarian communists who, by different means and for various lengths of time, had wound up in the Soviet Union from 1919 onward and had returned to Hungary with the arrival of Soviet forces in 1944-1945. Mátyás Rákosi, Ernő Gerő, and Imre Nagy were other prominent members of this group.

⁴ Barany, p. 38.

generals attending Soviet general staff schools.⁵ Soviet advisers were assigned to the HPA at all levels down to the regiment. The power held by these advisers led one scholar to assert that the Hungarian army by 1953, “through its command structure and general organization, was practically integrated into the Red Army.”⁶ At the same time, the HPA underwent a rapid expansion, with the number of officers alone increasing from about twenty-seven hundred in November 1948 to over thirty thousand in 1953. Even by 1948, about 80 percent of the officers had been trained after 1945; by 1951, the number exceeded 91 percent. This rapid transformation and growth took place against the perceived threat of war, whether from the West alone, or the West in league with Yugoslavia after Tito’s split with the Comintern in 1949. According to one analyst, the Hungarian party leaders in the late 1940s believed that World War III was unavoidable and imminent.⁷

The themes of this era—political control of the military by the party, the reorganization along Soviet lines, rapid expansion of the armed forces—are well reflected in these files and will be discussed later. But I will first briefly describe the technical structure of the files.

Technical Structure

The material is organized by archive group, file unit, and file number. The archive groups are designated by year, the file units are numbered within each year, and the file numbers within each file unit. There are gaps in the

⁵ Barany, pp. 47-48.

⁶ Barany, p. 48.

⁷ Barany, 44; Imre Okváth, *Bástya. A békefrontján magyar haderő és katonapolitika 1945-1956* (Budapest: Aquila, 1998), p. 81.

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numbering of both the file units and file numbers throughout the film sequence, indicating that some material either has not been filmed or is missing in the archives. The description provided for each file unit indicates the organization and the type of files filmed. For example, the very first file unit on reel one bears the title Secretariat of the Ministry of Defense, *Miscellaneous Matters*. The number of pages in each file unit is also indicated in most cases, but document numbers are given in most instances where no pagination exists. Approximately one-third of the file unit numbers spill over onto the following reels, and as the pagination is indicated only for the entire unit, one cannot determine from the index how much of the file actually is on each reel. Most of the file descriptors indicate some sort of overarching organization, either the Ministry of Defense or the General Staff; but some descriptors do not, such as the files for the Artillery Command and the Armaments and Accommodations Directorates of the Hungarian Peoples' Army, the Air Defense Command, as well as the directorates for Combat and Physical Training, Motor Vehicles, Commissariat, Military Colleges, Justice Administration, Regulation Drafting, and the Inspector General of the Army Troops. Some files contain partial, internal tables of contents or inventories, but these are often written in an illegible longhand and filled with numerous abbreviations, the meanings of which are not always obvious. One can hope that someday the inventories of this collection will be filmed.

Notable contents

Naturally, to adequately describe a collection consisting of some ninety thousand pages from all of these military units and subunits would require much more than the pages allotted to me here. I will, therefore, discuss some of the more obvious highlights.

Files of the Hungarian War History Archives

Ministerial Orders. These documents, representing the official proclamations of the Minister of Defense and found in the files of that organization's Secretariat, consist of general orders, orders of the day, orders for officers, and ceremonial orders. These missives cover diverse topics. For example, Order No. 1 of 1950 (all of the orders cited in this paragraph are from 1950) reported that an inspection found security lax in the Defense Ministry. Order No. 4 demanded "iron discipline" and warned against both liberal and bureaucratic handling of disciplinary cases. Officer Order No. 5 announced the demotion of an officer for losing, in a border zone, classified documents showing the strength of a rifle regiment; the order subsequently forbade the taking of classified documents into the border zone. Officer Order No. 6 exposed two cases of mass food poisoning at the Rákosi Armor Officers School. Officer Order No. 7, likewise, demoted a captain for not only permitting spoiled food to be served to his men but also for hindering and disciplining two of his men who tried to bring this wrongdoing to the attention of the appropriate party organization. There are also numerous inspection results, containing some praise but mostly pointing out shortcomings, with punishments for the guilty. The inspection described in Order No. 23 uncovered the improper handling of ammunition at various facilities. Order No. 26 forbade the armed forces from exceeding ammunition norms set for the year.

These ministerial orders indicate that the Ministry of Defense considered desertion and flight abroad a serious problem. Confidential Order of the Day No. 1 (January 31, 1949) dealt with lax discipline and illegal flight abroad among border guards. Daily Order No. 17 transferred the border guard command to AVO (Államvédelmi Osztály—the secret police) on January 1, 1950. General Order No. 15, dated June 15, 1950, aimed to prevent air defense pilots

from fleeing the country. Declaring such flight abroad to be treasonous, the order warned that those assisting such an act could also be held guilty of treason, as could any adult members of the pilot's household. It also held superior officers, up to regimental commander, responsible for such acts committed by subordinates. Furthermore, it forbade pilots from taking technical manuals or any printed material with them on flights, other than that required for flight operation. This order appears to have been published as a small pamphlet with the classification "For Official Use Only" (csak szolgálati használatra), which suggests that it was distributed to pilots. A related order of the Hungarian government's Presidium (No. 26) sets down a punishment of life imprisonment for anyone in the military who attempted to flee the country, or death for those who attempted to flee in a group or with weapons.

Political Control. The files of the Chief Directorate for Political Matters form only a small group, but they are of great interest because this organization was instituted by the party to increase its control of the military. Nearly all these files date from 1950; only one dates from 1949, although two files entitled *Old Documents* do contain some material from 1949. The files are subdivided into *Economic and Financial Matters*, and *Organizational Matters*, plus about five hundred pages in the *Reports from Units* and about thirty pages in the *Party Organization Section* files. There are also files on *General Matters* and *Miscellaneous Matters*.

The contents of these files cover numerous subjects. One finds proposals for establishing political sections in the various military service units. Other documents deal with the Directorate's budget. The small file for 1949 mentioned above contains a document that sets out the sphere of responsibility of the newly-formed Political Matters Directorate. In *Old Documents* one finds a table that

establishes the amount of time an officer, from master sergeant to lieutenant colonel, needed to spend in grade before advancing to the next. After this table appears a list of officers in the Political Directorate's Agitprop Section and the time they had spent in their current ranks. In another document, Defense Minister Farkas transfers supervisory control of the Defense Ministry's Justice Section to the Political Directorate.

Besides providing increased political control, the Chief Directorate for Political Matters also gave the political leadership an alternative source of information about conditions in the ranks. Two rather brief—and rather mundane—reports, both dated February 15, 1950, can serve as illustrations. The author of the first complains that new recruits at a basic training camp had not yet received their winter gloves. In the other, an officer reports that two hundred signal corps soldiers became sick in the middle of January because of their presumably defective boots.

Reorganization and Expansion. The files of the General Staff, Organizational and Mobilization Section contain much information about the structure of the Ministry of Defense and the armed forces. For 1949 we find establishment tables and the missions of the various sections of the Defense Ministry, and the Reorganization of 1950 is reflected in General Staff files *Reorganization of the Ministry of Defense* and *Reorganization of the Territorial Organs*. These two large files are followed by *Compilation of Modification Decrees* for 1950 and 1951 and *Approved Establishment Tables "B,"* which show the structure, personnel, and equipment of each of 433 units within the armed forces and within each unit down to the squad level. Taken together, one gets a detailed view of the Hungarian Peoples' Army in 1949 and 1950.

Also of interest are Defense Minister Farkas' notes about the reorganization that appear in a rough draft of the

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reorganization order (1950/T, 21), dated July 26, 1950. He writes that the Defense Ministry's organization is antiquated and not up to "modern standards," but that the reorganization will remedy this by bringing the Hungarian defense establishment in line with Soviet organizational principles.

Large collections

Files or file groups with the same descriptors can be quite large. For example, the General Staff's *Draft and Recruitment Matters* for 1950 and 1951 contains more than forty-five hundred pages, while the General Staff's Organizational and Mobilization Directorate's *Organizational Plans* for 1951 contains over sixty-one hundred pages.

Other large files include the Air Defense Command's *Documents of the Presidential Directorate 1949*, which extends over four reels, as does the Organizational and Mobilization Directorate of the General Staff's *Approved Establishment Tables "B" (Peace)*. The Ministry of Defense's *Miscellaneous Matters 1949* contains about a thousand pages; the *General Matters of the Inspector General of the Army Troops 1950* has about two thousand pages, and the *Materiel Matters 1950* of the General Staff, Directorate of Communication, about sixteen hundred pages. Concerning budgets, one finds nearly one thousand pages for 1949, over thirteen hundred pages for 1950 plus a file called "Budgetary Demand" for 1950 of over fifteen hundred pages. These budget files are found in the General Staff's Directorate for Materiel Planning, the files for which illustrate not only the depth but also the breadth of information found in this collection. For 1949 and 1950 one finds more than forty files on such diverse topics as the acquisition of military hardware, the planning process itself, budgets (as mentioned above), plus three large files of

invoices of equipment purchased from the Soviet Union with a total of nineteen hundred pages. All in all, these documents provide researchers with a view of the literal nuts and bolts purchased by the Hungarian military for the years 1949 and 1950.

