

Thesis of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

**The policy of the Hungarian Communist Party
in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County
from the beginning to 1948**

Attila Csönge

Tutors: Dr. habil. László Hubai and Dr. László Pallai



UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN

Doctoral School of History and Ethnography

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The aims of the thesis and outlining the topic

When writing our doctoral dissertation, our primary goal was, to provide a comprehensive picture of the political activities of the Hungarian Communist Party in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County for practitioners of history and those interested, based on contemporary sources, from the political socialization of party founders to the actual formation and operation of the party laden with external and internal conflicts to its unification with the Social Democratic Party. In the course of our analysis, we wanted to place special emphasis on the presentation of local peculiarities different from the national ones and on the reasons for this.

In the case of the examined topics, on the one hand, we tried to thoroughly, even in a separate chapter, analyze issues that are still the focus of historical debates. We thought of such topics as: a) events that occurred during the frontline transition, in which connection the fundamental question is to what extent the interaction between the Soviet army and the local administration can be considered the beginning of the country's Sovietization; or that to what extent the appearance and activities of each local communist group shows local differences, and what methods can be traced back to their later coming to power in 1945; b) the history of land distribution and land reclamation, in which context our focus was on the analysis of the underlying social and political drivers and the background and course of the various mass actions and excesses; c) the 1947 series of election frauds, about which extremely different and contradictory data circulate in the previous literature, but we considered the debate on the extent of fraud to be clear by analyzing the remaining local, constituency sources in our county.

Among the highlighted topics, we wanted to draw from several aspects the network of stories that run through many threads but are also interconnected, the conflicts that can be observed at the micro and macro levels, their background. We analyzed separately the relationship between public supply and administrative issues and communist peasant policy, the development of the state police and its getting into the focus of the political struggle, or just the process of internments, certifications, popular court lawsuits, and B-listing until the culmination of the MKP's power expansion, which form a round whole by analyzing election history issues.

In addition to the above, we also considered it our fundamental goal to provide in the historiographical overview not only a general summary of our position on epoch-making, which we consider to be more appropriate, but also taking into account the possible conditions of democracy and analyzing the successes, limitations and failures of the given age, let us form our own position as well-founded as possible. Unlike many other processing, we also had a strong goal to examine what antecedents during the period of illegality determined the political mentality of the communists who emerged at the end of 1944 and the peculiarities of their struggle. In our opinion, presenting these reasons, we can form a more coherent and credible picture of the MKP's activities starting with frontline transition and its local characteristics.

In addition, our overall goal was to unveil the various distortions in memory policy, the shattering of historical legends accepted even today, without replacing them with new legends. We did not deliberately try to write a narrow party history, so we analyzed the political struggles, including the manifestations of the MKP, in a broader context, on a wider spectrum of public life.

For reasons of length, we were forced to omit the examination of a number of important issues from our dissertation, such as the summary of the cultural history of the period, either the analysis of the management of the party and the economic history of the county, or just the thorough analysis of anti-Semitism within and outside the party. We also felt it was more important to present the main directions of the political struggle outlined above and the main drivers of the history of the mentality in order to provide further information on the history of the party.

Outlining the methods applied

In our research, we relied mainly on primary archival records. In addition to the documents kept in the Archives of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County of the Hungarian National Archives, we also used the sources of other public collections. The MKP documents that were in the custody of the Political History and Trade Union Archives and complemented the county resources well deserve special mention. In addition to the archival documents, the contemporary press and the partly published and unpublished memoirs provided another important source for our dissertation. We also conducted dictaphone interviews with a contemporary eyewitness.

During the writing of the dissertation we focused on the presentation of the local point of view in the political struggles of the MKP, which is not only illustrated by the multitude of source citations, but it also makes our pro- and cons-positions in historical debates around certain sub-areas more understandable. A critical analysis of the large number of citations made it possible to recognize the distortions of memory politics in word usage and wording, and in addition to the traditional analysis of political history, to examine the actions of the Communists from the

perspective of history of mentalities. The latter revealed not only the socialization, motivations and personal relationships of the participants in the political struggles, but also the spill-over effects of all of these on local public life and election results.

