

# **POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY 1989-1990**

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

**June 12, 1999**

**Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Budapest**

**A COMPENDIUM OF DECLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS  
AND CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS**



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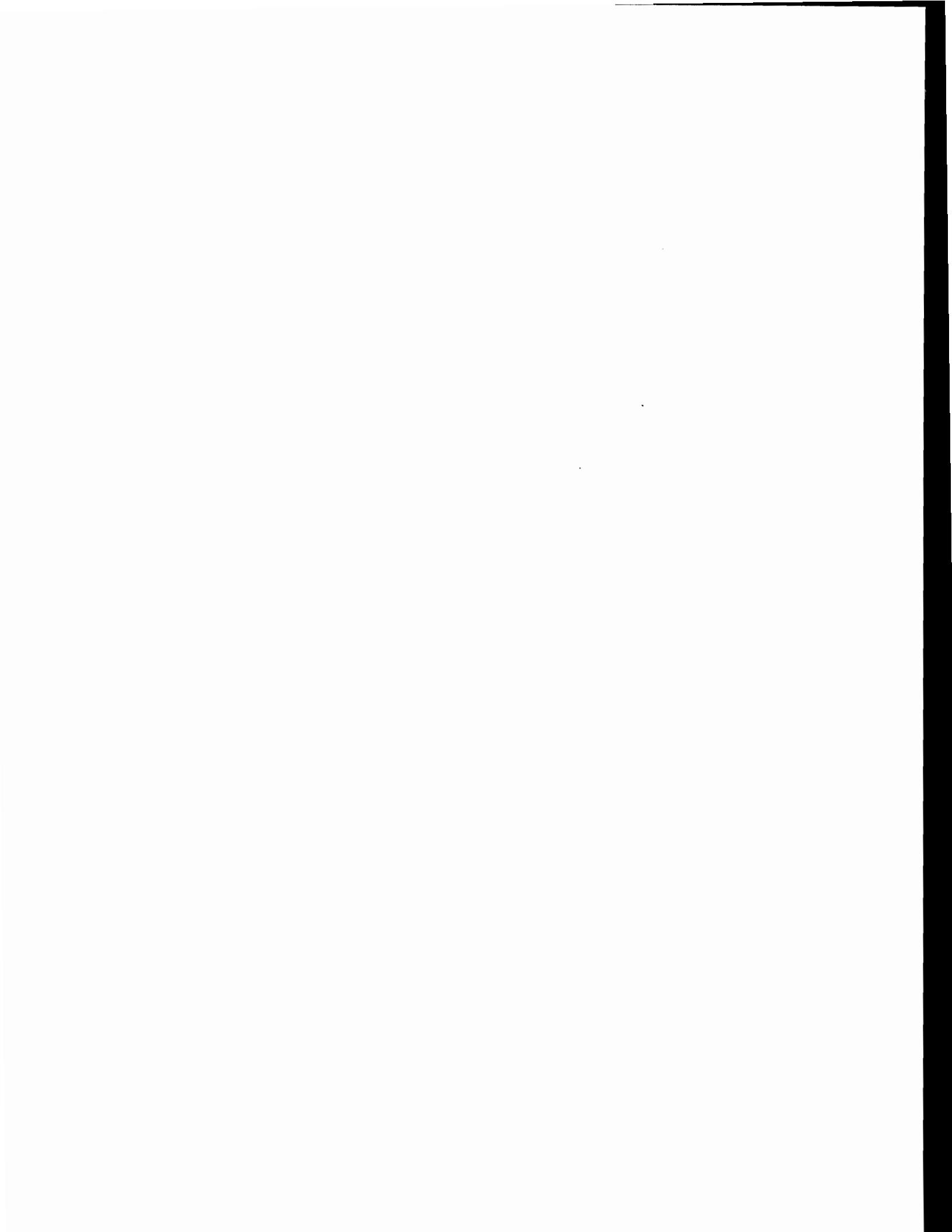
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**With Financial Support From**

**The Open Society Institute, New York  
The John D. and Catherine T. Macarthur Foundation, Chicago  
Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung**

**Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union**



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1989-1990

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POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY  
1989-1990

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
JUNE 10-12  
HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
BUDAPEST

Dear Conference Participants,

We are pleased to present this collection of documents prepared for the conference, which will hopefully make it easier to conjure the events that happened ten years ago and will greatly contribute to a profound debate between the politicians who took an active part in the democratic transition and researchers who are well acquainted with the sources of the topic on what was possibly the most significant turn in 20th century Hungarian history.

Most of the documents in this volume are being published for the first time as a result of a wide scale international programme of revealing sources which has been going on for a number of years now under the guidance of the Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union in Washington D.C.

We owe our gratitude first and foremost to the Hungarian National Archives for their effective support of our work.

Finally, we wish to thank the organizations listed on the cover of the volume for extending their financial support, which made it possible for us to organize this conference of great importance.

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1989-1990

Table of Contents

Chronology  
Biographies  
List of Abbreviations  
Documents





POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY  
1989-1990

Chronology



- January** Because of their disagreement with the democratically elected leadership, whose members partly come from the new opposition, twenty-six writers declare their decision to leave the Association of Writers in order to express loyalty to the leadership of the ruling party. The Hungarian Journal *Beszélő* gives an analysis of the political crisis and the restoration efforts following the crackdown on the 1956 revolution. The journal publishes a paper by János Kis as well as the minutes of three meetings of the Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest, the December 1956 memorandum of the Petöfi Peasants' Party and István Eörsi's memoirs. "Elek Fényes" (János M. Rainer) is the first to publish a comprehensive account of the retaliation following the revolution. Under the title "Conception and Reality," the journal presents the sentence of the fabricated trial in the case of Gábor Földes and his associates as well as István Angyal's farewell letter and essays by Sándor Szilágyi, Tamás Mikes, György Krassó and Ferenc Kőszeg. A committee is formed to make preparations for a conference in Monor (the members are Tamás Bauer, István Csurka, Lajos Für, János Kenedi, János Kis, László Lengyel, Imre Mécs, Miklós Vásárhelyi). The members of the Council of Ministers give talks to workers nationwide on the severe conditions of the Hungarian economy.
- January 1.** Deputy Minister László Maróthy is appointed chairman of the National Planning Office. Frigyes Berecz, currently the executive director of a telecommunications technology company, becomes a minister. The retiring István Hetényi is succeeded by his deputy, Péter Medgyessy, as head of the Ministry of Finance. Miklós Németh becomes the head of the economic policy department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP).
- January 15.** A decision is made at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on forming several new governmental committees: the Economic Policy Committee is replaced by the Economic Supervisory Committee; several new committees, such as the Committee for International Economic Relations, the Committee for Scientific Policy and the National Defense Committee, are also established.
- January 16.** Chao Tse Jang is elected Managing Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party. The first foreign politician he receives in his new position is Secretary of the MSZMP CC Ferenc Havasi. From Beijing Havasi travels to Tokyo to meet, among others, Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro.
- January 24.** The Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization (KISZ) publishes a summons entitled "Our Future Is at Stake," which is aimed at involving the members of the youth organization in implementing a

- program initiated by MSZMP and making it acceptable to the general public.
- January 31.** Minister of Culture Béla Köpeczi announces that the government does not recognize the Association of Writers as the only representative organization of Hungarian writers.
- January 28.** The police confiscate an entire collection of exhibits found in Tibor Philipp's apartment, which was meant to be put on display later under the title "The Fighting City".
- February 17.** Representatives of the Hungarian National Bank sign an agreement with a consortium of American, Japanese and Western-European banks for a loan of 200 million USD.
- February 17.** Prime Minister György Lázár, on his official visit to Italy, is given a private audience with the Pope.
- February 25.** János Kádár receives Milanko Rencicova, President of the Union of Yugoslavian Communists' Presidency.
- March** After a break of half a year, *Tiszatáj* is republished. Jenő Nagy, manager of the independent publishing house ABC, is sentenced to pay severe fines, and all of his personal property is confiscated. Measures of "preventive" arrests are intended to intimidate the opposition.
- March 2.** A new law on land is passed, which abolishes the institution of permanent leasehold.
- March 2.** Hungary supports the joint Yugoslavian-Canadian proposal of the Vienna Meeting of the CSCE, which is aimed at strengthening the rights of European national minorities.
- March 5.** For the first time under the new Bankruptcy Act, legal action is brought against a major company, the State Construction Company of Veszprém.
- March 6.** Pope John Paul II appoints László Paskay Archbishop of Esztergom.
- March 8-10.** British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe pays a three-day visit to Hungary and signs a contract for protecting investments and for cultural cooperation with his Hungarian partners.
- March 11.** For the second time in the past six months, the Hungarian forint is devalued by the Hungarian National Bank by 8% with respect to convertible currencies.
- March 15.** Imre Pozsgay gives a speech at the central government ceremony in which he brings up the possibility of political and institutional reforms. The independent commemorations in Budapest take place without any atrocities on the part of the authorities. György Gadó speaks in front of the House of Parliament; later he talks about Imre Nagy's martyrdom at the Batthyány sanctuary lamp. From there a few hundred people march to the Bem sculpture where Tibor Pákh, referring to the 12 points of 1848, calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops. Secretary of the MSZMP CC Mátyás Szűrös conducts negotiations in the United States. He is received by Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz.
- April** The political police are continuously harassing and imposing fines under various different pretexts on the editors of the samizdat paper *Égtájak között* (Among corners of the world), Mikolta Bognár, József Talata,

- Gyula Bartók and László Rusai.
- April 1.** A government spokesman and a statement issued by the presidency of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences both rebut the accusations made by Rumanian circles concerning the three volumes of the publication entitled "The History of Transylvania", which implicate revenge and the distortion of history.
- April 8.** Archbishop of Esztergom László Paskai takes the oath to the Hungarian constitution.
- April 10.** The Jurta Theater of the Hungarian Theater Circle is dedicated in Népliget; its director is László Romhányi.
- April 12.** The Council of Ministers announces a general increase in consumer prices. For instance, the prices of meat and meat products, alcoholic drinks and a few machine industrial consumer goods are raised.
- April 23.** The Board of Foreign Ministers of the Common Market authorizes the committee of the EEC in Brussels to carry on negotiations with Hungary with the aim of reaching a trade and economic agreement.
- April 28.** The Common Market reasserts that it is willing to negotiate a possible trade agreement with Hungary.  
At a meeting of the Economic Panel, working parallel with the Central Committee of MSZMP, Economic Secretary of the CC Ferenc Havasi, Imre Pozsgay and Rezső Nyers all support the memorandum entitled "Change and Reform", which is the first coherent economic proposal to solve the economic crisis since 1968. (The document and the various positions on it are first published in the June issue of *Közgazdasági Szemle* [Economic Review]).
- April 28-30.** The meeting of the Central Committee of MSZMP puts on its agenda the basic principles of the new central and corporation tax system. A press release is issued on April 30, stressing the need to transform the tax system for private incomes and corporations and to modify the pension system.
- May 6.** The presidency of the Jewish World Congress meets in Budapest.
- May 10.** Negotiations begin between Hungary and the Vatican take place in Budapest; chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs Imre Miklós and papal legate Francesco Colosauonno discuss relations between the two states.
- May 15.** György Aczél, member of the Political Committee of MSZMP, conducts negotiations in Washington, DC.  
Raoul Wallenberg's sculpture is inaugurated in Buda.
- May 19.** Soviet Minister for Defense Sergei Sokolov pays a visit to Hungary.
- May 26.** János Kádár is congratulated on the occasion of his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday at a parliamentary ceremony.
- June 1.** Armand Hammer, Chairman of Occidental Petroleum, is received by János Kádár in Budapest.  
The Hungarian National Bank decides to raise the interest rate of short-term loans available for banks and other financial institutions by 2%.
- June 5.** Emil Bobu and Ion Stoian, secretaries of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, pay a visit to Budapest. In the course of negotiations, the Hungarian Party states its position clearly: although

settling the matters of ethnic Hungarians in Rumania is an internal affair of their country, the issue has international aspects and bears on Hungary as well.