Comparability

By comparability I mean similarity, in contents and in size, among files over time. Comparability permits researchers to focus on themes and trace them over time. Of course comparability is limited by the physical constraints of the collection examined here—not quite three complete years of film. Moreover, during this brief period there were several military reorganizations, which means that a given function of a military organization, and hence the records created by that function, could be transferred to another military organization, thus making it difficult to trace the function over time.

For example, we find the Ministry of Defense's Secretariat *Ministerial Orders* files for all three years, including a few documents from 1948, while files entitled *Miscellaneous Matters* are present for 1949 and 1950 but not for 1951. For that year, however, we find files entitled *General Matters* and *Ministerial Statements*, which may contain comparable information. For the files of the Chief Directorate for Political Matters, nearly all the material filmed dates from 1950; there is nothing from 1951, and only one file for 1949, although a file entitled *Old Documents* does contain some pre-1950 material.

Among the General Staff files, those for the Materiel Planning Directorate show little comparability. Although under *Ammunition Matters* we find substantial files for both 1949 and 1950; for the *Chemical Defense, Motor Vehicle, Optical, and Technical Matter* files we find larger files for 1950 than for 1949. For *Aircraft, Communications, Depot,*

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Extension Training, Fuel, and a host of other files, we find information only for 1950 and nothing for 1949 or 1951.

The theme of Air Defense also illustrates this desirable but elusive concept of comparability. Four files for 1949 are to be found under the organizational heading Air Defense Command, but there is nothing for 1950 and 1951. For 1950 we find two General Staff files called *Air Defense Matters*—one from the Organizational Directorate, the other from the Secretariat. For 1951 a file called *Air Defense Matters* turns up only in the General Staff's Operational Directorate. All told, for 1949 we have about four thousand pages of information, but for 1950 and 1951 about six hundred and fifty pages each.

Undoubtedly, more comparability exists than we can discern by glancing at the index to these files. An examination of the inventories, which do not accompany the film, would bring to the surface many themes that are, at present, hidden behind the very general names of files. The use of these inventories, of course, would permit researchers to focus on the themes of interest without having to examine every document in a given file. Researchers should be warned to resist the temptation to read everything that catches the eye, because there is much in this collection that will catch the eye.

**THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE'S
Confidential Order of the Day Number 1**

To every command of the Army's Border Guard and to every individual border guard:

Brothers-in-Arms!

1. The mission of the Border Guard is to protect the borders of the Republic of Hungary against the enemies of the people. Its task is to prevent political criminals, imperialist agents and their local stooges, as well as criminals, smugglers and their accomplices, from illegally crossing our borders. The border guards' service is of extraordinarily high significance for the quiet, peaceful life and creative work of the Hungarian workers, the political and economic development of the Hungarian people's democracy, the uninterrupted building of socialism. The service of the border guards (especially on our western and southern borders), compared to the peacetime service of all forces of the Hungarian Army, is the most difficult, but the most important and the best also: active service in peacetime also.

In this struggle it is the obligation of every honorable border guard to fulfill his patriotic commitments.

2. Since the establishment of the democratic Army Border Guards some three years ago, up until now was it in the forefront among the Army forces in the area of political consciousness, discipline, and performance of duty. During the initial difficulties accompanying the currency inflation and the development of the Army, the border guards heroically stayed at their post while being ragged, hungry, poorly equipped, and poorly armed; and, as material conditions improved, they more and more effectively guarded the border. With this they became worthy of recognition by their superiors and the esteem and love of the people.

3. Recently, however, an increase in disturbing incidents show that discipline and order has become slack in the Border Guard, political consciousness and sense of obligation has been lowered, and as a result of all of this the performance of duties and the surveillance of the border has slackened. Among individual border guard companies and at outposts a scandalous state of affairs rules in the areas of discipline, orderliness [*belrend*], cleanliness, internal policing, and obligatory secrecy; commanders, officers, and warrant officers neglect supervising and training the troops, are not concerned about the military and political education of their subordinates or teaching them vigilance, which leads to a steep decline in [political] consciousness, and opens a wide gap among the ranks of the border guards for the planned, subversive activities of the enemy. As a result of this, especially on the western and southern borders, desertions have taken place recently.

This month, on the night of the 25-26th, five border guards from the 9th Nagykanizsa battalion, 26th squadron, 119th outpost at Somogyudvarhely, deserted over the border, as did two border guards from the the 120th outpost at Vizvár.

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On the night of the 28 and 29th two border guards from the Kiskunhalas 11th battalion, 32nd squadron, 142nd outpost at Kunbaja fled over the border.

The successful mass desertion of these miserable traitors and the increase in their numbers, and the circumstance that no one observed and reported the preparations of the conspirators for deserting shows the first stages of the degradation of the individual units in the Border Guard. That danger threatens the Border Guard, further degrades its value, and it cannot carry out the tasks prescribed by our working people.

These indefensible conditions must be radically liquidated!

4.a) For the mass desertions that turned up in the Army's 26th squadron I call the guilty to account:

For serious offenses, I order the arrest of and start court martial proceedings against

**Major Béla Bence Szabó, 9th Army battalion command,
Staff Sergeant János Szabó, 20/119 Army outpost commander,
Gyula Dani and Gábor Varga, 20/119 Army outpost soldiers.**

**For negligently performing duties as commanders, for not rendering the necessary supervision, and for not maintaining discipline, I order
Captain István Horváth, former commander, Army 26th Squadron,
Captain Imre Gál, current commander, Army 26th Squadron,
to serve 30 (thirty) days confinement to quarters as punishment.**

**Because he negligently carried out his duties, I relieve
Lieutenant György Vencel, the 9th Army Battalion, Office D,
him from his post, place him in a lower rank, and punish him with 30
(thirty) days confinement to quarters; finally**

**For weak demeanor toward his subordinates I order
József Badacsonyi, battalion sergeant-major, the 20/120 Army Outposts,
to be punished with 30 days confinement to quarters.**

The Border Guard Headquarters will carry out the punishments.

**The prison sentences will be served on the premises of the Budapest
VAP prison facilities.**

b) As a punishment I shamefully disband the 26th Army Squadron.

This is the squadron which brought up traitors and deserters in its ranks and in this fashion brought embarrassment to the entire army and, in its present composition, is not worthy to continue to remain as a squadron.

I ORDER that those officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, line-officers, and troops of the 26th Army Squadron be dispersed among the other battalions of the Border Guard.

c) From every officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier of the 26th Army Squadron I am taking away the border guard insignia.

The Border Guard Command will gather and store the insignia.

**I reserve the right to possibly reissue the insignia to those concerned.
The Border Guard Command can make a proposal concerning this no earlier than in six months' time for those who, with excellent service in their new positions and with exemplary conduct, prove worthy.**

War History Archives, Budapest, Hungary

d) Private First Class Imre Borbács, on the other hand, for faithfully carrying out his duties and, overcoming every obstacle, for immediately reporting the deserters to the post commander, is accorded the praise of the Minister of Defense, and I promote him to corporal and accord him a bounty.

I ORDER every officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier of the Border Guard, through joint effort, to reestablish the discipline, order, and the good morale of the Border Guard.

I ORDER every Border Guard commander and political officer, with increased, continual, and thorough supervision; with increased vigilance, with the consistent exposure of mistakes, with militant-minded education, and with praise and with disciplinary action, to train subordinates as conscientious soldiers, faithful to the free Hungarian homeland, and, with their own comportment, set a good example.

I ORDER every border guard to exercise his duties honorably.

I offer every possible human and material support to the Border Guard; likewise, I will avenge without mercy every irregularity, every lack of discipline.

I expect border guards to carry out my order precisely, without any hesitation, and in the shortest time again earn the recognition of their superiors and the esteem of the people.

6. The Border Guard General Headquarters must, in a ceremonious and instructive way, promulgate this order in front of all subordinates on February 2nd.

Distribution: Border Guards (including border posts)

Budapest, January 31, 1949

Mihály Farkas
Minister of Defense

Confidential Order of the Day No. 1, of January 1, 1949, deals with lax discipline and illegal flight abroad among border guards. Reel H-1, MN 1949/T, 1/1, Secretariat, Ministry of Defense, Miscellaneous Matters.

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I approve!

TOP SECRET!

