

Summary of the doctoral thesis

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Comparison of the Four Power occupation on Berlin and Vienna

Change of the model- and pattern-following roles within the context of the Cold War

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The object of my research

As the goal of the thesis was set to make a comparison of allied occupation in two cities under special circumstances. The strong control of the winning parties of the World War II was the consequence of the war and at the same time it was part of the upcoming European arrangement. At first sight Berlin's and Vienna's history after the war have more differences than common points yet it's very instructive how the Allied Powers and the leaders of the two cities referred to the parallels from time to time.

That there is a *raison d'être* at all, I recognized in earlier years when the Berlin problem drew my attention. I noticed that the occupiers handle some cases due to the practice in the other city. Allied plans during the war, military actions, elaboration of the institutional system of the occupation and finally the practicing of allied control displayed clearly that there was a change of roles of the cities regarding to the institutional background and the exercise of the occupation. Therefore I strived to describe this linear development model although there wasn't any moment at the time of the Cold War when we could have said both cities are in the same situation. Even then if the UdSSR appealing to this refused to sign an agreement about the access to Vienna.

I considered it as important to study the process of changing the model roles. At first the Sector-division of Berlin and the treaty about the control machinery in Germany „acted” as pattern for the talks about Vienna but later – especially thanks to the fact that the western Allies could take into account the „Berlin-failures” and the meanwhile existing experiences of the common occupation – the control system over the Austrian capital apart from some infrastructural disadvantages was more favourable in many respects than the one over Berlin. This and because Austria played by far more different role in the Cold War than Germany caused that the Four Power occupation of Vienna became within 1-2 years an example to follow for the Berlin question full of unsolved conflicts. Nevertheless at that time Berlin was already one of the most significant scene of the Cold War so far that not only the takeover of the Vienna-Model but also the maintenance of the unit of the city seemed to be impossible.

The research of this topic was justified because Cold War studies and the Austrian and German historiography of the 20th century gave little attention to this matter. Actually not even monography was written about the occupation time in Vienna. Under this aspect my work can be seen as a niche filler although it wasn't written in German but in Hungarian but even therefore it can be a useful contribution to the Hungarian Cold War research.

Sources of the dissertation

During the research I needed both German and Austrian sources likewise. In case of Berlin I was in the lucky situation that not only exhaustive professional literature was at my disposal but there were also a lot of comprehensive and extraordinary detailed document collections available. Among these as the most important ones supported me the *Dokumente zur Berlin-Frage 1944-1962* (in later edition extended till 1966), its sequel the *Dokumente zur Berlin-Frage 1967-1986*, the documents published by the Senat of Berlin (*Berlin. Quellen und Dokumente 1945-1951*), as well as *Stalin's correspondence with chiefs of government of the United States and Great Britain 1941-1945*.

For Vienna as primary source I used the scripts of the Austrian State Archives (Department Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv) referring to the time between 1945 and 1955 and the written stuff found in the Vienna Municipal and County Archive (Allied Connection, Correspondence of the municipal administration and the VIAC, the Vienna Inter-Allied Command), respectively. As a digital archive could be regarded the online collection of the Wisconsin University where one can find the whole files of the *Foreign Relations of the United States*.

My efforts were promoted by a semester scholarship of DAAD in Berlin during which I was able to deepen my knowledge of allied occupation in Berlin, the legal status of the city and the Four Power Agreement of 1971, further the control of Stasi (state security of the GDR) over the East-German literature and the conflict of the individual and the state in the GDR-literature. This work based on the professional literature and the published documents in the State Library and the library of the Humboldt University. I was also supported by a research fellowship of the Austrian-Hungarian Action Foundation. During the 4 months in Vienna I could collect the necessary information in the archives, in the Austrian National Library and the Library of the University of Vienna.

As a special addition helped me a lot my talks with some prestigious Austrian historian. I appreciate the war historian Manfred Rauchensteiner who is a connoisseur of the era 1945-1955 in Austria, Hubert Prigl the expert of air traffic issues and the American occupation as well as Wolfgang Mueller who has published several basic works about the Soviet occupation, that they spend time to answer my questions and give me pieces of advice.

Structure of the thesis

The comparison consists of six bigger chapters which are related to each other so strong that some overlapping couldn't be avoided. These chapters are about the plans and purposes of the Allied Powers during the war which dealt with the new order of Europe and from which the German question and the separate handling of the Austrian question emerged.

The progress of the fighting events are discussed, too because they influenced the arrangement plans and the conditions of occupation in both countries elaborated in the European Advisory Commission. There is an overview of the system of allied occupation in Austria and Germany, its institutional framework and its development in the Cold War. After that the same analysis is done in both cities and in the last chapter I'm dealing with the basic problem of the Berlin-question and the Vienna-question: the access. Both cities were surrounded by the Soviet occupation zone therefore the western Allies didn't have a direct connection between their zones and their sectors and it meant that their position was at the mercy of the Soviet Union.

The chapters have mainly a tripartite division: one part is dealing with Germany and Berlin, another with Austria and Vienna and every big chapter ended with an analysing part.

Summary of the conclusions of the thesis

1. At the end of the Second World War both cities were captured by the Red Army. Appealing to this the UdSSR created privileges and legal claims to which on the basis of earlier Four Power agreements it wasn't entitled yet thanks to the weak positions of the Western Powers it had the means to establish these rights at least partially.

2. The forming and practicing of the occupation can't be separated from the role of Austria and Germany in the Cold War. Germany was divided, both German states joined to different military blocks, the German question remained a sore point of the East-West conflict, meanwhile on the other hand the division of Germany fitted to the interests of both Super Power because of the balance of power. In fact the separated and as independent restructured Austria which became a neutral state between East and West after the occupation was a side scene of this division.

3. The fact that the sector division of Berlin and the agreement of the control system was fixed almost a year before the agreements on Vienna made it for the Allies possible to take Berlin as a model for Vienna. So the Western Powers could try to save the meanwhile recognized failures of Berlin in the other city.

4. Thanks to the advantage mentioned in the point 3 and the different role and treatment of Austria Vienna became through the years a possible way of occupation in Berlin. But the special development of the situation in Berlin made at that time not anymore possible to take over the positive experiences of Vienna. Although the mayor of Berlin tried to settle change of experiences with his colleague from Vienna, it became soon unrealistic: West-Berlin was subjected to a blockade and in the months full of tension the communists from

East-Berlin divided the city administration. From then on the change of experiences didn't have any sense.

5. Berlin grew to a divided city in a divided country, to a hot spot of the Cold War while Vienna could be the sovereign capital of the independent Austria where the Winning Powers of the war could prove that despite of their worldwide conflicts and little local frictions they are able to work together.