- June 10.** For the first time in 30 years top level leaders of Hungary and China meet in Budapest. As a result of the talks between Chao Tse Yang and János Kádár an agreement is signed for long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation.
- June 16.** On the 29<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates, the Batthyány sanctuary lamp in Budapest is symbolically pronounced to be the Batthyány-Imre Nagy memorial lamp in the presence of some 50 to 60 people and a large number of police. (The commemoration was mainly organized by the Inconnu Artgroup.) In the evening another commemoration is held in Tibor Philipp's home, where Pál Lőcsei, Pál Szalay and Tibor Pákh give speeches and read out Erzsébet Nagy's message. Several hundred copies of a leaflet demanding the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy are issued in Budapest.
- June 23.** At the meeting of the MSZMP CC, several leading party officials are replaced; the new secretaries of the CC are: György Fejti, responsible for the armed forces; János Lukács, for the party and other labor organizations, and Miklós Németh, for economy. György Lázár becomes the new Deputy Secretary General. The new member of the Politburo are: János Berecz, Judit Csehák. Ferenc Havasi is elected Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee.
- June 25-26.** In a secret session, the Parliament approves of the recommendations made by the MSZMP CC and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front concerning the replacement of leaders. Pál Losonczy is relieved from his office; Károly Németh becomes president of the Presidential Council. György Lázár is succeeded by Károly Grósz as Prime Minister. The retiring Lajos Czinege is replaced by István Horváth as Deputy Prime Minister.
- In his report the Minister of Finance states that the Hungarian deficit in 1986 was twice as high as envisaged beforehand.
- July 1.** The tariff preference in private travel is raised from 6,000 to 10,000 forints per person.
- The institution of "public work" is introduced; unemployed people can be hired by the local councils to do various occasional jobs for the good of the local community.
- The Tax and Financial Auditing Office is established.
- July 2.** At a meeting of the MSZMP CC, it is openly admitted that the current economic policy has failed and a new program for economic and political development is accepted.
- July 5.** A statement is released by the MSZMP CC in which it is laid down that "the economic reform process needs to be extended on a large scale."
- July 6.** John Charles I pays a visit to Hungary.
- July 9.** For the first time jobless people are employed for public labor in Miskolc and Ózd.
- July 16.** A government spokesman says that the Council of Ministers will submit its program of action to the Parliament in September.

- July 17.** Károly Grósz travels to Moscow for two days where he meets with Gorbachev. The Hungarian Prime Minister states that “the revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union are looked upon favorably” by the Hungarian nation.
- July 19.** István Csurka writes a letter to Miklós Vásárhelyi, in which he cancels participation at the second meeting underway in Monor on behalf of populist circles, which thus meets with failure. The reason for this step is a paper published in *Beszélő* under the title “Social Contract” which speaks for the whole opposition but which has not been agreed upon by the populists. (Earlier Sándor Lezsák has already been asked to organize a meeting dominated by the populists.)
- July 20.** The Council of Ministers decides to raise prices again, justified partly by the endeavor to reduce the budget deficit. The price of power supplies, cigarettes, flour and bakery products is raised significantly. At the same time, the decision is made “to take measures to supplement incomes.”
- July 22.** The leaders of the Hungarian National Bank and a consortium of 39 western banks sign an agreement on a 400 million USD loan.
- July 27.** The program of the tax reform is discussed by several parliamentary committees.
- August 3.** The member of the Council of Ministers and the leaders of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) discuss issues of the tax reform and the main directions of the economic plan for the coming year.
- August 13.** The Council of Ministers approves of the introduction of personal income tax and turnover tax. Government spokesman Rezső Bányász announces that the forint will not be devalued before the end of the year.
- August 15.** The starting up of another reactor block completes the first phase of the development of the Paks Atomic Power Station. According to current plans, the power station will be installed with two more blocks, also designed by the soviets, in the 1990s.
- August 22.** On the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National Theater, Minister of Culture Béla Köpeczi announces that a competition will be conducted to find a new site for the theater.
- August 23.** On the 48<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact, the independent artistic group Inconnu sends a letter to the embassy of the Soviet Union in Budapest in which they demand independence for the Baltic states.
- August 31.** Representatives of the Hungarian National Bank sign a contract with the World Bank for a 150 million USD loan to promote the ongoing program for reshaping the structure of Hungarian industry.
- Fall** Issue No 21 of *Beszélő* publishes an essay by István Csurka entitled “On behalf of the first victim”. In it Csurka traces back the “lethal state” of society to the disillusionment following 1956.
- September 8.** One hundred intellectuals turn to the Parliament in an open letter in which they criticize the economic program of the Council of Ministers and call upon the House to initiate substantive changes. (Those signing the letter comprise the populists, the reformist economists, the '56-ers as well as members of the democratic opposition.) In spite of the criticism on September 16-17, the Parliament approves of the economic program

- submitted by the Council of Ministers. At a press conference on September 18, Károly Grósz states that the government's program "continues and at the same time renews the bold and progressive policy which helped the country to leave behind the tragedy of 1956." Hungary signs an agreement with Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, Italy and Sweden to protect investments.
- September 9.** Károly Grósz conducts negotiations with leading Japanese economic experts, who are then received by János Kádár, first secretary of MSZMP.
- September 10.** The Council of Ministers establishes an employment fund.
- September 19.** The Parliament passes the new tax laws.
- September 27.** In Lakitelek close to 150 intellectuals get together at a "friendly meeting" in order to discuss openly the grave situation in the country. The introductory lecture is delivered by First Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front Imre Pozsgay. A proclamation is accepted in which they call upon the leaders of the country and the party to start a dialogue. (The proclamation is published in a full-page interview with Pozsgay in the November 14, 1987, issue of *Magyar Nemzet*.) The meeting is attended by several '56-ers, but issues of the '56 revolution are only touched upon in passing. No criticism of the official stand on 1956 is raised.
- September 28.** President of the Presidential Council Károly Németh receives the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- September 29.** Austrian Chancellor Frantz Vranitzky conducts negotiations in Budapest. A statement is issued in which the two parties raise the possibility of organizing the 1995 World Exhibition jointly.
- October** Several publications appear in samizdat format: "Our Dead"; a photo album about those died in the '56 revolution; "The Background, the Events and the Aftermath of the Revolution"; "Studies and a Chronology".
- October 7.** On his visit to West Germany, Károly Grósz agrees with the German party that the Deutsche Bank – under the act of honor by the German government – gives a loan of 1 billion DM to the Hungarian National Bank.
- October 9.** Miklós Vásárhelyi is congratulated on the occasion of his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday by his friends, also in remembrance of his companions Miklós Losonczy, Pál Maléter and József Szilágyi, who were born in the same year.  
János Kádár travels to China. On November 13, he meets with President of the Advisory Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Deng Hsiao Ping.  
György Lázár receives First Deputy Prime Minister of Rumania Gheorghe Oprea.
- October 15.** Lead by professor Tamás Sárközy, a new Parliamentary Secretariat of the Council of Ministers is formed. The task of this new body is to inform the members of the House of the decisions made by the Council of Ministers and to coordinate the report to be submitted to the various



- committees of the House.
- October 16.** Secretary General of UN Perez de Cuellar receives the Hungarian Secretary of Church Affairs Imre Miklós.
- October 20.** After a visit to the United States in the summer, Sándor Rácz receives a letter from Ronald Reagan in which the US president recognizes his endeavors to work for the future of a unified Europe.
- October 21.** The National Peace Council holds a press conference. Here it is announced that there are no nuclear or biological weapons on Hungarian soil.  
A new parliamentary committee is formed to supervise the implementation of the tax laws. Its chairman is Rezső Nyers.
- October 22.** The Council of Ministers discusses issues related to the modification of the social security bill, the planned statute regulating bonds and the introduction of treasuries.
- October 23.** A small demonstration takes place in Budapest. The demonstrators symbolically pronounce the Batthyány sanctuary lamp to be the Batthyány-Imre Nagy lamp. In the garden of the Technical University, János Dénes, György Gadó and Imre Mécs give a speech. In the evening the Inconnu group holds a commemoration at Tibor Philipp's home where several people talk, including Elek Nagy, Tibor Pákh, János Dénes, Sándor Rácz, Aliz Halda, Tamás Mikes, and Imre Mécs.
- October 25.** The Organizations of Hungarian Freedom Fighters inaugurate a memorial in a park of the city of Passaic in the US. The memorial was made by sculptor Csaba Kur.
- October 28.** János Kádár receives the Chancellor of the French Central Bank.
- October 30.** A Hungarian state and party delegation travels to the Soviet Union. János Kádár is awarded the Medal for the October Revolution. He speaks at the festive meeting commemorating the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary and meets with Mikhail Gorbachev.
- November 5.** The Council of Ministers makes a decision to introduce a two-level administrative system and to take a census of population in 1990. Government spokesman Rezső Bányász acknowledges that the increase in consumer prices is higher than expected.
- November 8.** Ferenc Donáth's tomb is inaugurated in the Farkasrét Cemetery in the presence of a large number of people. In his speech Miklós Vásárhelyi takes a vow to fight for the political and moral rehabilitation on his companions, the martyrs and the victims of the revolution, "using every legal means possible".
- November 9.** Hungarian economic days are held in three cities of the United States.
- November 10.** In view of protecting the environment, any construction work is partially banned in the Danube bend.
- November 11.** The MSZMP CC discusses international issues as well as "the state of ideological activities".  
The Hungarian forint is devalued by 5% with respect to convertible currencies.
- November 12.** The Financial Research Company Ltd. is established; its director is Márton Tardos.
- November 13.** According to the statement made by the leadership of the National