No. 14

“B”

Infantry Anti-Tank Artillery Battalion
Establishment Table

[signature: Farkas]

Summary:

1-9 Personnel			10-13 Horses				14-19 Motorized Vehicles			
1. Officers	2. Warrant Officers	3. Non-com. Officers	4. Line Officers	5. Soldiers	6. Party Secretaries	7. Total Military	8. Civilians	9. Total	14. Service Vehicles	15. Squadron Vehicles
13	12		27	62	2	116		116	1	9

Military Personnel	Civilians	Weaponry	Trucks
Major	1	Pistols	34 3 ton 2
Captain	3	Rifles	65 3 ton open 1
First Lieutenants	4	Submachine guns	17
Lieutenants	4	Light machine guns	2
Master-Sergeants	1	76 mm. Guns	6
Warrant Officers	12		
Line Officers	27		
Soldiers	62		
Party Secretaries	2		

Notes:

This document shows one of the establishment tables, No. 14 for a Rifle Division's Anti-Tank Artillery Battalion. Note that this Top Secret document shows the battalion wielding six 76 mm anti-tank guns with a compliment of 116 men, including two party secretaries and three vehicles, but no horses. Note the approval of the Minister of Defense in the upper left-hand corner. Reel H-35, MN 1950/T, 23, Organizational and Mobilization Directorate, General Staff Approved Establishment Tables “B” (Peace) 1-90.

War History Archives, Budapest, Hungary

Rail Invoice for One in a Group of Soviet Tanks Delivered to Hungary

Index No. 1

September 5, 1950

SPECIFICATION NO. 1

For railway invoice No. 004892/32359 Railway wagon No. 1431737

Type of Cargo			Quantity	Weight
T-34-85 Tank, no. 8831, 82, with artillery weapon, technically in good working order, complete with individual ZIP			1	32 tons

Specifications for the cargo listed at Zagon [Zahony], given to the representative of the Minister of Defense of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic, according to Special Document No. 02820/NUK of 8/29/50, in the name of Captain Karoly Zsumbera.

Specifications given by: [signature, date]
Miasin)

Specifications received by
[signature] (Karoly Zsumbera)

September 5, 1950

The representative of the Ministry of Defense of the Hungarian PDR, Captain Karoly Zsumbera, received specifications in one copy from No. 1 to No. 20 in twenty items.

Budget files in the General Staff's Directorate for Materiel Planning, which illustrate the depth and breadth of information found in this collection, contain for 1949 and 1950 more than forty files on such diverse topics as the acquisition of military hardware, the planning process itself, budgets, plus three large files of invoices of equipment purchased from the Soviet Union with a total of 1,900 pages. One such document is this shipping invoice for a T-34 tank purchased along with nineteen others in 1950. Reel H-48, MN 1950/T/42/1, Directorate for Materiel Planning, General Staff.

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Extremely important!
Top Secret!

Report

about the number of personnel planned for the Hungarian Peoples' Army
for the Autumn of 1951 and the Autumn of 1952

	Officers	Warrant Officers	Soldiers	Cadets	Total Military	Civilian Employees	Grand Total
Personnel at present	18,640	34,974	57,241	13,358	124,213	10,892	135,105
Development during 1951	8,615	4,705	37,850	–	51,170	1,527	52,697
Personnel in Autumn 1951	27,255	39,679	95,091	13,358	175,383	12,419	187,802
Development during 1952	2,295	4,141	9,399	–	15,835	818	16,653
Personnel in Autumn 1952	29,550	43,820	104,490	13,358	191,218	13,237	204,455

Prepared: In three copies

Compiled by: Captain Palotás
First Lieutenant Vécsei

Typist: Klára Hoffmann

Budapest, January 27, 1951

One interesting set of documents from the General Staff's Organizational and Mobilization Directorate's *Organizational Plans* for 1951 concerns actual staffing of the armed forces for 1951 and proposed staffing for 1952. Note that between the two documents, dated about one week apart, part of the sharp increase in personnel planned for 1951 got shifted into 1952. Even with the revision, the officer corps was to increase by 43% in 1951 alone, with an

War History Archives, Budapest, Hungary

Extremely important!
Top Secret!

Report

about the number of personnel planned for the Hungarian Peoples' Army
for the Autumn of 1951 and the Autumn of 1952

	Officers	Warrant Officers	Soldiers	Cadets	Total Military	Civilian Employees	Grand Total
Personnel at present	18,640	34,974	57,241	13,358	124,213	10,892	135,105
Development during 1951	7,940	3,434	35,620	2,000	44,944	1,395	46,389
Personnel in Autumn 1951	26,580	38,408	92,861	11,358	169,207	12,287	181,494
Development during 1952	3,268	6,919	11,113	-	21,300	950	22,250
Personnel in Autumn 1952	29,848	45,327	103,974	11,358	190,057	13,237	203,744

Prepared: In three copies

Compiled by: Captain Palotás
First Lieutenant Vécsei

Typist: Ibolya Kontor

Budapest, February 2, 1951

additional 11% increase in 1952. For common soldiers, the increases were 62% and 12% respectively. Note also that the forecasted overall personnel totals for 1952 were slightly lower than originally planned. The *Organizational Plans* files for 1951 also include the monthly work plans and reports from individuals and units within the directorate. Reel H-75, MN 1951/T, 49/1, Organizational and Mobilization Directorate, General Staff, Organizational Plans.

**The Central Military Archives
(*Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe*)
Microfilm Collection at the Library of Congress**

**Ronald Bachman
Library of Congress**

As of January 2000, the Central Military Archives (Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe—CAW) microfilm collection at the Library of Congress was comprised of eighty-four reels of 35-mm film containing high-quality images of some one hundred thousand pages of declassified military records. The collection includes letters, memoranda, and official policy papers of the Polish Cabinet of Ministers, the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, and other important military bodies, as well as situation and combat reports from World War II and the Warsaw Uprising, monthly reports from the military attachés at the embassy in Washington in the 1950s, and various other documents from the Cold War era up to and including the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The last five reels of the collection were not yet available for this writer's review in January, but they are known to consist of portions of a previously classified thirty-volume history, written in the mid-1980s, which traces the development of the Polish People's Armed Forces from 1945 to 1980. The microfilm collection is in the custody of the European Reading Room, Thomas Jefferson Building, Room 250 (telephone 202-707-4515).

The selection of records to be filmed was negotiated in stages by the US Department of Defense (with suggestions from eminent American scholars) and the CAW

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administration; filming began in May 1996. Since the filming of files and delivery of the finished product to the Library proceeded after each round of negotiations, the reel numbering is not chronological, nor are all files from a given CAW collection (*zespół*) always contained on contiguous reels. To ensure that all records of potential interest are found, researchers should consult the reel-contents list prepared by the quality-control staff in the Library's Preservation Reformatting Division. The list reproduces the headers and file descriptors inserted into the film itself at the CAW. The reel-contents list is available online at <http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/european/archiwum.html>.

Researchers will find this online finding aid more convenient than a hard-copy version because it is keyword searchable. Someone interested in the Warsaw Uprising, for example, would have to read through the entire lengthy list to find the files that deal with this subject on the widely separated reels W-40/W-41 and W-72/W-73. With the online version, this process is completed with the click of a mouse.

Regrettably, many reels contain rather un-descriptive headings, e.g., W-5 through W-14 are labelled simply "General Staff. Organizational Orders." In such cases, the dates of information and the CAW classification markings are the only guide to the files' contents. The CAW classification markings (*sygnatury archiwalne*) are explained in the finding aid *Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, Informator o zasobie* (Central Military Archives, an Informative Guide to Holdings), a copy of which is available in the European Reading Room.

As stated above, the documents in this microfilm collection date to the three-decade period of 1939-1968. The largest number of files are from 1945 (65), 1944 (59), 1939 (59), 1949 (34), 1946 (31), and 1948 (30). Roughly 39 percent of the files date to the World War II period (1939-45); about 22 percent are from the early post-war

Central Military Archives Microfilm Collection

years, during the consolidation of communist rule and sovietization (1945-1949); some 28 percent date to the period of the first six-year plan (1950-1956) and the Stalinist Bierut regime; and 11 percent of the files are from the Gomulka period, ending with the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. If researchers limit their search by date of information, however, they may miss relevant documents. For example, someone researching the Katyn massacre, which took place in April 1940, might overlook reel W-76, labeled “Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Special Materials, 1947-1955.” On that reel, file 606/92 t27, page 22, contains a summary of a conversation with retired Brigadier General Chmurowicz concerning German efforts to ensure that blame for the atrocity was attributed to the Red Army.

Researchers accustomed to powerful online search engines will find using the CAW microfilm collection a time-consuming, laborious task. Not only is it not keyword-searchable but it also lacks a comprehensive index. Parts of the collection may be correlated (with no small effort) to the four-volume inventory entitled *Inwentarz akt ludowego wojska polskiego z lat 1943-1945, jednostki bojowe* (Inventory of Documents of the Polish People’s Army from the Years 1943-1945, Combat Units), found on reels W-73 and W-74, and more than a dozen other inventories of CAW collections, found on reels W-63 and W-64, e.g., the Political Directorate and Central Institutions of the Ministry of Defense, 1950-1957. But at present, scholars have few shortcuts and must plan on investing many hours of searching to ensure that they have identified all (or even most) of the files of potential value for their research.

