Theses of the doctoral (PhD) dissertation

TECHNIQUES AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DELIVERY IN PEST COUNTY

Judit Tóth

Supervisor: Dr. Levente Püski



UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN
Doctoral School of History and Ethnography

Debrecen, 2011.

DEFINE OF THE TOPIC AND AIM OF THE THESIS

After the Second World War leaders of Hungary wanted to create a new system which did not take into consideration of the country's features and served a foreign power's interests. The process was carried out under control of 'the best student of Stalin'. The system's which based on distorted ideas and maintained by force one of the most hated institution was the delivery obligation which made many farmers' life impossible in the first part of the 1950's. Agriculture was allowed to be the 'servant' of the industry because the most important aim was to industrialization according to the Soviet sample. Coverage was inevitable for the good result was withdrawn from the agriculture. The most effective instrument of the withdrawal became the delivery. The delivery obligation which disregarded the human and the nature entered the current economical plan's service. This overruled way of the production was diametrically oppose with the experiences of Hungarian peasants based on many hundreds years. Farmers had to meet the requirement of irrational and impracticable expectations not to mention those destroying effects catalyzed disorganization of the traditional rustic society.

It is worth mentioning that sometimes we may meet the not appropriate or mixing usage of the concept of delivery obligation and gathering. It is untenable because the delivery obligation only was one of the parts of the state delivery system. The so called total delivering meant accumulating of the state funds from land tax and other taxies what is more meant crops and products from the public sector, costs paid in kind at machine vehicle stations, costs of threshing and grinding and funds aroused from the free-buying up. It is necessary to be noted that orders and decrees never use the world delivery instead of it expression giving has been used.

Delivery was complex process from creation of detailed orders through the difficult planning until the collecting and stocking of collected crops. For controlling and implementing a ten thousand apparatus was come into existence.

Although the one time formulating determined as cause of the delivering that it 'provides food for people' the political will behind this process was striking. The behaviour of authorities during the execution overstepped real framework of maintain of the public supply. Until 1947 communists told that delivering is just the necessary and interim evil implemented in the interest of the public. This standing point was changed thoroughly by the cold war because the delivery became such a kind of income withdrawing implement which was inevitable for the state for the development of military and heavy industry. The political changeover in the agricultural policy of the Hungarian Worker's Party (HWP) indicated that

delivery is regarded as an integral organic part of the system and termination of it was out of question.

Delivery installed in the plan-economy was more than lay in a store and forced withdrawing because it was pervaded by the policy. It means that the state took aim at the cease of individual farming by the increasing of burden of the farmers and with help of it tried to herd them into public sector. Beside helping nationalization on a large scale delivery became a very important implement of 'the class struggle'. Totalitarian state regarded the individual farmers as survival of capitalism so this strata fell victim to the communist regime. Intention of the regime was obvious because the triple plan can be seen significantly of which in interests of delivery was planned to use. Beside that significant part of the state funds came from this way of the withdrawing it was applicable to promote aim of the Hungarian Worker's Party and served as propaganda for eliminating of the big landowners.

In my thesis I introduce the instruments of the totalitarian state and their usage in county Pest. I would like to introduce as well that in graduates of sanctions, pressure of instruments how to appear the intention of making an example, making fear, deterrence, retaliation and this intention how and what an extend successful was. For this introducing of the Hungarian Worker's Party's apparatus was come into existence for executing duties is inevitable.

METHODS OF THE TREATMENT, SOURCES AND STRUCTURE

Those scientists's orientation who studied the history of the agriculture after the Second World War – Ferenc Donáth, Sándor Orbán, Sándor Szakács – was determined by two basic topics in the 1960's and 1970's: resrearch of redistribution of land and its consequences and the processing of collectivization. The picture drawn about the aerea cannot be entire without the delivery and analysis its effect on the peasantry. Publications in this topic were born in the 1980's. Beyond general special literature focus on history of agriculture and delivery the sudy is biult on archives sources.

Reading the Gyula Erdmann's piece of work put the question: what a new thing can be told about this topic. Firstly, I think that involve of new sources may bring novelty and tinges the picture. It was given during writing of the study because I could use pary documents researched by the mentioned author.

Among country-related documents apart from party documents a have studied documents of Ministry of Delivery. It is worth saying that in consequence of documents reflection numerous country-related documets can be found in the county archives. Beside the state adminitration document reflection can be experienced on line of party. This phenomena is not only true for relation of coubtry and county. Among county party documents we can regulary find reports from council departments attached to the record of executive committees similarly to documents of the given department.