We wanted to avoid swelling our dissertation with statistics and already published biographies, so we only arranged statistical data using tables that are extremely justified and help to make meaningful comparisons and draw conclusions. Short summaries of each person's career are listed in the appendix for ease of reference, without increasing the length of the main text.

We discussed the peculiarities of the older and newer analyzes in the literature at several points, which increased the scope of our dissertation, but it was essential to show what and why we consider in one or another analysis to be a debatable or just acceptable statement.

Thesis list of the results

Considering several aspects in the historiographic overview, we came to the definite conclusion that from the end of 1944 to the end of 1946 there was a limited attempt at civic democracy in Hungary, which was followed by a qualitatively different period from the beginning of 1947 which completely reduced the democratic achievements.

By examining the period of illegality we were able to outline who the communists in the County were, where they came from, and how their background affected their activities after 1944. With one exception, the communists who took the lead in the political life of the contemporary Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County in 1944–1945 were all Hungarian communists, and did not come to Hungary from Moscow. They were typically

uneducated, utterly destitute dig workers and day laborers, supplemented by craftsmen and auxiliary workers in smaller plants and construction sites. There was no Jewish descent among the Communists who took the lead in the Party after the war.

However, within the overall picture, we could also observe regional differences: There were no illegal communist or legal social democratic groups carrying on more serious labor movement traditions in the Jászág between the two world wars. In Szolnok and in the market towns of the south-eastern part of the County, there were smaller illegal communist cells, except in Kisújszállás, where the dig workers were legal social democrats. Illegal communists were more likely to seek revenge for the grievances they suffered the distrust of outsiders, the tribal mentality that accepts party instructions without criticism, while gaining more experience in applying the incorporation of secret party members into other parties. The people of Kisújszállás, on the other hand, built a wider social base and gained administrative practice in the 1930s. These differences also had a marked effect on the post-war activities of the Communists, the success of their policies and the careers of individuals and the relationship between county leaders.

In the chapter on the events of the war, we were able to illustrate with several examples how communist veterans tried to magnify their own role in their recollections, and how their stories were selected by socialist politics of memory.

The local characteristics of the chaotic period after the frontline transition proved that the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 can by no means be considered the beginning of Sovietization. The relationship between the Red Army and the local administration was clearly defined by

the Soviet front interest, which was available in action both in the public work and public service burden of each city, and in the replacement of communist mayors who could not live up to expectations (Kisújszállás, Mezőtúr), and in holding of non-communist mayors in position who met the demands (In Szolnok until the end of January 1945, in Jászberény and Mezőtúr essentially until the end of the siege of Budapest). When examining the success or failure of the temporary mayors, the effect of the period of illegality was clearly observed, but the traditions of the labor movement also spectacularly influenced the political tactics of the Communists, which was aimed at gaining the leadership of each town. In addition, it seems to be a general trend that talented leaders with good organizing skills were quickly highlighted during 1945 when filling county or national positions, for which we provide several examples in our dissertation.

The application of the principle of parity and the alliance policy of the party in the first third of 1945 were the basis for the rapid acquisition of positions within the towns by the MKP. Although later their relations with their allies deteriorated in several settlements (e.g. In Kusújszállás, Szolnok and Mezőtúr with the SZDP, in Jászberény even with the NPP), but this only resulted in a change in the leadership of the cities in an exceptional case (in Mezőtúr), as no municipal elections were held. Because of the principle of parity and the weighting of trade unions, the composition of the new administrative bodies could not have been reflected either the actual support of the parties or the real stratification of society. All this generated political tension, conflicts within national committees and representative bodies. The acquisition of the Main county head position by the FKGP, and the acquisition of the vice county head position by the PDP and then the

SZDP could not have had a decisive influence on the course of the political fighting in towns, regardless of attempts to involve these leaders. The only exception to the successful expansion of the MKP was Mezőtúr, where the local communists did not shy away even from using police for political purposes, yet their fight for mayor seat failed three times.

The smallholder's party's activity on the other hand was not determined by short-term, rapid position acquisition, but by the longer-term tactics aimed at increasing the number of members, aiming at election victories, which decision followed logically from their social embeddedness and the fact of the attempt at democracy. We also consider it an important research result that we were able to illustrate with key examples the key role of local officials in restarting life, which was a general trend observed completely independent of the party affiliation of successful town leaders.