In the remaining pages of this overview, the files have been organized into chronological/thematic groups—a first step toward a true subject index. As noted above, the last five reels in the collection (W-80–W-84), which were

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not yet available for review at this writing, contain some files from the post-1968 period, but they represent a relatively small fraction of the collection and will not be described at this time. Readers are advised to check the online reel-contents list, which will be updated as additional reels are acquired by the European Reading Room.

World War II (1939-1945)

Reels W-65 through W-72 describe Poland's valiant but hopeless struggle against the overwhelming might of the invading German army in 1939. The military assets and order of battle of Polish forces commanded by Marshal Rydz-Smigly before the invasion are described, and day-by-day accounts of the fighting throughout the country are presented. Reel W-72 presents a compilation of war losses. While much of the material is a typed draft of a detailed history of the war in Poland, prepared in 1949 for publication by *Wydawnictwo Prasa Wojskowa* (the Military Press Publishing House), the collection also contains a hodgepodge of original documents, including communiques, charts, and orders.

Reels W-32 through W-42 contain the bulk of the collections' World War II documents, mostly under the rubric "Main Headquarters of the Polish Army" (*Sztab Główny WP*), i.e., the Polish military forces reassembled under Soviet control on the Eastern Front following the fall of Poland. Among the papers are charts, maps, correspondence, operational communiques, cipher documents, quartermaster reports, and organizational information. Reels W-39 and W-40 contain daily records of combat operations. Reels W-40–W-42 provide information on the activities of the First Army during the Warsaw Uprising and interesting material on the relationship of the Soviet Army to the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa* or AK). The AK was the underground resistance, organized soon

after the beginning of the German occupation. In 1944 it claimed it could muster a force of 400,000 fighters. In August 1944, as the Soviet Army neared Warsaw, the AK led the famous uprising to liberate the capital from within. The destruction of the AK command by the Germans paved the way for the eventual Soviet takeover of Poland. Perhaps the following files will shed new light on this tragic event, which has been described as the bloodiest urban revolt in modern history: "Report on the Battle for Praga," "Report on Assistance to the AK," "Report on the Union of Armed Struggle," "Correspondence between Headquarters and the AK Headquarters," and "Relations between the AK and the Soviet Army."

Reels W-72/W-73 present situation and combat reports (mostly hand-written) detailing the daily operations of the AK units during the uprising. Many of these are urgent pleas for ammunition or other assistance, e.g., "Situation difficult, constant fire from 4 tanks, intermediate type. Fire has gone on for 20 minutes already. Based on reports we expect heavier units are amassing. Two killed, 5 wounded. We are using gasoline as the only effective weapon against the attacking [tanks]. Ammunition running short. Please send boxes of grenades and any kind of rifle ammunition.... Pilots are observing us from overhead. What are we to do!"

Early Postwar Period (1945-1949)

Reels W-1-W-4, W-29-W-33, and W-42-W-55 hold most of the files pertaining to the establishment of communist control and sovietization of the Polish armed forces following the war. Of particular interest are the files dealing with the suppression of various resistance groups. Reels W-42-W-44 contain files entitled "Guidelines, instructions, plans, and reports on combating the underground," "Plans for eliminating the underground," and

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“General Mossor’s Report.” Reels W-1 and W-2 provide new details concerning the Vistula Operation (*Akcja Wisła*) by Polish and Soviet forces against Ukrainian insurgents, including transcripts of captured Ukrainian documents, maps of operations in southeastern Poland, and General Mossor’s cables from the field. It is interesting to note that Polish and Ukrainian scholars alike have been revisiting this sensitive topic since 1989. Whereas during the Cold War years, the PWN Great Polish Encyclopedia (*Wielka encyklopedia powszechna—PWN*) did not even mention *Akcja Wisła*, the 1996 edition, albeit briefly, does describe the events, which resulted in the forced relocation of more than one hundred forty thousand Ukrainians and Lemkos from the southeastern borderlands to northern and western parts of Poland. Operational communiques from the Minister of Defense to President Bierut contain highly detailed information about the progress of the military action and the resettlement, including the number of families, individuals, horses, cattle, and other livestock transported to specific counties (*powiaty*).

Much of the other material from this period is highly technical or bureaucratic in nature and is not especially interesting. Nevertheless, it provides detailed information on the process of reforming the Polish army under Soviet hegemony. Many files concern the procurement of weapons and materiel from the USSR. It is interesting that often the documents are in both Polish and Russian while the prices for the hardware are figured in US dollars. The reels contain numerous quartermaster reports of dubious research value. Reels W-46–W-55 deal with various aspects of political indoctrination in all branches of service and for all military ranks, i.e., plans, directives, reports, and statistical analyses.

The First Six-Year Plan (1950-1956)

The bulk of the material from this period is found on reels W-3–W-14, W-26–W-29, W-55–W-62, W-75 and W-78. Again, the material largely consists of nuts-and-bolts technical, economic, and organizational information from the period when the Polish People’s Army was being built. Notable exceptions are the files about the Repatriation Commission in Korea (reels W-25–W-27), subversive groups (W-56 and W-57), and the reports of military attachés assigned to Washington. The latter files put a human face on the Cold War atmosphere that was developing in the early 1950s and include accounts of Washington diplomatic receptions, ceremonies, and conversations. For example, an ambitious deputy military attaché eager to demonstrate his ideological credentials responds to the question of his American counterpart concerning the Polish public’s reaction to the news of Stalin’s death with the retort, “Do you have any doubt that the loss of such a genius already has caused deep grief not only among Poles but among all decent people throughout the world?” Put in his place, the stunned American hastily left the reception, according to the report. Many of the reports complain about the lack of freedom of movement imposed on the embassy and consular staffs by the Eisenhower administration.

The Gomulka Era (1956 through the Invasion of Czechoslovakia)

Some of the collection’s most interesting documents are from this period. Reels W-14 and W-15 contain a series of drafts of the Polish-Soviet Status of Forces Agreement of 1957, including Gomulka’s final authorization, an important document in the history of the Warsaw Pact. Reels W-74 and W-75 concern Polish participation in the Pact’s intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Much of the

material deals with the logistics of the operation; noteworthy are the detailed maps showing the movement and disposition of troops. A lengthy report on the performance of the forces, the effectiveness of tactics, and lessons learned is especially interesting. Also noteworthy are the account of the meeting of representatives of the five armies with President Svoboda and an order by the Czech Chief of the General Staff and the Minister of Defense affirming that Czechoslovakia was an inseparable part of the Warsaw Pact. Finally, the so-called "Special Materials" from the Political Directorate (reel W-77) deserve special attention for information about the trials and purges of some of the top military leadership during the worst years of the Bierut regime.

Conclusion

The CAW microfilm collection contains much valuable new material for research on Poland's experience in World War II and the Cold War period through 1968. Although the absence of a detailed index will frustrate some researchers, those with the patience to scroll through as many reels as possible will find their time well spent. In addition, researchers planning to travel to the CAW in Warsaw will find it useful to study the above-mentioned inventories on reels W-63, W-64, W-73, and W-74 and orient themselves to the CAW collections in advance. In that connection, they are advised to consult Wanda Krystyna Roman's excellent new book, *Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, 1918-1998* (Torun: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszalek, 1999, 244 pp.). A copy of the book was donated to the Library by the author and is available in the European Reading Room.

The CAW microfilm collection is an excellent complement to the Library's other special collections from the period, e.g., the German Captured Documents

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Collection (especially the documents on the 1939 invasion and the General Gouvernement), the W. Averell Harriman Papers Collection (documents on the Potsdam and Yalta conferences and the Katyn atrocity, among others), and the recently acquired Dmitrii Antonovich Volkogonov Papers Collection (World War II and the Cold War military build-up). Also available in the European Reading Room are complete runs of microfilmed Polish serials, including the military daily newspaper *Zolnierz Wolnosci* and the official paper of the Polish United Workers' Party *Trybuna Ludu*.

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Reel W-76. Classification mark 606/92 t27. The following document illustrates the collection of evidence for sham trials in which high-ranking military officials were purged during the Bierut regime. Stefan Mossor had been a general in the Polish Legions in World War I, commander of the Borderlands Cavalry Brigade in 1939, a prisoner of war from 1939 to 1945, the chief of staff of the State Security Committee in 1947, and the commander of the Vistula Operation. Despite this record of accomplishment, he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1956, however, he was rehabilitated.

