FOREWORD

This is a notable book. Comprehensive, analytical, and lively, it brings new insights on the turbulent events in Hungary since World War II even to an informed reader who followed those events closely as they took place. Its author is peculiarly qualified to write such a volume: international lawyer and political scientist, professor and public servant, he experienced Communist rule in Hungary from the inside. Arrested by the Hungarian Security Police, interrogated according to the usual methods, condemned for conspiracy and high treason, he spent five years of his life in Budapest prisons.

Ferenc A. Váli has not given us here an account of his personal ordeal, interesting as that would have been. He came to the Harvard Center for International Affairs as a scholar to study exhaustively the complex and many-sided conflicts that resulted when an intensely nationalistic people was drawn into the orbit of the Soviet Union. At times his Hungarian and humanistic feelings shine incandescently in what he has written. Yet the impressiveness of the work flows from his capacity for detached and systematic analysis of the colliding forces in this troubled part of the world.

Professor Váli was born in Budapest in 1905. He received his Doctor Juris at the University of Budapest in 1927, and his Ph.D. in political science at the University of London in 1932. In Hungary he engaged in a legal practice of an international character, and from 1935 was on the Law Faculty at the University of Budapest. Besides publishing books in Hungarian and German, he was the author of a standard work in English, Servitudes of International Law, first issued at London, and recently reissued in a revised edition at both London and New York. During World War II the Hungarian government sent him to Istanbul on a confidential mission to make contact with the Allied powers. In Turkey from 1943 to 1946 he lectured at the University of Istanbul on various subjects of international law. Returning to Hungary after the war, he served as international law adviser to the Hungarian Ministry of Finance, and continued teaching at the University of Budapest until he was banned from the faculty and the Ministry by the Communists early in 1949. In 1951, his Western connections led to the arrest of Dr. Váli and his wife. She remained in prison for three years. He was provisionally released on October 18, 1956. Five days later the Revolution broke out, and he was recalled to the university and participated in an effort to reorganize the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

When the Revolution was crushed in November 1956, Dr. Váli and his wife escaped from Hungary into Austria on November 23, 1956. With a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation, he did research in London, Paris, and The Hague, and after December 1957, in New York and Washington. From 1958 to 1961, Professor Váli was a Research Associate at the Harvard Center for International Affairs working on the present volume. In September 1961 he joined the government department at the University of Massachusetts.

Rift and Revolt in Hungary falls within one of the major areas of research interest at the Center for International Affairs. In analyzing basic forces of change, the Center has given priority to three main fields of inquiry: development process in the less-developed countries; military policy and arms control; and the evolving role of Europe. An important aspect of the European program is the study of the forces at work in the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe. The factors for cohesion and conflict in that whole area were analyzed in The Soviet Bloc, by Zbigniew K. Brzezinski (Harvard University Press, 1960), which the Center for International Affairs sponsored jointly with the Russian Research Center. In the present work, Dr. Váli, using both published and unpublished sources, makes an intensive study of the clash of nationalism and Communism in one country. But the implications are much wider. His penetrating analysis of the nature, methods, and scope of Soviet domination in Hungary from the late 1940's to the early part of 1961 sheds light on satellitism in general as well as on struggles within the Soviet leadership, and between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The Center for International Affairs is delighted to have had a part in making this volume possible.

> ROBERT R. BOWIE Director, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present work has grown out of a study on the internal rift within the Communist Party of Hungary. This rift, so long hidden from the outside world but closely interwoven with the popular opposition against a Soviet-dominated regime, provided material for a continued study of conflicts in the body politic of Communist Hungary, conflicts which eventually led to the Revolution of 1956. A systematic analysis of the 1956 uprising in all its aspects was undertaken next. Finally, what is believed to be a comprehensive description and evaluation of the postrevolutionary Kádár regime was added.

The Hungarian events cannot be separated from developments outside Hungary; they are, indeed, part and parcel of the current global cleavage. While battles of the Cold War are being fought in many theaters, a mostly inconspicuous but by no means less important silent struggle continues in the East-Central European satellite area. A studious approach to the Hungarian struggles cannot ignore the interaction between the political evolution of the Soviet Union and that of Hungary, nor can it by-pass other foreign factors, such as Titoism and the Suez episode.