It is inevitable to speak about county documents were studied during the research. Although the investigated aerea was relatively short due to changes happened in the public administration documents necessary to introduce the topic have been shared among more main archives units. I think of that until appearance of the council system tasks were fulfiled by special administrative organs. Due to this fact investigation of documents of County North Pest Public Supply Supervisory was needed. The Lord Lieutenant and Vice Lieutenant of the hundred had significant role in the public supply thus looking through of main archives units connected to these officals turned to be inevitable.

Following of shaping of the local councils one of the most important and avaliable sources are the records of concil and executive committees. Also important is document of county delivery department, organized in 1952. As the result of the reorganization and rationalization delivery was done by separeted administrative organs named delivery officies. It is needed to say that documents of County North Pest Public Supply Supervisory and Pest County Delivery Official are incomplete.

Appareance of work races in the agriculture were mentioned hardly in the special literature. Thus, beside archives sources had to use contemporary articles and studies. These contain discussions about intensification of the effectiveness of work races, inspiration to be 'mass movement' and blaming mistakes occured during organization.

To introduce the juridication of Rákosi-period served as base confidental documents of the county court. Some cases have been given among criminal trials. It is also worth mentioning that majority of those documents used by authors in connection with juridication also can be found among county documents.

During making of the thesis I have investigated many main archives units but it dosen't mean all the possible sources. Delivery was an unseparable part of the Rákosi-period thus myriad documents were done at many places. I intend to continue research and I would like to widen it with investigation of settlement documents. The thesis can construe the found

that with involve further sources delivery can be seen not only from the aspect of the power but peasant society, too.

Thesis contains seven chapters. The first one deals with special literature and archives sources, second one offers historical survey of delivery. The third one, which is the lenghtiest, introduces the delivery apparatus. Following parts introduce that implement was used by the regime to force farmers fulfilment of the delivery. Sequences of them determines that the regime what kind of violance used. According to that at first it will take about methodes between the frame of the agitation and propaganda. Here it is important to speak about work races. The last two chapters of the thesis introduce the different appearance of the pressure and introduce the process of court trilas in their detailes.

LISTING OF RESULTS OF THE ESSAY

In the first chapter I have tried to introduce the facts known from the special literature using by archive sources. In this chapter I have tried to follow that because of the serious war demolish and due to its effect maintaining of fixed economy was needed. Because of this fact delivery system was justified by concrete rational principle and this was accepted by the waist majority of people at that time. Many of hopes seemed to be founded that these solutions may be ceased after winding up of the necessity. Changing direction in agricultural policy of the HWP made it obvious that delivery has been regarded as inevitable condition by the regime which had become one of the most effective implement to break the peasantry. Orders appeared on after another that increased the circle and quantity of crops forced to deliver.

The delivery system that took into consideration aspect of social status hit the big landowner farmers significant burden. In the background of this act was that this social group formed obstruction of reorganization of the agriculture according to the socialist ideas. So that the regime tried to hinder and narrowing the big landowners. Burden of the peasantry had increased more than its treble between 1949 and 1953 and by winter of 1952/1953 situation became emergency. At the main time of attic sweeping down after delivery ca. 800 thousand farmers were sort of seeds and products for domestic purposes. Thus 1.5 million acre ploughland was left and or was taken over by the state from the farmers. Number of who left behind the agriculture was near 300 thousand. The so called 'new wave' introduced by Imre Nagy wanted to alleviate this problem. In the spirit of the decree in June many orders were born that farmers did not to dare to believe. Peasantry was handled as human and its interests were

taken into consideration. Hopes were awaken in the possibility of individual production by these steps. As the consequence of this production on two thousand privately-owned farms were launched again. This favourable period was short because Rákosi returned to the big stick policy.

In the third chapter I will sketch the huge apparatus of which task was to accomplish the delivery. In the swollen apparatus more than ten thousand people worked from the ministries to the record offices at villages. According to the level of hierarchy I will introduce the supreme party and state administrative organs. I will introduce more detailed at county and lower level organized delivery system.

Inside this I will investigate the public service-delivery apparatus restored after the Second World War in which apart from administrative department lord lieutenant and vice-lieutenant had important role. Must speak about changes happened after years of turning and following time. It can be seen that the existing administrative departments are the executors of certain duties but communists were getting bigger and bigger influence beside the parties belonged to the coalition. By coming existence of system of councils leading organizations of delivery on local level became the local councils. President of the local, district or county council was responsible for accomplishment of the delivery. Operation of councils did not end up with the accomplishment merely their other duty was to mobilize the peasantry in the interest of the political success. In the interest of implementation of duties independent delivery departments were organized in 1952. The departments took part in keeping record and calling to account. Orientation in the jungle of orders made difficulties for councils so they were blamed for missing deadline of the delivery. Not only they had to account for the superior council organs but because of dual direction they had to report for the competent party organization, too.