Notes from Conversation with General Chmurowicz

On February 20, 1950, Brigadier General (retired) Chmurowicz testified in his case. During the conversation, he touched on his experiences as a prisoner of war. Among other things, he told us the following:

At the time of the Katyn affair, he was in the Woldenburg POW camp. He was the only general there, and at the command of the London government, he exercised the highest authority. One day a representative of the German authorities informed him that he would be traveling to Berlin. No reason was given. He was transported to Berlin first class with all the trimmings. In Berlin he was taken to a private apartment building, where he was installed in a specially arranged flat. A German captain from the General Staff appeared and informed Chmurowicz that he would be traveling with nine other Polish officers to Katyn for the purpose of verifying the atrocity by the Bolsheviks. Chmurowicz reportedly answered that he would not go to Katyn for three reasons: 1) he was a captured Polish officer, and as such he could not participate in the initiatives of the enemy government; 2) the entire matter should have been handled by the International Red Cross; 3) he had a serious heart problem and would not be able to endure the 1000-km flight. In another room, the German captain conferred with someone by telephone and then left, giving Chmurowicz no reply. Two hours later, at about 10 p.m., nine Polish officers were led into the room. Among them was then Colonel (now General) Mossor. After supper Chmurowicz spoke with Mossor on the side and let him know the position he had taken, and he called on Mossor to join him the next day and object once again to the trip to Katyn. Mossor assured him that he would take that position.

The next day at 7 a.m., the German officers came into the apartment. One of them informed Chmurowicz that he would not be going but would regret it. The other officers were ordered to get dressed for the trip. Mossor obeyed the German officer's order and did not even try to utter a word of protest.

Collection of the Central Military Archives

On that same day, General Chmurowicz was taken back to the camp, but this time under much worse circumstances. Chmurowicz learned that German propaganda already before the fact had been proclaiming that he, General Chmurowicz, would be leading a group of Polish officers to Katyn. Of course after Chmurowicz's refusal, the German newspapers stopped mentioning his name.

Ten days later the German authorities disseminated in the Woldenburg camp a printed report, which had been signed by Mossor and which presented the Katyn affair in a very favorable light for the Germans. Chmurowicz read the report and felt that the Germans could not have wished for anything better.

Chmurowicz stated that after the trip to Katyn, Mossor was moved from his previous camp to a much better and more comfortable camp near Berlin.

Recorded from memory following
my conversation with Chmurowicz

Col. J. Burgin

20 February 1950
copy 1 to Mossor's documents
copy 2 to General Ochab

The Open House Collection

Copy .

Enclosure no. 16.

Chart of Distribution of
Persons Resettled in *Akcja Wisła* from the Beginning to 18 July 1947
to Olsztyn voivodeship

[Column headings, left to right:]

- * Counties [*powiaty* = administrative units within a voivodeship]
- * Total rural population as of 1 May
- * Persons resettled by *Akcja Wisła* between 4 May and 18 July 1947
 - families
 - individuals
- * Inventory of:
 - horses
 - cattle
 - other (non-horned) livestock

Deputy Director of the Settlement Division
illegible signature

Verifying the copy:
Chief of the Operational Division, Operational Group “Wisła”
[signature]
/ SOCHACKI/
Major.

Reel W-2. Classification mark IV.500.1/A t194. This is a typical document from the files on the Vistula Operation (*Akcja Wisła*), providing detailed statistics on the resettlement of Ukrainians and Lemkos from their homeland along the southern and eastern borders of Poland to distant territories in the north and west, in this case, Olsztyn voivodeship.

Collection of the Central Military Archives

Reel W-40. Classification mark III.4.t77. The following handwritten and encoded document contains instructions from General Zygmunt Berling, commander of the Polish First Army, to General Julian Skokowski on how to proceed if the Warsaw Uprising should fail.

To General Skokowski in Warsaw,

In the event of Warsaw's capitulation, your forces are not to surrender and are not to engage in provocation. Withdraw your forces to the west of Warsaw. Designate rendezvous points from which they are to be directed to the Kampinowska Forest, located 30 km to the northwest of Warsaw. In the forest, concentrate your forces and set up your command, to include a radio station.

I will maintain communication with you by radio and also by aviation, which will drop provisions, ammunition, and medicine.

The signal for aviation: three fires in a triangle, with a fire in the middle of the triangle.

Simultaneously, if it's possible, organize the crossing of groups of men to our side to the east of Zoliborz and the two southern bridges, where our crossing assets will be on duty. Those who are crossing to our side will be assisted and received. As the signal for our boats and observation in that direction, swing a lantern or a burning object in a circular motion. Inform me of your situation.

General Berling

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Reel W-15. Classification mark 1294/64 t33. The following two documents illustrate the relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense during the negotiations on the Treaty on the Status of Soviet Forces Stationed in Poland. The Ministry of Defense proposed changes to Article 3 of the draft, which read, "Movements of Soviet forces on the territory of the Republic of Poland beyond their stationing areas will require in each case the approval of the Polish Government or other authority designated by it." The final version of the treaty, however, did not incorporate the changes proposed by the Ministry of Defense.

Warsaw, 26 November 1956

POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
No. DPT 26/277/56

Comrade Minister of National Defense
Marian S p y c h a l s k i
internal use
02688
1/9

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs forwards herewith the draft Treaty on the Status of Soviet Forces Stationed in Poland with the notation that it was submitted to the Soviet Side during the Moscow negotiations.

In submitting the draft to the Soviet Side, the Polish Side stated that it is in effect a preliminary draft and thus reserves the right to supplement or change it at a later date.

In view of the preliminary coordination of the attached draft with representatives of the Ministry of National Defense before the departure of the Polish Delegation to Moscow, the Ministry requests consideration of the final position within the next few days because of the great urgency of this matter.

Minister
[illegible signature]

Collection of the Central Military Archives

[handwritten memo]

Minister of Foreign Affairs
Comrade Adam Rapacki

The Ministry of National Defense proposes supplementing the draft Treaty on the Status of Soviet Forces Stationed in Poland as follows:
– in article 3 after the words “outside the territories where they are stationed,” add “to include flights of military aircraft as well as movements of Soviet naval craft.” This change is justified by the necessity of monitoring all possible movements by Soviet units on the territory of the Polish People’s Republic.

Ministry of National Defense
Major General Marian Spychalski

2 copies printed
1 – to addressee
2 – afa [?]

Beginnings of a Long, Cold Comradeship

Early Cold War Documents from the Romanian Military Archives A Microfilm Collection at the Library of Congress

**Grant Harris
Library of Congress**

Thanks to the perseverance of the Romanian Military Archives and the US Department of Defense, the Open House Project brought to the Library of Congress approximately five hundred and fifty reels of microfilm by the end of 1999, with more on the way. The microfilm collection consists of records from the Romanian Military Archives and generally focuses on the period after the coup of August 23, 1944, when King Michael announced both the overthrow of General Antonescu's military dictatorship and Romania's withdrawal from the Tripartite Pact.

The average reel contains nearly one thousand pages, so that the collection received so far approaches five hundred and fifty thousand pages of records—a virtual mountain of primary resource materials. I have examined only a miniscule portion of the microfilm, and my paper is intended only to provide an overview of the three record groups involved, and to illustrate several topics of research value in the veins of ore buried within. The title of my paper, “Beginnings of a Long, Cold Comradeship,” is inspired by documents within these archives on the celebration of Stalin's birthday and of Romanian-Soviet Friendship Week and on orders for the introduction of the term “Comrade” into military usage. Now, more than fifty

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years after the events, do we laugh, cry, or just roll our eyes?

The three record groups which I will describe are:

- Compilation I: The Superior Political Directorate of the Armed Forces, 1945-1965 (partial micro-filming only)
- Compilation II: Joint Chiefs of Staff - Section 2, Intelligence, 1944-1948 (partial microfilming only)
- Compilation III: Military Offices Attached to the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice and the Peace Treaty, 1944-1947 (virtually complete microfilming)

Compilation III deserves special mention. Of the three record groups on microfilm, it is by far the largest, the most complete, the first to be microfilmed and sent to the Library of Congress, and is considered by many to be the most important. For these reasons I will begin with Compilation III, but let me first provide some background.

As with other East European countries during World War II, Romania was caught between Germany and the Soviet Union. In June 1940, as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviets demanded, and got, immediate transfer of Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina. Two months later, in August 1940, the Axis Powers awarded Northern Transylvania to Hungary; and in September of that year Bulgaria seized Southern Dobrogea. Between the Axis Powers and the Soviet Union, Romania had lost one third of its territory and over six million people. In June 1941, abandoned by the Western Allies, Romania agreed to participate in the Axis attack on the Soviet Union, hoping to at least recover Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina. Thus,

the Romanians fought with the Axis Powers from mid-1941 until mid-1944.

To Romania's great disadvantage, the Western Allies left the Soviet Union in charge of armistice negotiations with Romania, and an Armistice Agreement was signed in Moscow on 12 September 1944 between Romania and the Soviet Union, the latter representing all Allied Powers. This date, 12 September, marked the official entry of Romania into the war on the side of the Allies.