- Council of Trade Unions, any measure to implement the stabilization program which affects the living standards of people should be considered vary carefully.
- November 15.** In Brasov 20,000 workers and students protest against the regime. The police can control the demonstration only by force with the help of the army and at the cost of leaving dead victims behind. János Kádár conducts negotiations in Belgium with political and economic leaders and also meets with representatives of the Common Market.
- November 17.** The statutory meeting of the Hungarian Industrial Development Bank Ltd. is held.
- November 18.** Deputy Prime Minister József Marjai negotiates in the US with government officials, representatives of the Congress, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
- November 23.** The new consumer prices, valid as of January 1, 1988, are made public. Roughly 80% of consumer goods will have a new price.
- November 27.** The Presidential Council approves of the proposal stating that as of January 1, Hungarian citizens – in principle – may travel to any country in the world with their valid passport without any restrictions.
- December 1.** The Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy and the Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches hold their first official joint meeting.
- December 2.** In Budapest Wojciech Jaruzelski and János Kádár sign a complex program specifying the relations of the two countries up until the year 2000. Károly Grósz visits Borsod county.
- December 3.** The Council of Ministers discusses the 1988 national economic plan and the budget plan.
- December 8.** The state of the national economy is discussed at the meeting of the MSZMP CC, and an optimistic communiqué is released concerning the fulfillment of the economic plan.
- December 10.** The National Tourist Council announces at its meeting that next year one billion forints from government funds will be spent on the development of tourism.
- December 14.** A peace seminar under the title "Towards the Theology of Peace" is held in Budapest and is attended by participants from 40 different countries.
- December 15.** The Hungarian Stock Exchange Foundation is established.
- December 16-17.** The Parliament decides to restructure the ministries, and changes are also made in the Council of Ministers. New ministries are established; namely, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Management of Water-supplies and the Ministry of Social and Health Affairs. István Horváth becomes the head the Ministry of the Interior again. Frigyes Berecz is appointed Minister of Industry, Judit Csehák Minister of Social and Health Affairs, József Marjai, then Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Trade, László Maróthy Minister of Environmental Protection and Management of Water-Supplies, and Miklós Villányi Minister of Finance. Péter Medgyessy is appointed deputy Prime Minister.
- December 17.** The Parliament passes the law on the 1988 budget and the act regulating

- codification.
- December 21.** The Council of Ministers discusses measures to improve the financial and moral recognition of intellectuals working in the field of technology and of those taking their first job.  
The castle areas in Buda and Hollókő are put on the UN list of world heritage.
- December 23.** The statutory decree regulating traveling abroad and issuing a passport valid for the whole world is promulgated.
- December 25.** The midnight Christmas mass held in Mátyás Church is broadcast in Hungarian television for the first time.
- December 26.** The 1988 national economic plan is made public. The Council of Ministers issues a statement to inform the people about the expected rate of consumer prices for the new year, the central price measures affected by the tax reform and the increase in social allowances.
- December 30.** The list of consumer prices valid as of January 1 are published.  
The Presidential Council modifies the decree regulating private trading and economic associations. As of January 1, private entities are entitled to form limited liability companies jointly with legal entities.
- December 31.** Minister of Culture Béla Köpeczi says that the restrictive measures against the Association of Writers become void.

## 1988

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- January** Judit Ember completes her three-parted documentary film "Menedékjog" (Right of Asylum) on the fate of the Imre Nagy group at the Yugoslav Embassy and later in the Rumanian exile. The film is banned. The Hungarian League for Human Rights publishes a summons in *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Newspaper) in which they call for support for a memorial to be erected in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris to honor the martyrs of the revolution and remember the Imre Nagy trial. Following the call from France, the architect István Nyíri and the electrical engineer Gábor Németh establish the Memorial Committee for Imre Nagy and His Fellow Martyrs. The samizdat publisher Magyar Október (Hungarian October) publishes Tibor Tollas's anthology "Gloria Victis", a collection of poems on the Hungarian revolution by authors from 35 different countries.
- January 1.** The new laws on turnover tax, personal income tax and the new passport come into force; consumer prices go up. According to official calculations, the prices of goods and services purchased by the people increase by 53%. A communiqué signed by several hundred intellectuals is issued in Budapest, in which they condemn the Ceausescu regime and offer their solidarity to those fighting against the dictatorship. An international press conference led by Miklós Vásárhelyi is held at Lajos Für's home in which the communiqué is made public. On January 29, the Asylum Committee is established in order to give aid to the Rumanian refugees who fled to Hungary.
- January 4.** For the first time in Hungary, applications for a world-wide valid passport are submitted to police offices nationwide.
- January 7.** Daily papers inform their readers that as of January new houses and apartments can be bought or built under new terms. Allowances for new housing are increased in proportion to the social and financial conditions of the family, but bank loans are available only for higher interest rates.
- January 8.** Five cities are given permission to publish an independent newspaper.
- January 13.** The Hungarian National Bank, the National Economic Chamber and 22 financial institutions reach an agreement on harmonizing the trading of securities.
- January 14.** The Council of Ministers establishes the Committee for Economic Planning.
- January 16.** The first open meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization (KISZ) is held. The topic of the session is the challenges young people have to face for the future.
- January 19.** The first securities trading session takes place in the International Trading Center in Váci street.

- January 20.** Mikhail Gorbachev's new book, *Perestroika and Glasnosty*, printed in 25 thousand copies, is reviewed and put on display.
- January 21.** A joint communiqué is issued by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP), the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party calling for European disarmament.
- January 24.** The journal *Új Tükör* (New Mirror) republishes the memorandum written by writers and journalists in 1955 in which they demanded the abolition administrative measures in cultural matters.
- January 25.** Foreign Secretary of MSZMP Mátyás Szűrös admits that the issue of Transylvanian refugees has sound grounds, and that immediate action will be taken.
- January 26.** At a press conference the Hungarian National Bank announces that, though the financial balance has improved considerably, the country's debt burden is still significant.
- January 28.** Open discussion is conducted on the issue of publicity, and a call is made for establishing the Publicity Club.
- January 30.** The Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF) holds its public meeting in the Jurta Theater.
- February** György Marosán writes a short article for *Mozgó Világ* (Moving World) entitled "Inventory-testament". In his view "there is only one fixed point" in the history of Hungary after 1945, and this is "the program of the Revolutionary Government of Workers and Peasants issued after November 4, 1956."
- In response to the flood of refugees from Transylvania, an inter-ministerial committee is set up to deal with the matters of refugees immigrating to Hungary.
- February 1.** A demonstration is held in front of the Rumanian embassy in Budapest criticizing Ceausescu's policies.
- February 2.** A committee for employment management is set up in Budapest. Its task will be to help unemployed people to find a new job.
- February 3.** Foreign Minister Péter Várkonyi negotiates at the UN Center in Geneva, while Deputy Prime Minister József Marjai visits Moscow.
- February 4.** The Supreme Court of the Soviet Union rehabilitates Buharin and his associates 50 years after their execution.
- February 5.** The Democratic Union of Hungarian Germans signs an agreement with representatives of the German Democratic Republic.
- February 7-10.** Among others, the following films are shown at the XXth Hungarian Film Festival: Gyula Gulyás-János Gulyás: "No breach of law"; Bálint Magyar-Pál Schiffer: "At the river Danube"; Ferenc Kósa: "The other man"; Sándor Sára: "A thorn under the nail."
- February 8.** The Danube Circle organizes a protest walk at Bem Square.
- February 10.** Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy announces that the reorganization of the coal mines producing a deficit in the Mecsek, in Tatabánya and in Nógrád County will start this year.
- February 12.** The Hungarian foreign spokesman holds his first press conference.
- February 15.** Ceremonies are held simultaneously in Budapest and Moscow to commemorate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Soviet-Hungarian and the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Societies.

- February 17.** The People's Patriotic Front discusses issues of publicity in the press.
- February 18.** The Ministry of Social and Health Affairs holds a press conference about the fees to be paid for medical services.
- February 19.** Ákos Mester talks with Iván Darvas about his career, the years he spent in prison and the role he played in the '56 revolution in Radnóti theater. Hungarian Radio gives permission to broadcast the talk only in June 1989.
- February 20.** A new corporate body is established under the name of The National Alliance of Entrepreneurs.
- February 22.** György Bence, István Eörsi, Ferenc Kőszeg and Vimos Sós establish the Passport Committee, which intends to eliminate the remaining anomalies of the new passport regulations.  
Károly Grósz receives writers at the House of Parliament.
- February 23.** Soviet head of state Andrei Gromyko carries on negotiations in Budapest.  
Secretary of the MSZMP CC Miklós Németh visits Moscow.
- February 24.** Károly Grósz visits the National Association of Hungarian Journalists.
- February 25.** The Council of Ministers sets up an inter-ministerial committee to handle the matters of Rumanian citizens coming to Hungary.
- February 29.** A conference on church history is organized at Eötvös Lóránd University in Budapest on the life of Péter Pázmány.  
The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions makes public its February 26 statement in which it strongly refutes any attempts "to establish organizations in opposition to the trade union movement."  
The delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly arrives in Budapest.
- March 4.** The Central Statistics Agency holds a press conference on consumer prices. In January prices rose by 8% with respect to December.  
An international stock exchange conference is held in Budapest.
- March 7.** An international journalism conference on *glasnost* is held in Budapest.
- March 10.** The Council of Ministers sets guidelines for keeping the rise of prices under control. The government spokesman states that the Council of Ministers does not recognize MDF, which was established months before.  
The homes of opposition members are searched by the police. Fliers and other printed publications are confiscated.
- March 12.** President of the National Council of Trade Unions Sándor Gáspár gives an interview to the journal *Képes* 7: "After 1956 order was restored and it is still functioning."
- March 14.** Károly Grósz meets with church leaders.  
The Council of Ministers sets new directives in which they state that no further centrally initiated rise in prices is to be expected for the rest of the year.
- March 15.** On the morning of the national holiday, the police effectuate "preventive" arrests.  
Some 15,000 people demonstrate in Budapest along the route of Petőfi tér – Batthyány sanctuary lamp – Lajos Kossuth tér – Bem tér – Batthyány tér. Miklós Gáspár Tamás evokes the spirit of the '56 revolution on the pedestal of the Kossuth sculpture; a speech prepared by