Apart from the delivery department the so called co-departments also had significant role. These mean those departments of councils which had certain task during delivery. It is necessary to mention the agricultural department and financial department. Agricultural department controlled the delivery and threshing. Financial department was responsible for collecting the land-tax and compensations. I would like to introduce the support organizations and permanent commeeties helped for the councils's operation. These organizations could not live up to the expectations of the regime.

As for delivery the role of local party committees had significant role on county and lower level. If it was necessary they gave orders, called account, asked for reports at any time.

Beside this mass organizations of the HWP such as Working Peasants and Agricultural Workers' Federation, Working Youth Federation and Hungarian Women's Democratic Federation had to take part mainly on the ground of propaganda.

In the sketching of apparatus system introducing of activity of so called operative committees can give new aspects because their coming into existence hardly we can find data in the specialized literature. During the main time of the delivery, from summer months to fall this committee had a very important role on country and county level, either. Another novelty is the introducing of sphere of activity those party- and government representatives were sent from the centre. Cadre who was called representative of the minister later joined the difficult and murky apparatus system as a fourth element. Replacement and education of cadres was very important issue which will be introduce as closing of the chapter.

Hungary in the 1950's is unimaginable without work-race and race movement, which appeared every field of the life. Basically, it became more spread in the industry its role is not negligible on field of agriculture. Beyond the structure of the economy it was an important phenomenon of the culture which propagated increasing of the production continuously. It also appeared in the offices what is more, on the field of education. The higher average crop and trying to reach outstanding results were one of the significant characters of the socialism. Its driving force was thought to be the work-race of which aim was to fulfil a plan in its every detail. The other character was exceeding a plan or fulfilling that before the deadline. Because executing of plans was thought to be assured by work-race so the work race was held to be one of the indispensable part of building of the socialism.

This study firstly is about appearance of the work-race in the agriculture and its social and political role which was determined by the state authority. Secondly the study beyond showing of the outstanding work-races of the age makes an attempt to show the course of them.

The work-race was phenomenon of the planned economy in the Soviet Union in the 1930's. As nationalization was getting on circumstances gave possibility developing work races in Hungary according to the Soviet sample. First work race in Hungary was organized in honour of 100th anniversary of the 1848-1849 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence. This race started after the notice of employees in Csepel on 10th March 1948. Soon the agricultural employees joined the race. Races announced in 1948 were not called socialist work-race yet. At first we can meet this concept in a notice was appealed by employees of Diósgyőr Ironworks in March of 1949.

The resolution of 22nd January 1950, issued by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Worker's Party (HWP), ruled that the work-race became mass movement by leading of the Party in the second part of 1949. In this process played significant role a work-offering movement between 28th October and 21st December 1949 which was organized in honour of Stalin's 70th birthday. Actually, this date was the beginning of Hungarian Stahanovist movement.

Although the socialist work-race including the Stahanovist movement blossomed out on the field of industry, all instruments of organization, pressure and force in the interest of performance of a plan was used in the agricultural, too. These instruments were applied mainly in its socialist sector such as at state farms, co-operative farms and agricultural machine centres. Beside increasing of the production the agriculture's improvement into socialist direction was told as the most important aim of the race.

On the contrary of efforts made by the government and the HWP work-race in the agriculture didn't become so important than in the industry. Although the state authority managed to mobilize the socialist sector, which was under control of the state authority, big part of the peasantry kept itself far from these actions.

In the following chapter I will survey those sanctions that took part into consideration aspects of social status strongly. By means of the sanctions the regime wanted to make it certain that put their hands on the property of those farmers who were in arrears with the delivery of crops. In the beginning main aim was to collect funds having by farmers, later this action was paired by the intimidation of the farmers.

Inside the chapter is outstandingly important to make study of great time of delivery, from 1950 to 1953. Those characteristics which are rooted in the common knowledge were joined this area. It can be seen in those cruel and illegal sequences of sanctions committed against peasantry and that culminated in sweeping down of attics in 1952. It is necessary to mention that because of not to fulfil the delivery internal was implemented by authorities. The phenomena of the so called C-lads was a new characteristic of the forced labour.

Orders and decrees regulated the delivery tackled with sanctions in every case and took into consideration their applicable graduates one after another. Among the sanctions decrees mention raising delivery obligation of the farmer. Next rung of sanctions is paying compensation. The heaviest graduate was starting legal proceedings against the farmer.

It is necessary to mention that those articles gave possibility for authorities to punish farmers with sweeping down of their attics cannot be found in the delivery orders. It is

because that carrying out of the procedure they had to execute in the spirit of the decrees of HWP.