The main body of the book is divided into five sections, or "phases." Phase one deals with the Stalinist era in Hungary, characterized by the personal dictatorship of Rákosi. Phase two deals with the "New Course" and the system of diarchy under both Rákosi and Imre Nagy. Phase three undertakes to portray Rákosi's attempt, after Nagy's fall, to stabilize the regime under a restrained dictatorship. Phase four is devoted to an analysis of the events directly leading to the Revolution and of the Revolution itself. In Phase five the aftereffects of the Revolution are examined, as well as the novel features of the Soviet-controlled regime up to the present day. The introductory chapters of the book and the concluding chapter are designed to place the whole study into its proper historic and international perspective.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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Source material is more abundant for Hungary than for other members of the Soviet Bloc. But this abundance calls for special caution, especially in the use of the plentiful memoire literature produced by political refugees who left Hungary at the time of the Communist takeover and immediately after the Revolution. I endeavored to draw from such narratives only that which appeared trustworthy, and even when accepting their factual accounts I could not always endorse their opinions or conclusions.

The polemic writings of Imre Nagy, clandestinely brought out of Hungary after the Revolution of 1956, require particular comments. His "dissertation," as he liked to call it, consists of operational papers addressed to Hungarian and Soviet Party leaders. This fact, as well as Nagy's Communist upbringing, determined his style and method of reasoning. Thus the text is often obscure and replete with topical allusions not easily comprehensible without appropriate annotations. But used with discrimination, the former Hungarian Premier's writings provide us with a first-class source of information. I have made use of the English translation of Nagy's memoranda, entitled On Communism — In Defense of the New Course (New York, 1957). Permission by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., to quote from this volume is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

In addition to the extensive published materials, listed in my bibliography, I also relied on sources not generally available to the reading public. I wish to thank Professor Henry L. Roberts, Director of the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary (CURPH), for having allowed the use of reports and interviews obtained from Hungarian refugees of 1956. Other unpublished material was provided by General Béla Király, who studiously answered a lengthy questionnaire on military matters. Free Europe Press opened their research reports, and so did the Kossuth Foundation, Inc. Dr. Kálmán Potoczky allowed me to read and use his manuscript (in Hungarian) on the recent history of Hungary. Mr. William E. Griffith made available his draft manuscript on "The Thaw and Frost in Eastern Europe." Dr. György Heltai, Deputy Foreign Minister during the Revolution in Hungary, gave enlightening information. For all this invaluable help I wish to express my deep gratitude.

I have also drawn much benefit from conversations and interviews with other Hungarians and non-Hungarians. Finally, I have been able to add something through my personal knowledge and experience.

My appointment as Research Associate in the Harvard Center for International Affairs enabled me to devote two full years to the writing of this book. For initiating the project, for perspicacious and helpful suggestions and creative criticism, I am greatly indebted to Professor Robert R. Bowie, Director of the Center. His inspiring guidance accompanied my research throughout. His foreword to this book is also greatly appreciated.

The Center for International Affairs, placed among the manifold libraries and other institutions of Harvard University, proved to be a stimulating workshop. The exchange of ideas with Faculty members, Fellows of the Center, and other scholars, gave unsurpassable assistance. Among my colleagues in the Center special thanks are due to Mr. George A. Kelly, who went through my texts in their early stages and greatly contributed toward their improvement by his useful suggestions.

To Professor Merle Fainsod, who, despite his busy schedule, was kind enough to read the manuscript and to provide valuable advice, I wish to express my sincere thanks. Professor Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, after an exceptionally speedy yet meticulous perusal, offered a galaxy of comments, queries, and friendly objections which I was able to utilize when revising the text. Mr. John C. Campbell, Professor Andrew Gyorgy, and Mr. William E. Griffith were the other experts who gave me the benefit of both their advice and criticism. All their help I gratefully acknowledge.

Mr. Max Hall, Editor of Publications in the Center for International Affairs and Social Science Editor for Harvard University Press, has, in both his capacities, carried out the task of editing this book. In fact, he did much more. By painstakingly reviewing every sentence, by clarifying ambiguities, by weeding out semantic aberrations and incongruities of style and thought, he gave his master's touch to the work. For his travails that must have been a test for both his patience and endurance, I wish sincerely to thank him.

The task of typing and arranging such a lengthy manuscript fell upon the secretarial staff of the Center to whom the author wishes to extend his thanks. Among all these helpers special thanks are due to Mrs. Anne Mayo, who assiduously retyped the manuscript in its final form.

Cambridge, Massachusetts March, 1961 Ferenc A. Váli

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