Compilation III. The Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice, 1944-1947

In order to represent the Romanian General Staff and government in any discussions with its sole counterpart, the Allied (Soviet) High Command, it was necessary to create the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice. The archives of this Romanian Commission have been microfilmed in near entirety as a result of Project Open House, beginning in 1997 and with near completion in 1999. As of early February 2000, the Library of Congress had received four hundred and eighty reels (R1-480) from this record group, known as Compilation III.

The Soviets were in a position to dictate the terms of the Armistice, and it fell to the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice to fulfill these burdens. Among them were the following:

- The disarmament and internment of the German and Hungarian armies on Romanian territory;
- Recognition of the borders designated in the Romanian capitulation of 28 June 1940, when the Soviets had seized Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina;
- The return of all captured Soviet and Allied citizens and materials;

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- The surrender to the Soviet Union of all materials captured from Axis Powers;
- Complete freedom of movement for Soviet forces and the Allied (Soviet) High Command, with all such activities to be paid for by Romania in Romanian currency;
- Reparations of three hundred million US dollars, payable over six years in commodities, to cover Soviet losses during Romanian occupation of Soviet territory. (The Soviets eventually insisted that payment be pegged to the value of the US dollar in 1938, approximately triple the 1944 value.)

These points are highly reflected in the records of Compilation III. Probably the largest category of documents pertains to Soviet requisitions from Romania, especially the accommodation and provisioning of Soviet troops present on Romanian territory; armament and ammunition; horses and wagons; other livestock and veterinary materials; medicine; motor vehicles, naval and other vessels; and airplanes and aviatational materials.

Despite the superficial calls for warm comradeship, many entries pertain to equipment and goods seized by the Red Army, which was given virtually free rein throughout the country. An even larger number of records concerns other abuses committed by Soviet troops. Many letters involve complaints of individual Romanian citizens wanting restitution of motor vehicles and other possessions seized by the Soviets; and some records tell of individual Romanian acts of vengeance directed against Soviet troops. Taken together, they reflect a grim Romanian landscape at the end of a war on its territory, with the added burdens of exaggerated reparations to the USSR and maintenance of the demanding Red Army.

Documents from the Romanian Military Archives

Having fought with both the Axis and the Allies, Romania was in possession of captured soldiers and equipment from both sides, and in general these prisoners of war and materials were sent to the USSR, regardless of origin. Many of the files document Soviet materials captured by the Romanians and returned to the Soviets. A few entries even concern the restitution of Russian materials captured during the First World War. Similarly, many records describe captured German and Hungarian equipment and the dispatch of this war booty to the USSR. Countless memoranda and lists detail the repatriation of Soviet prisoners of war. Papers also abound on German and Hungarian POWs, often deported to the Soviet Union. Lists of these POWs comprise part of the documentation.

There is information on the ethnic Germans of Romanian citizenship (i.e., the Saxons), their property rights after the war, and lists of some who were deported to the USSR along with German and Hungarian citizens. Similarly, there are many memoranda and lists concerning other Romanian citizens deported to the USSR. Some files discuss Romanians in Germany during the war.

During the period 1941-1944, Romania regained control from the Soviets not only of disputed Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina but also of the contiguous Soviet territory of Transnistria. Several documents portray Romanian administration there and in the Inner Zone Organizations, which Romania established in Odessa, Crimea, and Donets.

The Soviets stipulated that Romania would conduct official business on important matters with only the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission. The United States and Britain did establish individual military missions in Bucharest. The American Military Mission essentially began in late November of 1944 with the arrival in Bucharest of US General Cortland Van Remsselaer

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Schuyler, who served as its head until the Treaty of Peace with Romania was signed on February 10, 1947. Since the United States did not have full diplomatic relations with Romania before the Treaty of Peace, General Schuyler served as the senior American representative for the more than two and one half years he was stationed in Bucharest.

Several documents describe Romanian relations with the American Military Mission, including lists of Romanian liaison officers to the American and British military missions, activity reports of these Romanian liaisons, provisions and supplies to the missions, and so forth. Other documents tell of American and British POWs and captured materials, and a cemetery of American Air Heroes. The significance of these Romanian records pertinent to the American Military Mission cannot be overestimated, for the office papers of the American Military Mission have not been located at the US National Archives or elsewhere.¹

The collection also includes a decree of September 20, 1947, with instructions on how to purge all military records of papers having a “fascist and (or) anti-Soviet character.” This purging concerned a review of all documents created from April 1, 1938, through August 23, 1944.

The Romanian Military Archives and the US Department of Defense agreed to produce a two-volume bilingual finding aid to Compilation III. Volume I was published and distributed in late 1999, entitled *Romanian Military Structures Involved in the Enforcement of the Armistice Agreement and the Treaty of Peace; 1944-1948: Finding Aid*, Volume I (București: Editura Militară, 1999). It covers the first 358 microform reels within Compilation

¹ Dr. Ernest H. Latham, Jr., has made informed efforts to locate the records of the American Military Mission, as noted in his forthcoming paper, “Reports, Stratification and Ruins: Project Open House and Romania.”

Documents from the Romanian Military Archives

III, and much of what I have discussed above is drawn from a close examination of this volume. The finding aid provides a summary for each file, usually of twenty to forty words, but sometimes longer.

Volume I also provides a history of the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice and its sections, along with the original texts of the Armistice Agreement of September 12, 1944, and of the Treaty of Peace signed on the 10th of February 1947. With the arrival of volume II of the finding aid, I will create a rough, ten-page index to both volumes, drawing together like material. Otherwise, one must read through all the summaries to locate all entries pertinent to a particular topic. But one must keep in mind that the finding aid is not exhaustive—a thirty-word summary cannot do full justice to a record file of more than three hundred pages. The two-volume finding aid and the rough index will be mounted on the European Reading Room's website.

The finding aid makes at least one mention of the Iron Guard and its legionnaires, the extreme right-wing group which became prominent in Romania beginning in the early 1930s.

Compilation II. Joint Chiefs of Staff - Section 2, Intelligence, 1944-1948

Compilation II concerns military intelligence records, primarily from August 1944 through 1948. The Romanian Military Archives selected and microfilmed only portions of this compilation in 1972, but since the quality does not meet current standards, the Romanian and American sides agreed that microfilming of those records would begin anew from the original documents, starting in 1998. As of February 2000, sixty-two microform reels of this record group had been received at the Library of Congress (reels R1001–R1062). A finding aid has been

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translated into English and is available on the European Reading Room's website. However, one must be aware that the finding aid also includes material that has not been microfilmed. The Romanian Military Archives has signaled its readiness to work with scholars wishing to examine unmicrofilmed portions of the record group.

These intelligence records are largely given over to general and circular orders; the transfer, assignment, and recall of officers; registers of incoming/outgoing correspondence; foreign radio bulletins; radio intercept centers; and counterintelligence on morale and political orientations within the Romanian Army. Not surprisingly, a few memoranda concern the organization of Russian language courses. Compilation II is considered by many to be the least interesting of the three record groups, and yet it speaks to several topics of considerable interest.

Many records pertain to Romanian military attaches abroad, their training and mission. Many more elaborate the activities of foreign military attaches credentialed in Bucharest, especially from Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Turkey, the United States, and Yugoslavia.

There are frequent reports of prisoners, including numerical counts by nationality of POWs in Romanian camps, lists of these POWs, and Romanian prisoners repatriated from the USSR. Concerning American prisoners, the files contain such documents as: orders for their treatment; Romanian and German accounts of their interrogation; and lists of American and British airmen shot down (primarily in April-June, 1944, when the Western Allies resumed bombing the Ploiești oil fields and added the marshalling yards in Brașov to their list of targets in order to disrupt German operations). There are also intelligence notes concerning intercepted messages transmitted by American airplanes.

Documents from the Romanian Military Archives

One memorandum was written by a Romanian military attache in Japan for the period 1938–1946 and contains references to the atomic bombs dropped there.

Several records concern Yugoslavia. Besides notes on the activities of Yugoslav military attaches in Bucharest, the files include a list of Romanian volunteers in Marshal Tito's army who were repatriated to Romania, and a list of Yugoslav officers decorated on a visit to Romania in 1946.

One can find as well materials on censorship and the minutes and inventory for the handing over of the archive of the Military Cabinet of Marshal Antonescu.

Compilation I. The Superior Political Directorate of the Armed Forces, 1945-1965

Compilation I is rich in materials documenting the Soviet drive to bring the Romanian armed forces under its control. Whereas Compilations II and III focus on a three-to four-year period beginning in 1944, Compilation I spans twenty years beginning in 1945. The Romanian Military Archives microfilmed only selected files of this compilation in 1983, but similar to the decision made for Compilation II, the documents were microfilmed anew, starting in 1998. As of February 2000, ten reels had been received for Compilation I (R2000–R2009). An English translation of the original Romanian finding aid will be available on the European Reading Room's website. However, one must be aware that the finding aid (similar to the Compilation II finding aid) also includes material that was not microfilmed.