In the last chapter I will investigate activity of courts which will arouse public interest. According to the Stalinist ideal the regime had ceased the separation of the branches of the power and court became the part of administrative apparatus. Period of Rákosi's jurisdiction was characterized by the predominance of criminal procedure of which paramount aim was done to give hand for realization of communist autocracy. Because of this in the centre was placed the solving of directive and productive duties of governmental authority and administrative organs by punishment. So jurisdiction became an implement of which usage the regime wanted to make sure restructure of the society, changing of the property relations, reconstruction of ideological relations an last but not least destruction of political opposition.

The HWP and other administrative organs could intervened passing of sentence directly so the Ministry of Justice gave secret orders the judges so that it could control the procedure of passing of sentence. These were diametrically opposed with the current articles and their only aim was the deterrence. According to this passing of sentence was to order. In the orders let the competent authority know how many and what kind of jurisdiction should launch, which part of the society should be punished and what result is expected of courts. Duty of the courts was to pass such sentences which were in accordance with expectation of the farmer policy of HWP. It meant that stated number suspect had to come up for trial and courts were instructed to present the appropriate number of suspect selected on the basis of social aspects.

Putting emphasis on the importance of the public supply hidden under the guise of that the regime took every possibility not only to take steps against 'kulák' (strata of biglandowners) but small and middle peasantry, too.

PUBLICATIONS WITH REGARDS TO THE TREATISE PUBLISHED AND APPROVED FOR PUBLISHING

STUDIES

1. Judit, Tóth, "Function of the delivery apparatus in County Pest 1951-1953", in Csilla Halász – Judit Tóth (eds), *Studies from past of Pest county. From past of County Pest* 11. Budapest, 2006, pp. 249–279.

- Judit, Tóth, "Effect of changes in the delivery in County Pest 1953–1956", in Csilla Halász Judit Tóth (eds), Studies from past of County Pest II. From past of Pest county 13. Budapest, 2007, pp. 195–217.
- 3. Judit, Tóth, "Development of the totalitarian press structure in Pest county ", in Csilla Halász Judit Tóth (eds), *Studies from past of County Pest III. From past of Pest county 14.* Budapest, 2009, pp. 181–204.
- 4. Judit, Tóth, "Races in the agriculture in the first part of the 1950's in Pest county" in *Review of agricultural history*, LI, 2010: 1–4., under publishing.
- 5. Judit, Tóth, "Public survey and delivery in Pest county" in Zsuzsanna Varga László Pallai (eds) *General survey and future survey. The Hungarian society in the years of turning.* Debrecen, 2010, under publishing.
- 6. József, Nagy, "Beginning of dissolution of the rustic society 1945–1956", review, in *Review of agricultural history*, L, 2009:1–4 pp. 234–237.

EDITIONS

- 1. Csilla Halász Judit Tóth (eds) *Studies from past of County Pest. From past of Pest county 11.* Budapest, 2006.
- Compilation of data register of settlements in Ráckeve district from 1956 in Gábor Balázs – Katalin Rita Borbély – Anita Kiss (eds) 1956 in Pest County I., From past of Pest county 10., Budapest, 2006.
- 3. Csilla Halász Péter László Schramek Judit Tóth (eds) 1956 in Pest County II., From past of Pest county 10., Budapest, 2006.
- 4. Csilla Halász Judit Tóth (eds) *Studies from past of Pest county II., From past of Pest county 10., Budapest, 2007.*
- 5. Csilla Halász Judit Tóth (eds) *Studies from past of Pest county III., From past of Pest county 14., Budapest, 2009.*

PRESENTATIONS

- 1. Sources of 1956 in the Pest County Archives. Delivered on conference of Association of Young Archivists. "At last and future's tables". Sources of the Hungarian revolution and independent war in 1956. Budapest, 9th November 2006.
- 2. Operating of delivery operative committees in Pest county 1951 1953. Delivered on conference of Pest County Archives. Budapest, 30th November 2006.
- 3. *Public support and delivery in Pest county 1945 1948.* Delivered on Phd. conference *General survey and future survey. The Hungarian society in the years of turning.* Budapest, 22nd November 2007.
- 4. Effects of changes in the delivery in Pest county during the reign of the first government of Imre Nagy. Delivered on conference of Pest County Archives. Budapest, 29th November 2007.
- 5. Agricultural races in Pest county in the first part of 1950's. Delivered on conference of Pest County Archives. Budapest, 28th November 2008.
- 6. *Operation of Pest County Committee of the HWP*. Delivered on conference of Pest County Archives. Budapest, 26th November 2009.
- 7. *Development of the totalitarian press structure in Pest county* Delivered on conference of Pest County Archives. Budapest, 25th November 2010.