There were also significant differences in the genesis of the rural organizations of the Communist Party between the individual settlements. In general, it can be stated that in the settlements where illegal communists or their sympathizers were present at the time of the frontline transition, the Communist Party was among the first to be formed, while where there was no tradition of movement between the two wars at all, there may have been a delay of several weeks, sometimes several months, in party organization. Accordingly, in Mezőtúr, the former illegal communists organized the Communist Party almost immediately. The same attempt would have been made in Szolnok, but it was the occupiers who hindered it, so they were almost left out of the temporary town council when it was formed. In Kisújszállás, however, it did not occur that the establishment of the party should be in the first place, because they focused on the management of public affairs. In Jászberény, meanwhile, the former Communists of 1919

delayed founding the party because they planned to form a joint party with the Social Democrats, but they could not agree on that. Only after the establishment of the Interim National Assembly were they given precise information on how to organize the parties separately. The formation of village party organizations followed the formation of urban groups with even greater delay. Party members sent from towns to villages also typically linked the formation of rural party organizations with the preparation of land distribution. However, in the spring of 1945, the MKP did not yet have enough sufficiently trained and efficient party organizing cadre, thus, they were not able to properly educate either the rural party secretaries with a more extreme and exclusionary political worldview. The main problem was the political illiteracy of the membership, and consequently the acceptance of the People's Front policy. Above the party organizations, the county and district network was built only in the spring. The basic organizations of the MKP were initially formed by small groups. In Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County there was also a trend that the admission of members had to be subject to stricter conditions on the instructions of the party center, then in the spring and summer, when the parties began to compete with each other, mass membership became the general expectation.

The relationship between the Communists and their coalition partners has been greatly influenced by previous personal acquaintances and the ability to integrate their own people into the leadership of other parties. Szolnok was considered special in this respect, where for the MKP the further use of their already extensive network of contacts and the use of secret party members were given a lot of emphasis in gaining positions. Attempts were made to enter cryptocommunists into other parties in other towns as well and due to this they were able to ensure the dominance of the

MKP in several senior positions during the reorganization of the public administration in early 1945. Later, however, the built-in communist members were pushed into the background in many places, and a serious rivalry with the SZDP began. In the countryside, the communists were able to gain more serious positions in the union of dig workers, while in the county seat they were more successful in the industrial unions. Of course, local differences can also be observed here, for example, in Karcag other trade unions were quickly formed after the dig workers, in contrast, it took months in Jászberény to establish a meaningful trade union life. In the field of youth and women's organization, however, a more general trend was that they could not show serious and lasting success, which could be explained on the one hand by the social composition of party membership and on the other by the activities of rival organizations formed by other parties.

In the case of the land distribution that took place in parallel with the establishment of party organizations and mass organizations, the contradiction became clear that the communist party leadership did not yet consider the time has come to settle accounts with the "kulaks", ugyanakkor at the same time, the rural membership of the MKP (especially in the area of the former Jászkun District, where there was more land demand than average and less land to be distributed) desired a more radical land reform proposal than the one adopted by the parties. All this has led to numerous objectionable disproportions, an abuse of rights and clear illegalities during the distribution of land, for each of which we have tried to provide typical examples. In addition, the background of the various spontaneous mass actions was analyzed on specific examples: We clearly found out about the peasant delegations demanding the division of land that they were organized by central party instruction, without the involvement of

the wider society. With regard to the mass actions to prevent the recapture of the lands, we also found that they were carried out under the direction of the local party secretaries, but this time already using the mass force of the new owners.

In the case of the state police, in addition to outlining local differences, we consider it an important result to show in what specific cases the MKP tried to use its power for its own political purposes. We also consider it to be an interesting result of our research that we could explore the background and consequences of the conflict between Sándor Herpai, an intellectual chief of the county police coming from Kisújszállás, and Lajos Polónyi Szűcs, the deputy chief of the county police who had an illegal communist past and lived in Szolnok.