- the arrested Gábor Demszky is read out by Róza Hodosán, and Dénes Csegey talks at the Ráday College. Several participants of the various events are arrested.
- March 17.** A call is made for establishing the Network of Free Initiatives (Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata, SZKH). It is established on May 1. János Kádár meets with leaders of industrial companies. In a follow-up interview he states that there is no crisis whatsoever in Hungary.
- March 18.** An international scientific conference opens in Győr, discussing alternative routes of reforms in Eastern Europe.
- March 23.** The meeting of the MSZMP CC discusses a proposal specifying the enforcement of the leading role of the party and the development of the system of political institutions. The National Conference of MSZMP is summoned to meet on May 20.
- March 24.** It is announced that Béla Bartók's remains will be taken home from the United States in June 1988.
- March 25.** The Office of Information and the Office of Councils are dissolved. The Office of the Council of Ministers is set up.
- March 26.** The Ministry of Finance announces that as of April 1, the interest rate of long-term savings will be raised and the import tariffs will be decreased.
- March 30.** In the Tinódi film theater, thirty-seven young university students and graduates establish the Federation of Young Democrats (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége, FIDESZ).
- March 30** Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy announces that the Council of Ministers intends to introduce real interest rates.
- April 1.** János Kádár gives an interview to the journal *Magyarország* (Hungary); it is also published in the Soviet journal *Ogoniok*. Kádár evaluates the events in 1956 and his own role and states that "Imre Nagy was not a counter-revolutionary from the beginning either."  
The obligation to announce a rise in prices in advance is lifted.
- April 6.** Gábor Demszky, Ferencz Kőszeg, Imre Mécs, Ottilia Solt and Tibor Philipp issue the foundation statement for the Independent Legal Aid Service.
- April 7.** The Council of Ministers submits a proposal to the Presidential Council to modify the decree regulating the operation of cooperative societies dealing in the procurement and marketing of consumer goods.
- April 8.** János Kádár receives Marshal Viktor Kulikov, Commander-in-Chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Mihály Bihari, professor of law at the Law School of Eötvös Lóránd University, Zoltán Bíró, chief research assistant of the National Széchenyi Library, Zoltán Király, editor of the Szeged regional studio of the Hungarian Television, and László Lengyel, chief associate of the Financial Research Company Ltd., are expelled from MSZMP.
- April 11.** The price of certain items produced by the paper-industry are raised by 7.1%.
- April 15.** A meeting is held in Debrecen under the title "Politics and publicity."
- April 20.** A report prepared by an expert committee on the request of Ófalu in Baranya county states that placing radioactive waste near the village involves high environmental risks.

- April 21.** Mátyás Szűrös delivers a talk in Balassagyarmat. He talks about issues of foreign policy, including the Hungarian-Rumanian relations.
- April 22.** The Council of Ministers discusses the draft of the law regulating associations. A scientific advisory committee is set up to work with the Council of Ministers.  
In Austria a bill is passed by the Parliament regulating tariff reductions on Hungarian goods.
- April 23-24.** A two-day higher educational parliament is held in Veszprém at the University of Chemical Industry. The Higher Educational Youth Parliament decides that youth organizations engaged in political activities may be formed at universities.
- April 25.** Károly Grósz is interviewed by *Der Spiegel*. Among other things he says: "In 1956 we were very close to reintroducing a multiparty system. More than 70 different parties emerged that year. Only one of them wanted socialism, and this was the one that survived."  
The Hungarian State Railway Company announces that as of May 1 the price of tickets to Western Europe will be raised.
- April 27.** The first Hungarian Ecological Congress has its session.
- April 28.** Leaders of MSZMP and the National Council of Trade Unions discuss the further development of political institutions and the relations between the party and the trade unions with a view to these changes.
- April 29.** The Presidential Council modifies the decree regulating the operation of cooperatives dealing in the procurement, marketing and production of consumer goods.  
The committee for social and health affairs of the House holds a session in which it is stated that the issue of permitting abortion must be reconsidered and the regulations must be changed.  
The first McDonald's fast food restaurant in Hungary opens in Budapest.
- April 30.** The FIDESZ has its general assembly in the Tinódi film theater.
- May** Gyula Juhász's paper entitled "National Identity and Hungarian Identity in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century" is published in *Új Forrás* (New Source). In his view "the events in October and the beginning of November 1956 were brought to an end by troops of a foreign army, which evoked the image of the war of independence in the majority of the Hungarian public that has remained in our collective memory up to this very day."  
In the appendix to the journal *Medvetánc* (Bear's Dance) two papers are published under the titles "Turnabout and Reform" and "Proposal for the Reformation of Publicity and the Mass Media."
- May 2.** The Department of Building of the Baranya County Council refuses to give permission to build the nuclear waste base near Ófalu.
- May 4.** Károly Grósz visits Great Britain.  
The Council of Ministers sets up a budgetary reform committee.
- May 6.** The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions discusses the preparations necessary for the new company law and the issues related to organized holidays supported by the Unions.
- May 9.** The meeting of the MSZMP CC makes preparations for the new law of associations.
- May 9-10.** The Israeli foreign minister Shimon Perez pays a two day unofficial visit



- to Hungary and meets with Hungarian leaders.
- May 12** Secretary of the MSZMP CC Mátyás Szűrös receives the leaders of ethnic minorities in Hungary.
- May 13.** It is announced that as of June 1, the interest rate and the premium interest of savings by private people will be raised.
- May 14.** According to the new traffic regulations, except for through traffic on a few streets, all cars are banned from the city center of Budapest. The Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers is formed in the Metro Club.
- May 19.** The Council of Ministers discusses the implementation of the 1987 economic plan and budget and reviews the issues relating to the restructuring of industry.
- May 20-22.** The National Conference of MSZMP relieves János Kádár of his office of Secretary General and elects him Chairman of the Party. He is succeeded by Károly Grósz. The CC and the Politburo are also reorganized. The members of the Politburo are: János Berecz, Judit Csehák, Csaba Hámos, Pál Iványi, János Lukács, Miklós Németh, Rezső Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, István Szabó, Ilona Tatai. The secretaries of the CC are: János Berecz, György Fejti, János Lukács, Miklós Németh, Lénárt Pál, Mátyás Szűrös. One-third of the CC is comprised of new members. András Gyenes is elected chairman of the Central Supervisory Committee, Imre Somogyi becomes its secretary.
- May 23.** Mikhail Gorbachev sends a telegram congratulating János Kádár and Károly Grósz on their new posts.
- May 24.** Ronald Reagan sends a telegram congratulating Károly Grósz on his new post.  
After a visit by the Minister it is concluded that the building of the dam in Bős-Nagymaros is well on schedule.
- May 26.** The joint parliamentary work-team of the German Social Democratic Party and MSZMP issues a statement expressing appreciation for the beneficial influence of economic cooperation on Western-Eastern relations.
- May 27.** A demonstration is held in front of the Austrian embassy in Budapest protesting against the Bős-Nagymaros dam.
- June** The journal *Alföld* (Plain) publishes excerpts of the film script "No Breach of Law" made by Gyula Gulyás-János Gulyás. János Nemes's paper entitled "The Rákosi Documents" appears in *Mozgó Világ* (World in Motion). József Lengyel's book "Confrontation" is released. The journal *Világosság* (Brightness) organizes a roundtable talk under the title "Twenty Years After..." The participants are Gábor Nemes, Rezső Nyers, Béla Köpeczi, Endre Gömöri and Miklós Almási. Comparison is made between 1956 and 1968.
- June 1.** The interest rate of savings is raised by 3%.
- June 1-2.** The secretaries of economic policy of communist parties whose countries are members of Comecon meet in Budapest for two days.
- June 2.** The Council of Ministers discusses issues of developing higher education and introducing a unified taxing system for entrepreneurs. Hungary is awarded a 70 million USD loan by the World Bank to

- develop the food industry.
- June 3.** The Mormon church is legally recognized in Hungary.
- June 5.** The Committee for Historical Justice (Történelmi Igazságtételi Bizottság, TIB) issues a communiqué entitled "We Want Justice!" to mark its foundation. The statement becomes public only through Western press. The National News Agency (MTI) issues a confidential news item on the foundation of TIB. The communiqué is signed by five descendants of those executed in the Imre Nagy trial and 34 convicted revolutionaries – then belonging to different parties and of various different occupations. TIB, the Inconnu group and the Network of Free Initiatives also publish a communiqué in which they appeal to the public to demand that those executed after the '56 revolution be given a decent burial, that a national memorial be erected and that the criminal records of those convicted in '56 be abolished. They invite everybody to attend a memorial service to pay tribute to the heroes of the revolution on June 16, on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his companions.
- June 6.** Károly Grósz receives Albert Vlaszov, Mikhail Gorbachev's personal representative. He is informed of the talks in the Gorbachev-Reagan summit meeting.
- June 7.** Because of anomalies related to the buying up of wine in the region, some 2,000 vine-growers demonstrate in Kiskőrös. The first deputy to the U.S. Secretary of State confirms in his statement that Károly Grósz has been officially invited to visit Washington.
- June 8.** The Association of Hungarian Architects is the first to protest against the elimination of Hungarian villages in Rumania. (In the course of this month several other organizations give voice to their objections: The National Council of Trade Unions, The Communist Youth Organization, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the National Peace Council, and representatives of the Hungarian churches.)
- June 10.** A political meeting is held in Budapest on the occasion of the anniversary of the fusion of the two workers' parties. The KISZ CC establishes the Széchenyi Foundation to support young technical intelligentsia. The Council of Ministers also makes a contribution to the basic funds.
- June 12.** Talking at the meeting of commanders of the Workers' Militia, Károly Grósz says that if necessary, "administrative measures" will be taken against the opposition.
- June 13.** Secretary of Trade William Verity is hosted by Károly Grósz. The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions announces that Chairman Sándor Gáspár and First Secretary Tibor Baranyai requested retirement.
- June 15.** The Congress of the United States holds a memorial session commemorating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Imre Nagy's death. In place of the dissolved Office of Councils, the College of Councils is set up. Károly Grósz becomes chairman of the new body.
- June 16.** A conference on world economy is held in Washington. Hungary is represented by Miklós Németh.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his companions a symbolical gravestone is inaugurated in section 44 of the Pére Lachaise Cemetery in Paris for Imre Nagy, Géza Losonczy, Pál Maléter, Miklós Gimes, József Szilágyi and all those executed after the revolution (designed by László Rajk jr.; built by Ernő Nagy). Speeches are delivered at the grave by Tibor Méray, Ferenc Fejtő, chairman of the Hungarian League for Human Rights, Gilles Martinet, on behalf of the French Socialist Party, Claudio Martelli, on behalf of the Italian Socialist Party, Pierro Fassiono, on behalf of the Italian Communist Party, Miklós Vásárhelyi, a fellow convict, Jenő Surjánszky, on behalf of the rebels. In the evening a memorial ceremony is held in the great hall of the Musée Social addressed by Erzsébet Nagy, Pál Lócsei, Arthur Kárász and, on behalf of the World Organization of Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Alajos Nagy. Aliz Halda reads out the call made by the Committee for Historical Justice.