The Allied (Soviet) Control Commission gave special attention to the Royal Romanian Army, for the Soviets strongly suspected the political loyalties of the officer corps. Many officers were retired or replaced, and the newly-created Department of Education, Culture and Propaganda endeavored to “re-educate” the army. Many records portray the extensive effort to “democratize” the

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troops. Parallel to these efforts are frequently-updated intelligence reports describing morale and political attitudes in the armed forces, an indication of Soviet anxieties concerning the Romanians' true feelings. The Central Electoral Commission for the Armed Forces is one of several offices well represented in Compilation I.

The communists called their own efforts democratic and labeled as fascist any who were not communist. Romania's traditional political parties, for instance, are described as fascist. These opposition parties received increasing persecution. For example, one file is summarized as "Reports... concerning the starting of a campaign for unmasking the treacherous activities of the former leaders of the national Peasant Party (under Maniu)." Other parties, such as the National Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party, received like treatment.

Similarly, there are reports on other groups' activities, such as "the discovery of reactionary Hungarian circles." Many other records deal with subversive organizations, including legionary groups.

A central political objective of the communists was to gain control of the press, and to that end the Service for Press and Publishing was established. Several of the documents from that office pertain to occasions where the editors of all military journals are brought together for "guidance." One sees in these documents increasing press restrictions. A number of records concern the main military journal, *Glásul Armatei*.

Several reports describe activities of the Tudor Vladimirescu Division and the Horea, Cloșca and Crișan Division. Both of these divisions consisted of Romanian POWs in the USSR who volunteered to fight with the Red Army. Of the two, only the Tudor Vladimirescu Division saw action. From these two divisions many officers were chosen and elevated to the highest positions in the

Documents from the Romanian Military Archives

Romanian Army and government under the Communists. I will cite just a few of the many entries concerning these two divisions: copies of manifestos circulated by Romanian officers who were prisoners of war in the USSR or members of the Tudor Vladimirescu Division; medals issued for them; lists of officers proposed for promotion; and histories of the two divisions.

Conclusion

What I have given above is a description of the three compilations and a sampling of the materials which can be found there. The topics discussed above and many others often recur throughout all three compilations. For instance, sources on Czechoslovak-Romanian relations may be found throughout, including a map showing the location of Romanian army divisions as they approached Prague to assist in its liberation. The Iron Guard and legionary holdover groups are another such area. Jewish affairs would be another. Although the rough finding aids do not make frequent mention of Jewish matters, there is likely more information on this subject as well. One entry reads as follows: "Data charts and lists of names with Jewish individuals who executed hard labor sentences at the Army's Central Repository for Captured materials, between March 31st, 1944 and September 21st, 1944."

The collection contains a significant number of maps and sketches bearing on myriad aspects of the war and its aftermath. A few examples follow: German naval wrecks on the Danube (presumably destroyed by Allied action), Romanian front line troop deployment, disarmament of German troops, liberation of Northern Transylvania, and former German warehouses.

The number of primary documents provided within this collection is immense. The amount of biographical information alone is impressive. In some cases there are

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personnel records or other papers relating to individuals, but there are also hundreds, if not thousands, of lists of military personnel, especially prisoners. Scholars have noted that the Soviets moved into Romania politically and economically much faster than in other East European countries.² This early setting for the cold war is of immense research value, and the public is invited to make use of the documents in the Library of Congress' European Reading Room. I may be contacted in this regard at 202-707-5859 or grha@loc.gov. The available finding aids and index may be consulted at the European Reading Room's website: <http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/european>.

² Hitchins, Keith. *Rumania, 1866-1947*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 515.

Facilities at the Romanian Military Archives

GENERAL COMMAND
Section II-a
Bureau of Counterintelligence

LIST OF NAMES

American aviators captured on Romanian territory on the 6th day of June, 1944.

(Officers)

<u>First name MI Last name</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>City of Origin</u>
1. George Walegatt	Captain		0-399672	Detroit, Michigan
2. Thomas A. Wills	2nd Lieut.	25	0-752069	Ft. Wayne, Indiana
3. Victor H. Ullman	"	26	0-687785	Laurelton, NM[?]
4. Duane M. Buckmaster	"	23	0-751092	Jamaica, Iowa
5. Morris E. Finley	"	25	0-669261	Durant, Oklahoma
6. Charles T. Whitesides	"	22	0-700586	Columbia, Missouri
7. Grady T. Stapp	"	24	0-686586	Franklin, Tennessee
8. Richard M. Dennis	"	20	0-8181??	Lynbrook, Long Island, NY
9. Patrick J. Anderson	"	24	0-691856	Cleveland, Ohio
10. William F. McCabe	"	21	0-699325	Ridgewood, New York
11. Eugene W. Stout	"	26	0-813972	Los Angeles, California
12. Harvey W. Bronstein	"	22	0-802986	Roxbury, Mass.
13. Harry Filkorn	"	25	0-699050	Warren, Ohio
14. Donald J. Pipher	"	27	0-698142	Dechtur, Illinois
15. Edward M. Schieres	"	29	0-706913	Dunkirk, NY
16. Glenferd E. Funk	"	25	0-735563	Wichita, Kansas
17. Marvin E. Hoffman	"	23	0-755563	Oceanside, California
18. Richard C. Kline	"	20	0-690582	Longbeach, California
19. John A. Leins	"	22	0-811099	Brownsburg, Indiana
20. James C. Donan	"	20	0-818643	Montclair, NJ
21. Michael Lyga	"	20	0-695678	Bayonne, NJ
22. Howard L. Sapenoff	"	23	0-752700	Brooklyn, New York
23. Kenneth M. Martin	"	25	0-742750	Denver, Colorado
24. Sidney Wriss	"	28	0-812025	Bronx, New York City
25. Mike T. Minasian	"	20	T-124862	Hazel-Park, Michigan

American aerial bombing of the Ploiești oil fields during the period April-August, 1944, resulted in more U.S. Medals of Honor than for any other target during World War II. The above list is just one of many records reflecting American involvement in Romania during the war and after.

From Compilation II, Joint Chiefs of Staff - Section 2, Intelligence, 1944-1948; reel R1001, frame 64.

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RUMANIAN ARMISTICE COMMISSION

No. 101,465

I

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION,

We beg to inform you that the General Staff by Note No. 125,225/1945 request an increase of 30% for all District Centres of Territorial Exploitation.

As the actual effective of these centres is 13 officers, 11 N.C.O.'s and 309 men, the required increase would amount to 4 more officers, 3 N.C.O.'s and 90 men for each District Centre.

To prove its request, the General Staff shows that the District Centers of Territorial Exploitation at present are busy with the acquisitioning of all necessary supplies for the Soviet Army namely:

- collecting, butchering and salting of 10,000 cattle and 52,000 pigs.
- collecting, packing, pressing and transportation to the railway stations of about 65,000 tons/6,500 railway carriages of fodder.
- collecting, transportation to the railway station, storing and preservation of about 120,000 tons of potatoes.
- acquisitioning, and preparing of about 7,000 tons of salted cabbage.
- collecting of the cattle, their butchering for the manufacturing of 5,000 tons of canned and smoked meat.
- supply with about 5,000 tons of fresh and dry vegetables.
- collecting of necessary pigs in order to obtain a considerable quantity of animal fat.
- daily watch of the factories of food products/canned meat, spaghetti, etc./in the area of each district, taking care of the supply with raw material and of the execution in due time of the orders.
- collecting of different quantities of food products as, biscuits, stewed fruits, fruits, chicken, mutton, condensed milk, sweets, mustard, wine, grains, onions, olive oil, butter, eggs, millet, salamy, salt, beet-root, red pepper, vinegar essence, bread, cream etc.

At the same time, the Centres of Territorial Exploitation have to collect and ensure the necessary supply, cattle and fodder for the Rumanian army.

As the actual organization of the Centres of Territorial Exploitation is made only for the supply needs of the Rumanian Troops, and at present the task of collecting over 4 or 5 times more than in the past, the collecting of supplies, grains and cattle, etc. necessary for the supply of the Rumanian and Soviet Armies, and meeting serious difficulties due to the fact that these Centres have an insufficient effective.

Facilities at the Romanian Military Archives

In view of the above mentioned and due to the fact that the realization in good conditions of the task of supplying the Soviet and Rumanian Armies depends on the good organization of the Centres of Territorial Exploitation, and in order not to be put in such a situation, unabling us to satisfy the needs of supplying the troops on the front, will you kindly agree to the increase of the effective.

Initially, only the effectives of 11 Centres of Exploitation: Constantza, Ialomitza, Vlasca, Tereorman, Olt, Romanaji, Mehedinji, Timiș-Torontal, Arad, Buzau, R.Sarat, will be increased.

FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUMANIAN
ARMISTICE COMMISSION

General,

Pretorian S.

One of the terms of the Armistice of 1944 between Romania and the Allied Forces entailed the debilitating task of accommodating and provisioning the Red Army while on Romanian territory. The Romanians request here approval to assign additional staff to the staggering endeavor of feeding the Red Army. The letter is in English, probably intended to keep the American and British missions to the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission abreast of their concerns, since Moscow had stipulated that Romania would deal only with the Allies on important matters only through the Control Commission.

From Compilation III, Military Offices Attached to the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice and the Peace Treaty, 1944-1947; reel R62, directory current number 200, frame 117.

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[March 15]

Honored Commander,

The undersigned, Captain Călugăru Stelian, of the 1944 contingent, from the 40th Infantry Regiment, a soldier who responded to the call for liberating Transylvania, and being encircled I fell prisoner at Mureș marker no. 477 (where I was captured on the 20th day of September, 1944 after being encircled for two days). I was then taken to an internment camp at Budapest, together with 150 Russians who were also prisoners. During the advance of the Allied Forces, I was captured by the Allied Forces, who on the 11th day of February, 1945, liberated all the Russian soldiers, sending them all back to their units; while I and the other Romanian prisoners, numbering 23, were put in a camp together with German and Hungarian prisoners. Instead of being sent to the Romanian Command, we were put on the road so to speak in the direction of Reni-Basarabia, on train no. 89903, car no. 1530.

Commander, with tears in my eyes I beg you to intervene with the Soviet Command in order to obtain my liberty along with the 23 Romanians who are in this train, because we are neither Germans or Hungarians.

I also enclose a list of the other Romanian prisoners, together with a birth certificate of the undersigned and as corroboration [of my fate] two postcards received in response from the respective Company after falling prisoner to the Germans.

Long may you live, Sir.

Călugăru P. Stelian, Captain, from the 40th Infantry Regiment, and with residence in the village Valea Mare Podgoria, Muscel County.

[Signature]

To the Commanding General of the General Staff, Bucharest.

Romania had fought with the Axis forces for three years, but on September 20, 1944, only eight days after Romania's official entry into the war on the side of the Allies, the 23 Romanian soldiers described on this name list were captured by German and Hungarian forces, only to be retaken several months later by their nominal ally, the Red Army, and treated as POWs. The microfilm collection contains several accounts and lists of Romanian citizens, as well as Hungarians and Germans, who were transported to the USSR for slave labor. (How the author of the letter and name list gained access to a typewriter while on a POW train remains a mystery.)

From Compilation III, Military Offices Attached to the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice and the Peace Treaty, 1944-1947; reel R62, directory current number 201, frames 626-627.

Facilities at the Romanian Military Archives

LIST OF NAMES

Romanian noncommissioned officers and soldiers who were prisoners in camps in Germany, taken during fighting in Transylvania and Hungary and who were ansported toward the USSR on train no. 89,903, car no. 1530, which train passed through Pitești train station on 14 March 1945, in the direction of Bucharest.

<u>First name</u>	<u>Last name</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Call-up</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Regiment</u>	<u>Captured</u> <u>on date</u>
1.	Călugăru P. Stelian	Leader	1944	40th Infantry	9/20/44
2.	Oprea Marin	Sergeant Major	1943	19th Infantry	"
3.	_omară C-tin	Sergeant	1937	18th Mountain Troops	"
4.	Udrescu Savu	"	1938	18th Mountain Troops	"
5.	Brazdă Marin	"	"	34th Infantry	"
6.	Caciuc Gh.	"	1930	11th Infantry	"
7.	Berbece Ioan	Corporal	1935	3rd Infantry	"
8.	Ionger Mihai	"	1942	19th Infantry	"
9.	Dumitru Marin	Soldier	1937	40th Pioneers	"
10.	Băjea Ioan	"	1944	18th Mountain Troops	"
11.	Neagu Ghiorghe	"	1941	8th Doroban_i	"
12.	Tănase Petre	"	1933	?	"
13.	Ilie Constantin	"	1943	34th Infantry	"
14.	Floare Alexandru	"	1936	11th Infantry	"
15.	Petre C-tin	"	1945	"	"
16.	Dumitrescu A.	"	1945	19th Infantry	"
17.	Gicu Ghi.	"	"	91st Infantry	"
18.	Popa Marin	"	1943	94th Infantry	"
19.	Velcea Ioan	"	"	3rd Infantry	"
20.	_ohao_ Marin	"	1945	3rd Infantry	"
22.	Baciu Dobre	"	"	21st Infantry	"
23.	Petre Stefan	"	"	"	"
24.	_amș Ludovic	"	1942	34th Infantry	"

Attachment to letter, previous page.

The Open House Collection

[Secret]

20 July 1945

Summary of activities of the liaison officers to the American Military Mission.

From 1 April to 30 June 1945

Liaison officers and interpreters:

Major G. Prager—retired

Major N. Argeșeanu—promoted on 16 June of this year

Captain C. Sturdza of the Sea Service

Reserve Captain M. Ghica-Cantacuzino of Aviation

Second Lieutenant T. Negropontes—demobilized

Sergeant T. R. M. Al. Brătianu—courier

—The Chief of Mission, General Schuyler, made a visit to the United States of approximately one month.

—Major Bishop and Lieutenant Bookbinder of the Military Section have left the American Mission.

—The government being unrecognized by the United States, the Mission refused to attend various celebrations: the Union of Transylvania with Romania, Easter, the Tenth of May [celebrating both V-E Day and Romanian Independence] and the Day of Heroes.

—Officers of the Mission were invited at different times to the Royal Palace and signed the Palace guest book on the occasion of the Tenth of May. On the Day of Heroes they laid wreaths on the Tomb of the Unknown Hero, at the Ghencea Cemetery (Bucharest) and in Ploești.

—Members of the Mission attended anti-aircraft exercises at Ulmeni.

—The American Mission complains that it is not regularly updated on various events and activities of the Allied Control Commission.

—In general the [Mission] is interested in everything which happens in Romania relating to politics, the military, etc., reporting in detail to the U.S. government on any event.

—For the approximately 1000 airmen who fell on Romanian territory during bombing missions a cemetery is being sought in a locale easily accessible and attractive.

—At a reception given by General Schuyler on the Fourth of July, besides members of the Allied Control Commission, various political personalities from the former government (Messrs. [Iuliu] Maniu and [Constantin] Brătianu) and a great number of officers were present. No one from the government was invited.

Facilities at the Romanian Military Archives

—Numerous officers from the Mission attended a reception given by the Mounted Guard Regiment.

—For use by members of the Mission, six villas were requisitioned at Snagov and three at Predeal, and in Bucharest the Lido swimming pool was requisitioned, where members of the British Mission are also admitted both to the patio area and to film showings.

[signature]

Major G. Prager
Chief of Liaison Officers
to the American Mission

This summary of Romanian interaction with the American Military Mission primarily covers the three months April-June of 1945, but also early July. Numerous such primary resources in this collection portray Romania's relations with the U.S., Britain and other countries.

From Compilation III, *Military Offices Attached to the Romanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice and the Peace Treaty, 1944-1947*; reel R67, directory current number 222, frames 764-765.

Bucuresti. Przewodniczący Kom. Bosp. woj. Łódzkiego

COMISIA ROMANA PENTRU DEPARADSKI p.l. Dopl. 00.1734/46



Intr. Nr. 105 201
194 - Luna 11 - Ziua 29

COMISIUNEA ROMANA PENTRU TIULUD

Stoipen zagrozenia	ilose obwodow	Stoipen			
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Piotrkow	17	3	6	51	102
...	...	2	4	18	36
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...	...	1	2	19	38
...	106	203

Am onoare a va aduce la cunostinta

Trenul sovietic Nr. 9905 du indicativul 9607, sosit la 25 Mai a.c. in gara Palas-Constanta. Zonieri unguri, prizonieri romani din Regimentele 21/5 terie, 6 Granicieri, 19 Artilerie si 10 Calarasi au fost gasiti in lagarul de prizonieri Sopron.

Din informatiuni ar urma sa fie transportate in U.R.S.S.

Va rugam sa binevoiti a interveni ca toti nierii romani aratati mai sus, sa fie triati de misie mixta si opriti intr'un lagar din Romania.

Deasemeni, va rugam a interveni locului in diferite lagare cercetati si triati dupa care apoi lor militare din Romania.

In acest sens, am intervenit la Ministrii de Raza si la Comisia de Razboiu.

General de Corp



Din informatiuni ar urma sa fie transportate in U.R.S.S.

Va rugam sa binevoiti a interveni ca toti nierii romani aratati mai sus, sa fie triati de misie mixta si opriti intr'un lagar din Romania.

Deasemeni, va rugam a interveni locului in diferite lagare din Ungaria si Germania cercetati si triati, dupa care apoi lor militare din Romania.



General de RAZBOIU