In the case of the 1945 election campaign the attack on each others senior officials

In the case of the 1945 election campaign, the political attacks launched by smallholders and communists against each others senior officials are examples that help to have a better understanding of the conditions of the age. We find it particularly instructive the presentation the political action that resulted in the resignation of county head Endre Baráth, which demonstrates well the intertwining of land distribution, public provision, local government administration, and electoral history. In addition, when presenting the election results, we also examined the causes of the local differences between the individual settlements, thanks to which we were able to shed light on the spill-over effect of the period of illegality.

From the analysis of the general history of political events in the post-election period, we consider that process to be worth highlighted how the inter-party competition has diverted the prosecution of political crimes

of the previous era, and how it all turned into a tool for political bargaining, then blackmailing, and finally for open attack on each other. In the case of redundancies carried out in several rounds, political considerations clearly prevailed over professional considerations, as a result, many sought protection in individual parties. At the same time, based on the sources examined, it can be stated that none of the parties in the governing coalition sought to form an expert administration, but instead tried to get their own people into various leadership positions.

In addition, of course, we consider it important to outline that in addition to the cleansing within the administration, how the uncontrollable mass actions accompanying hyperinflation, the problems of public supply, the decline of partisanship within the MKP, the growing popularity of the Peasant Alliance led by smallholders and the peasant policies of the Communists interacted.

For example, the mass demonstrations that accompanied the popular court trials in 1946 and the rural famine demonstrations made it clear that the communist-dominated police was unfit to perform its duties, which briefly put the body back into the focus of political battles. Proportionation within the police was eliminated by the MKP partly through propaganda and partly through targeted dismissals, and as a result of the introduction of the forint the social tension that had previously provoked mass actions has automatically decreased.

The stories of the replacement of János Fodor, the communist party secretary of Szolnok, and the intimidation of Béla Mizsei, a young smallholder politician, provide insight into the details of the political struggle between the parties and within the parties that were hidden from the general public. The characterization of the rivalry of the two workers'

parties provides interesting additions to the inoperability of the Left Bloc in the county.

In the meantime, the activities of the Peasant Alliance have made it clear that the FKGP is also able to show mass support. Their proposal to hold local elections and to amend the Trade Unions Act also jeopardized the parity of the MKP within local governments. All this resulted in a stalemate that the Communists could no longer resolve by democratic means, and therefore the Smallholder Party was “terminated” by illegal means.

At the same time, the rise and subsequent fall of István Földi's communist “peasant main county head” career perfectly represented the MKP's strategy to gain peasant votes before the 1947 elections, and then the change in peasant policy after the election victory, in 1948. In connection with the “Garden County” program announced by Földi at the beginning of 1947, it is very interesting that it was essentially the same as the “Garden Hungary” concept promoted by KALOT, among others, before the war. The conflict between the main county head, who stood honestly for the sake of the peasantry even after the election, and his party members provides another example of the heterogeneity and diverse mentality of the membership in the Communist Party.

In examining the 1947 elections, it is worth mentioning that the Communists took part in the disruption of opposition campaign rallies not alone but together with their coalition partners. However, the series of election frauds was already clearly linked to the Communist Party. While examining the illegality during the census of eligible voters, the casting of false blue ballot papers and the possible manipulation of the election results we have made accurate calculations instead of republishing estimates from the literature. As a result of our calculations, we were able to conclude that

frauds did not have a decisive effect on the outcome of the election, but merely increased the victory of the Hungarian Communist Party.

Examining the post-election period, we presented the temporary decline in party life, the desire to settle accounts appearing in the ranks of party members, then after the actual political turnaround the cleansings within parties, the administration and mass organizations. The peasant policy that had been promoting irrigated horticultural farms until then had also taken a complete turn. At the same time, there was an increasingly spectacular conflict between the MKP and the Catholic Church. The handover ceremony of the small railway of Kisújszállás organized by the communists in contrast of the days of Mary in Törökszentmiklós, had a symbolic significance in the events of Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok County.

Finally, we also outlined the overall picture by comparing the local archival documents and the press, as well as the police reports kept at the Institute of Political History, in which the elimination of the Social Democratic Party's resistance and the planned merging of the Hungarian Communist Party can be traced step by step, and the methods used in the meantime.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

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20. **Csönge, A.**: MNL Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltára.

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