Independent groups hold a commemoration at various places in Budapest. Sándor Rácz and Jenő Fónay make a speech in section 301 of the Rákoskeresztúr Cemetery, Gáspár Nagy recites one of his poems, and Imre Mécs and László Hegedűs read out the names of the 244 people executed whose remains are known for sure to rest in section 301. The commemoration in the cemetery and the several hundred participants are not harassed by the police. The celebrating people can not get near Heroes' Square, so most of those already gathered together walk to the Batthyány-Imre Nagy sanctuary lamp, though there they also run into a police cordon. Some of the roughly 200 people present place flowers at the foot of the lamp, walking along a double cordon of police forces. Speeches are prevented by the police, and they start breaking up the crowd by using teargas spray and batons. Several people are arrested. The demonstrators listen to the speeches of János Kis and Imre Mécs in front of the television building in Szabadság square, and then, chanting Imre Nagy' name, march to Vörösmarty Square, where the police break up the crowd by force. At 19:30 some 300 people attend the memorial mass in the Franciscan church in Mártírok Street.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Imre Nagy trial, *Issue No 24* publishes Sándor Szilágyi's interview with Miklós Vásárhelyi on the trial.

**June 18.** *The Wall Street Journal* publishes an article remembering Imre Nagy on the occasion of the burial in Paris entitled "Imre Nagy Remembered". Árpád Göncz writes a letter to Károly Grósz concerning the events on June 16. In it he reminds Grósz of his historical and moral responsibility, asking him to distance himself from earlier methods not only in words but in deeds as well.

**June 21.** The meeting of the National Council of Trade Unions elects Sándor Nagy its new general secretary. In his speech Károly Grósz mentions the need to change the relationship between the Council of Ministers and the Trade Unions.

The contents of letters exchanged between MSZMP and the Rumanian Communist Party become known. The Hungarian party makes it clear that the situation of the Hungarians in Rumania is of vital importance for

- Hungary and proposes a meeting between the foreign secretaries of the two parties.
- June 21-22.** A two-day international conference is held in Budapest on world economy organized by the Financial Times.
- June 22.** Commander-in-Chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Marshal Viktor Kulikov comes to visit Budapest. He is received by Károly Grósz.  
The remains of Béla Bartók start the journey to Hungary.
- June 23.** The MSZMP CC discusses the modification of the electoral Bill.
- June 24.** 60,000 Hungarians go on a pilgrimage to Darázsfalva in Burgenland to participate in the mass celebrated by John Paul II.  
Károly Grósz responds to Árpád Göncz's letter. In his view the situation is seen very similarly by both of them, but a way-out is sought in different directions. He also says that he cannot deny 42 years of the communist past, he only wants to do away with the distortions and the crimes.
- June 27.** 70,000–80,000 people protest in Budapest in Hősök tere against the demolition of villages in Rumania. The Rumanian Embassy refuses to take the petition written by the organizers of the demonstration.  
At a meeting of the National Presidency of the Patriotic People's Front, Károly Grósz brings up the possibility of reconsidering the role of the Front.
- June 28.** The Politburo of MSZMP discusses the 1989 national economic plan and reviews the issues concerning the building of the dam at Bős-Nagymaros and the possibility of establishing local youth organizations at universities and colleges.  
László Paskai is ordained Archbishop of Esztergom in the Vatican.  
In Rumania, as a response to the Hungarian objections to "reorganizing the structure of settlements" in the country, the general consulate in Kolozsvár is closed.
- June 29.** The summer session of the Parliament commences. In place of the retired Károly Németh, Brunó Straub F., a member of the Academy of Sciences, is elected president of the Presidential Council. Three new ministers enter the Council of Ministers: Imre Pozsgay becomes Minister of State, Kálmán Kulcsár Minister of Justice, and Tibor Czibere Minister of Culture. The new Speaker of the House is István Stadinger. The House discusses the implementation of the 1987 budget and the program for reshaping the structure of industry.
- June 30.** The economic and trading agreement signed earlier by Hungary and the European Economic Community is approved in Brussels.
- July** The journal *Nagyvilág* publishes a passage from Ilja Ehrenburg's work "People, Years, My Life" in which the author describes in detail the chronology of events taking place in Hungary in 1956 based on the information received from the Soviet news agency TASS as well as his own personal opinion.
- July 1.** At the end of the summer session of the Parliament a committee is set up to work on the draft of the new constitution. A communiqué is issued to renounce the abolition of villages in Rumania.

The resolution issued by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party states that further nationalist and counter-socialist activities took place in Hungary with official approval.

The World Bank and Hungary sign an agreement for a loan of 200 million USD for the program adjusting the structure of industry, and another one of 50 million USD to fund the plan for technological development. To place restrictions on the peculiar ways of "granting credits" common between Comecon countries, the Council of Ministers cuts off the special state subsidies for products of "strategic importance" intended for socialist export.

After a modification of the relevant laws in Austria, Hungary can now take advantage of Austrian tariff preferences.

The Hungarian Polling Institute is established.

- July 2.** Károly Grósz says he is still willing to accept the invitation received as Prime Minister to visit Bucharest in order to carry on direct negotiations about the deepening conflicts concerning the plans to reorganize the settlement structure. He stresses that Hungary still does not intend to revise the borders shaped after World War II and does not intend to request any mediation on the part of international organizations to resolve differences, but it would hinder relaxation of the tension between the two countries if the relationship between two neighboring countries in Central Europe deteriorated permanently.
- July 3.** The price of cigarettes goes up by 14% and the price of beer by 13%. According to the Council of Ministers this is the only way to fund the extra costs necessary for health care and for increasing the family allowance.
- July 4.** István Huszár is the new First Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, after his predecessor, Imre Pozsgay, is appointed Minister of State. The Czechoslovakian and the Hungarian foreign ministers meet in Komárom. They both emphasize the importance of Leninist policy towards national minorities.
- July 5.** At the meeting of the defense ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Moscow, all the participants support the reduction of strategic arms by 50%. Károly Grósz and Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Moscow. They agree that Hungarian and Soviet reform ideas show similarity in a number of points.
- July 6.** US president Ronald Reagan conducts negotiations with Soviet Chief of Staff Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev. They set up a joint committee in order to prevent dangerous military incidents. Deputy Minister of Finance László Békesi says that the Hungarian state finances will collapse in a year or two if, instead of major reforms, only minor modifications are made in the budget.
- July 7.** Sándor Nagy, the new General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, states that the right to strike must be regulated in preparation for the new law for trade unions, specifying precisely the ways and the framework of going on strike so that no political overtones should arise.
- In one of the committees of the Patriotic People's Front, it is suggested

that newly established social organizations should be allowed to engage in political activities if they wish to do so.

According to the statistics of the Central Statistics Agency, in 1987 1.9 million people lived under the social minimum set at 3,840 HUF, while the income of 600,000 people did not even amount to the subsistence level of 2,850 HUF.

- July 9.** The Serbs living in Kosovo and Crna Gora hold demonstrations in the Vojvodina Autonomous Province of Yugoslavia against alleged Albanian nationalism. There is a lot of talk about the demonstrations being aimed at Hungarians.  
Decades after their death, the party membership of the former Soviet leaders (e.g. Bukharin, Rikov) is restored in Moscow.
- July 11.** Károly Grósz gives an interview to the American journal *Newsweek*, in which he says: "The demonstration on June 16 instigated fascist propaganda, chauvinism and irredentism. . . . Signs of a civil war were emerging in 1956, and military intervention by the West was impending. The military action taken by the Soviet Union prevented this from happening." He states that it was right to bring Imre Nagy to court, because "a prime minister should not violate the laws and the constitution."  
Mikhail Gorbachev arrives in Poland for a four-day visit. The joint communiqué stresses the similarity between the reform policies of the two countries.
- July 13-14.** The meeting of the MSZMP CC adopts a more radical program for reshaping the economy of the country. This involves the application of market-oriented measures (liberation of imports, devaluation of the forint, the transformation of the price and wage system, predicting that 80 to 100 thousand people may lose their job). They consider it to be justified that the right of assembly and the right of public meeting be regulated by law. It is the first time that the meeting is broadcast by Hungarian television.  
It is officially announced that 6,178 Rumanian citizens appealed for permission to reside in Hungary in the first half of the year. The Council of Ministers sets up a special fund to provide financial support for them. The relevant committee in the Parliament is informed that a unified tax for entrepreneurs will be introduced in 1989.
- July 15.** There is a two-day summit meeting in Warsaw attended by the leaders of member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The issued document acknowledges for the first time that socialist countries have a military advantage in a number of fields.
- July 16.** The interest rate of several types of loans for private citizens given by the National Savings Bank is raised for the second time in half a year.
- July 18.** The Hungarian forint is devalued by 8% with respect to convertible currencies.
- July 19-30.** Károly Grósz travels to the United States. On the first day of his two-week visit he talks with businessmen from Chicago. On July 22, speaking in San Francisco, he says it is quite possible that foreign companies will have a chance to establish companies in Hungary even

with 100% foreign ownership. On July 24 he states in New York that Imre Nagy and his companions will not be rehabilitated by the Council of Ministers, but "if the families so wish, they can be buried under appropriate circumstances." He meets with several hundred Hungarians living in the US, most of whom left Hungary in 1956. His statements concerning Imre Nagy and his trial evoke deep indignation. On July 26 in Washington, DC, he points out that maintaining the one-party system in Hungary is not an issue of principle, but political pluralism can also be achieved in the existing system. On July 27, Ronald Reagan receives him in Washington. Reagan thinks it is encouraging that Hungary can now see that without political changes the economic reforms will not meet with success.

- July 19.** One of the main awards at the Karlovi Vary Film Festival is won by Sándor Sára's "Thorn Under the Nail", which sheds light on the abuses of authority by leaders in Hajdú-Bihar county.
- July 21.** Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir receives István Szabó, a member of the Politburo of MSZMP, who visits Israel as an expert on cooperative societies. István Szabó states that Hungary made a grave mistake when it broke relations with Israel.
- July 22.** In the presence of American observers, the first SS-20 medium-range missiles are destroyed in the Soviet Union.
- July 25.** Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announces that some details of the military budget will soon be made public. At the same time, he suggests that military industry should be placed under civil control. In his view "the fight between political systems" is a thing of the past.  
The price of gas is raised by 2 HUF per liter and the price of diesel fuel by 1.3 HUF.
- July 26.** The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions writes a letter to the Council of Ministers in which it criticizes the government for demanding more and more sacrifices on the part of the population in order to balance the budget. The trade unions complain that they were not consulted before the new price and interest rate measures affecting a large number of people were introduced.
- July 28.** The Council of Ministers responds to the criticism by the National Council of Trade Unions. They are still willing to negotiate with the trade unions on comprehensive issues but not on minor details like the devaluation of the forint or the cut-back on state subsidies.  
The KISZ believes that it can no longer take the burden of representing the interests of all young people, therefore it intends to establish the National Council of Hungarian Youth, which could integrate the different youth organizations, including the KISZ.
- July 30.** West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher meets Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow to prepare for Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit scheduled for October.  
In his message to the Hungarian people, U.S. President Ronald Reagan expresses his confidence that there will be a good chance to develop bilateral relations between the two nations.

- August 2.** In Szigethalom, in the presence of representatives of the Hungarian People's Army and the Soviet Southern Army Group, the village community is assembled to discuss the request of the local people to reduce the noise caused by military routine flights and other environmental damages.
- August 3.** The Ministry of Trade anticipates that the shortage of paper supplies, which was caused by the fact that the Soviet Union reduced its scheduled paper export to Hungary by 700 thousand tons, will be over by November or December. (Later this amount, on Hungarian request, was modified to 500 thousand tons.)  
Under an agreement made between MSZMP and the Soviet Communist Party, Hungarian scholars are granted the opportunity to study documents related to Hungarian emigrants living there and those concerning the activities of the Communist International.  
By the decision of the Ministry of Industry, miners will receive their usual loyalty bonus in 1988; earlier it was said that there was no money available to cover this cost, and therefore some miners were thinking of going on strike.
- August 4.** Secretary of the Ministry of Justice Gyula Borics says in a statement that the ministry will revise the regulations which placed the former 1956 convicts at a disadvantage. Károly Grósz says that "for humanitarian reasons" the Hungarian citizens executed for their role in 1956 might be given a proper burial.
- August 6.** In the first half of the year, consumer prices rose on the average by 16.5% in Hungary. The price of food products, energy and clothing was 20% higher than a year before. According to the Central Statistics Agency the inflation rate reached 80% since 1980.
- August 9.** The Politburo of MSZMP confirms that it is in Hungary's interest that the agreement concerning the reduction of traditional armed forces be extended in its first phase to the troops stationed in Hungary. The body urges that humanitarian and human right issues be given more emphasis in the cooperation between socialist countries.  
After Szigethalom the residents of Százhalombatta are given a promise that no more routine flights will be made from the Tököl air base on weekends and holidays; moreover, flights will be stopped even in weekday afternoons.
- August 10.** The UN requests Hungary to send – for the time being for 6 months – 15 representatives to join the military observer group overseeing the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran.  
György Marosán Jr. becomes the new government spokesman in the rank of Deputy Minister. At the meeting of the Council of Ministers, ten new committees are set up in order to work on the revision of the constitution.  
The formerly confidential budgets of the Union of Pioneer Movement and that of the KISZ are made public. In 1987, 61% of the almost 1.5 billion forints available for the two organizations came from government sources.
- August 11.** Because of the building of the dam at Nagymaros the river Danube is



- diverted into a temporary bed at Visegrád.
- August 13.** Former Prime Minister of Hungary András Hegedüs gives an interview to *Képes* 7. He says: "in my view 1956 was a national uprising, initiated not by revolutionaries, but rather by the nameless mass of national resistance. It was this resistance that later gave rise to the national uprising." *Képes* 7 begins to publish passages from Hegedüs's book entitled "Under the Spell of History and Power," which is to appear soon.
- As part of the St. Stephen memorial ceremony, the Saint's Right Hand is taken to Székesfehérvár and placed in the Nagyboldogasszony Cathedral. On the 950<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of the founder of the Hungarian state, Archbishop of Esztergom László Paskai celebrates a mass in the presence of several thousand pilgrims in Fehérvár.
- August 15.** Another small church, the Hungarian Islam community is given official recognition.
- August 18.** President Brúnó Strub F. receives Archbishop Colasuonno who participates as the personal envoy of the Pope in the ceremony on the anniversary of St. Stephen's death.
- August 19.** In Székesfehérvár, at the ceremony held to commemorate the foundation of the Hungarian state, the president of the Presidential Council states that a new constitution is needed which regulates the relationship between citizens and those in power in a clear, straightforward fashion.
- August 20.** Independent Hungarian groups send a letter to representatives of the Czechoslovakian civil rights movement on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Soviet invasion. On behalf of the TIB, the letter is signed by Sándor Rácz and Miklós Vásárhelyi.
- In front of the Basilica in Budapest, tens of thousands of people attend a mass to remember the 950<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of the founder of the Hungarian state. Archbishop László Paskai announces that the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers are going to invite the Pope to visit Hungary.
- August 22-23.** People take part in a sit-in strike to protest against the demolition of villages in Rumania.
- August 23.** The second communiqué of the TIB denounces the rough measures taken by the police on June 16 and welcomes certain promises given by the Council of Ministers (the burial of Imre Nagy and his companions, eliminating the disadvantageous legal treatment of '56-ers, acknowledging the need to do research on '56). They demand that the full list of all victims who were executed, killed or died in prison be made public, their graves be marked, the bodies be identified and section 301 be put in order. They take upon themselves the task of making the necessary preparations and finding a tombstone appropriate to the one requested by István Angyal in his will. The Committee sets up three sections: one for historical, one for legal, and one for reverence matters.
- August 23-24.** Miners at the István Pit of the Mecsek Coal Mines go on strike because of uncertainties concerning their loyalty money. After negotiating with government commissioner László Kapolyi, Minister of Industry Frigyes Berecz and Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy, the workers are

- promised they will get at least as much bonus money in 1988 as they received in 1987. This has been the first strike since the fall of 1956. The first test-tube baby is born in Pécs.
- August 25.** As of October the pension of those over 70 years of age will be raised by 2%, or at least 100 forints. The calculation of sick-pay will also change. The Council of Ministers envisages that in 1989, the personal income tax brackets will be modified in accordance with the change in the consumer price index. Ilona Tatai, a member of the Politburo of MSZMP, states that Hungarian companies cannot be obligated to produce their goods and export them involving a deficit even if inter-state agreements require such action, since it is the state that has to take responsibility for these agreements. The workers in the Mecsek Coal Mines do extra shifts over the weekends to make up for the loss of production as a result of the strike.
- August 25-28.** Opposition organizations and leading opposition figures meet in Balatonszárszó to discuss current political, social, economic and national minority issues. Sándor Rácz gives "a special history class" to several hundred young people on 1956.
- August 26.** Secretary of the KISZ CC Imre Nagy believes that because of the unfavorable political and social forecasts none of the essential program points of the 1984 resolution of MSZMP concerning young people will be implemented. In order to facilitate real discussion many urge that the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) should be legalized.
- August 28.** Károly Grósz and Ceausescu meet in Arad. The talks end with no apparent results.
- August 29.** On Hungarian invitation leaders and disarmament experts of NATO and WTO meet in Budapest to discuss issues of European conventional arms.
- August 30.** Spokesman of MSZMP László Major states that the Rumanian leaders accepted the idea of a meeting between top level leaders in 1989, and that a joint declaration should be made at this meeting on the nationality issue. The Rumanian party is willing to extend economic cooperation and agrees to send its representatives to the newly summoned joint cultural committee. A joint committee will examine the situation of Rumanian citizens staying in Hungary.
- September** The journal *Világosság* publishes a roundtable talk held under the title "Crisis and Self-Knowledge" (the participants are: Domokos Kosáry, Gyula Juhász, Rezső Nyers). The literary journal *Nagyvilág* publishes a chapter from George Orwell's *1984*. Gábor Mocsár's memoir entitled *At Every Times*, which recollects the days spent at the editorial office of *Szabad Nép* (Free People) in 1956 October, is published.
- September 1.** According to János Berecz, the MSZMP should enforce its leading role not through power but rather using ideological tools. The Secretary of the CC also says in Nádudvar that public mood, which was on a positive route after the May national party meeting, has recently deteriorated significantly.
- September 2.** An international conference on the retaining dams on the Danube, organized by the Danube Circle, the World Life Fund for Nature and the

International Rivers Networks, opens in Budapest. The participants provide examples to show how a large dam can damage the environment, and urge the immediate suspension of construction of the dam at Bős-Nagymaros.

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay says that high politics should show tolerance in judging the newly formed societies in the country, and the local councils should get rid of the bureaucracy that is quite common in dealing with such matters.

- September 3.** The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) is transformed into a democratic, intellectual-political movement, an independent social organization. Its founding charter is issued in Lakitelek. The founders think that the multiparty system is inevitable in Hungary, but for the time being, they do not wish to turn the Forum into a political party; however, they do intend to run in the parliamentary and the local elections.
- September 4.** János Berecz announces that the MSZMP has established contacts with MDF. According to the Secretary of the CC, MDF mainly includes writers who had little possibility within the Association of Writers to voice their opinion in matters of national importance. Secretary of State Imre Miklós carries on talks in Israel on the issue of renovating the synagogues in Hungary. He is received by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.
- September 6.** MSZMP decides to set up ad hoc committees in order to study the ideological issues related to the development of socialism. The Moving Picture Democratic Trade Union is formed as the autonomous labor organization of workers working in the film industry.
- September 7.** The Council of Ministers suggests that all those convicted for their role in the 1956 events be given accorded amnesty. It is also said that the Bős-Nagymaros dam must be built, though in case a referendum should decide otherwise, the Council of Ministers will abide by the decision.
- September 8.** Deputy Foreign Minister László Kovács, speaking at a conference organized on the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Milan, states that Hungary intends to join the protocol of the Civil and Political Agreement Document of UN.
- September 9.** Károly Grósz pays a two-day visit to the German Democratic Republic. In the course of discussing economic matters, he urges the increase of the role of market forces within Comecon.
- September 10.** The Ministry of Justice intends to speed up the process of working out the new conception of the constitution so that the draft version be in accord with the law of assembly and the law regulating public meeting just underway. The discussion forum of MDF sends a letter to members of Parliament asking them to support the call to stop building the dam at Bős-Nagymaros, or to bring in independent experts to revise the whole plan. The meeting of MDF is also attended by the chairman of the National People's Party.
- September 12.** A FIDESZ delegation meets with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay. Pozsgay says no compromise is to be expected on two major issues at the anticipated meeting between MSZMP and representatives of alternative

organizations, one of them being the Imre Nagy case and 1956, the other the issue of Hungary's foreign relations with other socialist countries. Some 20,000 people take part in a demonstration in Budapest against the building of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam. A petition is handed over to Károly Grósz and Brúnó Straub F. in the House of Parliament in which it is emphasized that a democratic solution to the problem could be grounds for political consensus in the future.

The Bős-Nagymaros committee of the Patriotic People's Front and other social organizations complain that certain organizations organize demonstrations against the dam under the name "Nagymaros Committee".

Secretary of the CC Miklós Németh states that one fundamental point of the Hungarian economic program is the reorganization of the ownership structure. The essence of it is to develop working forms of social ownership as well as giving equal rights and status to private and personal ownership.

- September 13.** Hungary opens a permanent office in Seoul, and South Korea opens one in Budapest. In addition, the two countries agree to start negotiations in order to regulate their relations and to establish diplomatic relations. In a letter to the UN, Károly Grósz suggests that the protection of national minorities and the preservation of minority cultures should also be included in an international agreement, since the Declaration of Human Rights does not cover these rights.
- September 15.** A communiqué is released by the Hungarian New March Front (Új Márciusi Front, ÚMF) providing a basis for social renewal. In its statement the Front, established in the spring and adopting the left-wing patriotic credo of the 1938 March Front, says that the system of political institutions must be reformed, the role of the party must be reconsidered, and MSZMP needs to be openly supervised. The members of the new front are, among others, Rezső Nyers, Szilárd Újhelyi, Zoltán Király, Mihály Bihari, Miklós Vásárhelyi. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences sets up a committee to investigate what advantages and disadvantages will be faced if the dam at Nagymaros is not built.
- September 16.** Former prisoners of the labor camp in Recsk establish the Recsk Alliance, an organization to represent their interests. Secretary of the MSZMP CC György Fejti says that pluralism can also be implemented within a one-party system. The ban on over 5,000 books, which were earlier pronounced to be adversary literature and thus closed for the general public, is lifted in the Széchenyi Library. György Marosán Jr., a government spokesman, says that the Council of Ministers does not intend to hold a referendum on the Bős-Nagymaros issue, but he thinks it was a grave mistake that no detailed information was given to the public earlier.
- September 17.** Rezső Nyers and Szilárd Újhelyi talk about the endeavors of the New March Front. Újhelyi says the '56 issue is still unresolved, and believes that Imre Nagy's role in the events was progressive. President of the Presidential Council Brúnó Straub F. says that the

multiparty system must be reconsidered for the long-term development of Hungary.

Several hundred women demonstrate in the Danube bend against the dam.

Minister of Justice Kálmán Kulcsár says a political decision is needed for a law regulating the function of MSZMP and the other political parties and for making public the documents of the fabricated trials held after 1945.

In an article the central party newspaper of North Korea sharply criticizes Hungary and South Korea for establishing a permanent office in their respective capitals.

**September 17–October 2.**

Hungarian athletes win 11 gold, 6 silver and 6 bronze medals at the 24<sup>th</sup> Olympic Games in Seoul.

**September 19.** Historian Miklós Szabó states in his lecture presented at the Open Session of the Temporary Council of the Network of Free Initiatives that no real turn can be achieved without the rehabilitation of 1956 and the introduction of a multiparty political system.

**September 20.** Minister of Environmental Protection and Management of Water Supplies László Maróthy argues for the Bős-Nagymaros Dam by saying that stopping the construction work would incur more costs than its completion.

**September 21.** After three decades of exile the poet György Faludy visits his home. After a trade board meeting between the unions and the Council of Ministers, it is announced that 1.3 billion HUF will be used to raise wages in several branches of the economy and in certain sections of public services. The measures involve 150 to 170 thousand people, including workers of the postal service and the press. The National Council of Trade Unions wanted a comprehensive wage and price packet, but the Council of Ministers did not regard it as a viable possibility. The trade unions still maintain their demand for higher wages.

**September 22.** The Council of Ministers sets up the National Interest Reconciliation Council (Országos Érdekegyeztető Tanács) with a view to harmonizing the interests represented by the trade unions, the Economic Chamber, the National Federation of Tradesmen (OKISZ), The National Association of Cooperatives (SZÖVOSZ) and the National Council of Cooperative Farms (TOT).

Secretary of MSZMP Mátyás Szűrös visits Bucharest. In the course of the negotiations, it becomes evident that the position of the Rumanian party with respect to the issue of the refugees and to the reopening of the consulates has not changed at all.

**September 23.** MDF and the Network of Free Initiatives welcomes György Faludy at a literary evening in the Jurta Theater. Csaba Hámori, a member of the Politburo of MSZMP and First Secretary of the KISZ CC, says that communist society is a utopia because the road leading to such a society has not been paved yet, and that the direction adopted by the country earlier misses the target anyway. He believes that

- confidence enjoyed by the new party leadership is beginning to wear off.
- September 25.** Passages from Lajos Kassák's diary written in 1955-56 are published in *Új Tükör*.  
Twelve Hungarians from Transylvania appeal for political asylum at the Hungarian Embassy in Sophia in order to be able to travel to Hungary.
- September 26.** An agreement of cooperation in trading and economic relations is signed by Hungary and the EU in Brussels, Hungary being the first socialist country to sign a contract like this. The agreement specifies that for a period of ten years ahead how the EU will cut back on quota restrictions applied for Hungary.
- September 27.** The advisory board working for MSZMP announces that last year – for the first time since 1957, membership in the party decreased by 73 thousand.
- September 28.** University students in Szeged go on a token strike for urging the renewal of higher education.  
The István Bibó Memorial Committee is established.
- September 30.** The Presidential Council passes an executive order on “pardoning all those convicted for crimes committed between October 23, 1956 and May 1, 1957.” The pardon is not extended to those who were convicted for capital treason, espionage, or for crimes involving moral turpitude. The Workers' group of FIDESZ issues a call for attending a “Martyrs' Day” memorial ceremony at the Batthyány sanctuary lamp on October 6, 1988, paying tribute to all the martyrs of Hungarian liberal thought. 3,000 university students demonstrate in Budapest against the Bős-Nagymaros dam.  
The Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy requests the European Parliament to put on the agenda of its next session the scheme of restructuring the settlement system in Rumania.  
Hungary gives indication that it is ready to start negotiations with Albania to restore diplomatic relations.
- End of September** The net debt of Hungary amounts to 10,3 billion USD.
- October** The journal *Kapu* publishes the list of names of the former prisoners of the Recsk labor camp, and the list of those convicted and executed or those who died in prison after the '56 revolution.  
A study entitled “Nation, Left, Right,” published in *Forrás Pál Bodor*, analyzes the effects of the '56 revolution on national consciousness. László Levendel's essay “The Cure for a Country” appears in the first issue of the journal *Liget*: “1956 is an especially determinant stage in the medical history of the nation.”
- October 1-2.** The first congress of FIDESZ.
- October 3.** The main Austrian contractor takes possession of the construction site of the dam at Nagymaros.
- October 4.** The MSZMP CC states that party members can also join alternative organizations which function by law, accept the socialist order and the international commitments of the country.  
In a letter to the European parliament, the National Ecumenical Council of Churches expresses its concern for the policy of Rumania towards national minorities.

- October 5.** By unanimous decision the Parliament passes the Company Act which enables private persons to form limited liability companies or share companies – employing no more than 500 people.
- October 6.** Contrary to earlier plans, the Parliament does not cast a vote on profit tax for entrepreneurs because the representatives believe there is no reliable information on the deficit of the budget. Minister of Finance Miklós Villányi promises to recast the document by November and at the same time indicates that state finances are in a much worse state than seen by the public.  
It is announced in the Vatican that Pope John Paul II will pay a visit to Hungary in a year or two.  
Memorial meetings are held at the Batthyány-Imre Nagy sanctuary lamp.
- October 7.** In spite of wide-spread protests the Parliament votes for continuing the building of the Bős-Nagymaros dam. The votes are cast not by name but by standing up.
- October 9.** The draft program of the KISZ CC announces a new type of socialism. It points out that the Stalinist control should not be restored, but restoration of capitalism would not be the right direction to follow either.  
The National Peace Council, together with several other peace organizations, proposes that alternative military service should be introduced as of 1989.
- October 11.** General Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front István Huszár states that MSZMP will continue to have a leading role in the Front, but we will have to allow for the possibility that other social organizations and movements will want to have a word in matters of the organization.
- October 12.** The Alliance of Hungarian Scouts is established.  
Speaking in the Hungarian pavilion of the Bucharest Fair, Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu says there is a chance to implement the agreements made between the two countries, especially in the field of economy.
- October 14.** Representatives of the Endre Bajcsy-Zsillinszky Society, The Federation of Young Democrats, The Network of Free Initiatives and the Committee for Historical Justice issue a communiqué in which it is announced that on October 23, following the original route, a demonstration procession will take place. The plan for the demonstration will be reported to the police in advance.  
The National Council for the Reconciliation of Interests (OÉT) holds its statutory meeting. The Communist Youth Organization, the National Alliance of Tradesmen, and the National Alliance of Entrepreneurs complain that they are excluded from the Council.  
Supporters of the Danube Circle and other alternative organizations launch a campaign to collect signatures in order that a referendum should be called in the Bős-Nagymaros case.
- October 17.** Documents that have been banned for many years before can now be used for research purposes at the Institute for Party History.  
Stopping over in Budapest on trip to Eastern Europe American Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead explores the situation and the political and economic reforms underway in Hungary.

- Based on the Stockholm agreement to strengthen confidence military observers from 12 capitalist and 6 socialist countries are present at military maneuvers involving 17 troops in Transdanubia.
- October 18.** According to the chairman of the National Planning Office, the deficit of the budget will amount to 40-50 billion forints in 1989, and since no more burden can be thrown on the population, companies will have to pay more tax on their profit.  
Two members of the Politburo of MSZMP, János Berecz and Rezső Nyers, believe the Hungarian political leadership is not worried about the introduction of a multiparty system but rather by the anarchy that might follow such a move.
- October 19.** The Budapest Main Police Office acknowledges the notice given by five organizations concerning the planned demonstration for October 23. Leaflets of the Polish Solidarity movement appear in Budapest under the title "Hungarian Brothers", calling for a fight against communism.
- October 20.** Following the resolution of the MSZMP CC – also supported by the trade unions – the Council of Ministers also decides to opt for the alternative of the different variants of economic policy for 1989 which, though involving more effort and hardship, promises to bring quicker results.  
The Ministry of Culture puts an end to the instruction of scientific socialism at Hungarian higher educational institutions. Instead a new subject entitled "Political Theory" is introduced.
- October 21.** A government spokesman says that the Minister of Justice has already submitted the plan for the burial of Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs. This means that all those executed must be given a worthy burial.  
The Budapest Main Police Office bans all demonstrations planned for October 23. In spite of the ban the organizers decide to hold the demonstration.  
According to the presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions every worker should be given a minimal pay rise guaranteed by the state.  
The decision made by the Council of Ministers simplifies the process to give permission for abortion as of 1989, but the money to be paid for of abortion will be doubled.
- October 22.** The Hungarian Democratic Forum calls for its members, through television in the evening, to stay away from the demonstration on October 23. As a result, the Endre Bajcsy-Zsillinszky Society, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Network of Free Initiatives and the Committee for Historical Justice (TIB) are forced to call off the peaceful demonstration.
- October 23.** The day of the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the revolution. Despite massive police presence small groups do get together at various places in the city (Batthyány tér, Technical University, Bem tér, Váci utca, etc.). The opposition organizations send a letter of protest to Prime Minister Károly Grósz. In the evening a memorial meeting is held in the Jurta Theater attended by several hundred people where a documentary is performed edited by the TIB. The meeting closes by the speech of Chairman of the Committee Miklós Vásárhelyi.



- October 24.** Hungary is the first country in the Eastern block where the Human Rights Committee of UN can conduct investigations if the need arises.
- October 25.** It is announced that as of January 1, 1989, an unemployment benefit will be introduced in Hungary, since the Council of Ministers anticipates 50-100,000 unemployed for 1989.  
The permanent office of South Korea opens in Budapest.
- October 26.** North Korea repeatedly criticizes the agreement made with the Seoul government, because it treats South Korea as a sovereign country. According to the organizations of national minorities, 400,000 people in Hungary declare themselves to be members of some national minority.
- October 27.** The Headquarters of the National Border Guards proposes that the technical sealing on the Western borderland should be removed.
- October 28.** In an interview given to *Magyar Hírlap*, Károly Grósz says the events in 1956 involved, first and foremost, a counter-revolution; therefore it is allowable to mark it as an outstanding day to be remembered. He confirms that he will quit the office of Prime Minister at the end of November. He stresses that he is not content with the work of the Council of Ministers, though the implementation of the stabilization program is getting on well.  
The Alliance of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Anti-fascists hold a comradeship meeting. They commemorate "the tragic events that took place 32 years ago." The '56 section of the Alliance calls all its members to participate in a demonstration supporting socialism on November 4, "paying tribute to the memory of the martyrs of the counter-revolution." More than 60,000 teachers demand in a statement authenticated by signatures that the issues of education should be put on the agenda of the parliament.
- October 29.** With an aim to protect the rights of free speech and public opinion, the Publicity Club is declared established.
- October 30.** The Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society issues a communiqué in which everybody is invited to attend a memorial service in section 301 on November 6.  
Demonstrations are held in 28 cities of 17 countries all over the world to support the demand that a referendum must be called on the issue of Bős-Nagymaros. In Budapest a torchlight procession is held to protest against the dam.
- November** After 32 years the Kossuth Publishing House publishes the speech given by Khrushchev at the 20<sup>th</sup> congress of the Soviet Communist Party.
- November 2.** The first issue of the journal *Hitel* publishes István Csurka's article entitled "Sunday, October the Twenty-Third."  
The deed of foundation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum is made public in which one of the aims of the organization is specified as follows: "to initiate and support a realistic evaluation of the country's history after 1945, especially the period of coalition government and the 1956 revolution (national uprising)."  
The Democratic Alliance of Hungarian Gypsies is established. Among its main objectives is having gypsies acknowledged as an ethnic minority.

- November 3.** Károly Grósz visits Austria. The general secretary of MSZMP says the Hungarian Post, especially its telephone service branch, will partly be transformed into a private company in order to develop the infrastructure serving production in the country.  
In Szombathely the first modern digital telephone center is installed with a capacity of 100,000 phone lines, which Hungary bought from Austria.
- November 4.** MSZMP, KISZ and the Workers' Militia hold a joint memorial meeting in Köztársaság Square commemorating the defenders of the party headquarters and the establishment of the Revolutionary Workers-Peasants' Government. In his speech, Secretary of the Budapest Committee of MSZMP János Barabás describes 1956 as a series of events starting out as a democratic popular movement with an aim to renew socialism, and eventually turning into a counter-revolution. Károly Grósz says in the Austrian House of Parliament that the office of president must be introduced in Hungary as well.  
The Council of Ministers decides that in the course of the coming four years, state subsidies for companies will be cut from 130 billion forints down to 40 billion per year.  
Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions Sándor Nagy states that the unions refuse to accept the rise of prices and the cuts in real wages planned for 1989, and that the discrepancy between their views and those of the government is still significant.
- November 5.** At its discussion forum, the New March Front (ÚMF) urges the implementation of democratic socialism in the country.  
MDF supports the initiative that in order to prevent the demolition of villages in Rumania every Hungarian village and city should choose a sister city or village in Transylvania.
- November 7-8.** A memorial meeting is held on the activities of the Budapest Revolutionary Police Division in 1956-57. In his speech János Berecz states one of the most important lessons of the '56 crisis was that socialism is not possible without the support of the people.
- November 10.** The draft of a new law regulating public meeting, approved of by the Council of Ministers, makes it possible, among other things, to establish political parties.  
In his talks in Budapest, Alexander Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party, states that he believes socialism does not exclude a multiparty system, but this has to be decided in each country with a view the country's own conditions and characteristics.
- November 11.** The Ferenc Münnich Society, which attacks MSZMP from the left, is established.  
The State Wages and Labor Agency proposes that the planned unemployment benefit should be paid only for a period of one year and only to those who have been in a job for at least two years. On the contrary, the trade unions insist that every jobless person should be entitled to the benefit as part of their civic rights.
- November 12.** Alexander Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party meets with László Paskai in Esztergom and invites the archbishop to visit Sub-Carpathia, the home of some 200 thousand Hungarians

- November 13.** The Network of Free Initiatives is turned into the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ). In their communiqué they declare, among others, Anna Kéthly, István Bibó, Imre Nagy and Ferenc Donáth to be the intellectual predecessors of the alliance. They regard the three Hungarian revolutions, 1948, 1918 and 1956 as setting an example and a standard to be followed.
- November 15.** According to the Politburo of MSZMP, the new information law becoming effective in 1989 needs to regulate free speech and free press as a basic civic right.
- Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Gyula Horn takes part in the session of the General Assembly of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels, the first official representative of a WTO member country to be invited since NATO was established. Gyula Horn states Hungary is ready to make its military budget and data public in the framework of the disarmament process
- In Budapest the police use force to break up a demonstration of 300 people organized by alternative groups, in spite of police ban, close to the Rumanian embassy.
- The Constitutional Council finds it a violation of the law that, according to a decree by the Council of Ministers, pensioners who spend more than 90 days abroad will not receive their due.
- Secretary of MSZMP Mátyás Szűrös believes that the introduction of the multiparty system in Hungary will not be decided by MSZMP but rather by the development of social institutions.
- The Association of Writers refuses to accept the invitation of the Council of Ministers to participate in the social committee that will oversee the works at the Bős-Nagymaros dam.
- A meeting is held in the Jurta theater in memory of the first anniversary of the Brassov workers' riot.
- November 17.** The planned modifications of the Labor Code give rise to sharp dispute between the wage authorities and the National Council of Trade Unions. Ambassador to Vienna János Nagy believes it is quite feasible that Hungary will reduce its military force and have part of the Soviet troops stationed in its territory ordered home as a unilateral gesture to promote disarmament.
- November 18.** The Independent Smallholders' Party announces its reestablishment in Budapest. Its new chairman is Tivadar Pártay, its general secretary is Dezső Futó.
- Following an unprecedented provocation, the Rumanian authorities expel Károly Gyórfi, Hungary's trading counsel in Bucharest, from Rumania. Hungary raises objections in the case.
- November 18-19.** KISZ holds its national meeting in Székesfehérvár. The organization decides that it will continue to function as the youth organization of MSZMP in strong strategic alliance with it but without direct party control.
- In its programmatic congress, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) demands a constitutional state.
- November 20.** The Hungarian Jewish Cultural Society is established.

- November 21.** Chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives' Foreign Relations Committee Dante Fascell conducts negotiations in Budapest. The Hungarian leaders emphasize at the meeting that Hungary would prefer to be awarded the status of most favored nation by the legislation not only for one year every time.  
Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy announces that company taxes must be increased because of the serious economic situation.
- November 23.** One day before the session of the Parliament, Imre Pozsgay says that the introduction of the multiparty system lies with the determination of the society rather than with the Council of Ministers.  
Nationwide demonstrations are held at universities and colleges demanding the improvement of financial and material conditions, the development of self-government and academic freedom.
- November 24.** The Committee for Historical Justice issues a communiqué in which it calls for the families of those executed after 1956 to exercise their rights and demand that they may bury their family members properly.
- November 24-26.** The House of Parliament elects Miklós Németh Prime Minister of Hungary. Károly Grósz remains as General Secretary of MSZMP.  
The chief counsel of the Rumanian embassy is expelled from Hungary. Rumania objects to the decision.
- November 25.** János Kádár's article "The Party of Hungarian Communists is Seventy Years Old" is published simultaneously in the November issue of the Soviet journal *Communist* and the Hungarian journal *Magyarország*.  
After October 23, 1956, . . . "the participants of the events and their actions gradually took on a counter-revolutionary character. By-passing every legal move, disregarding the Council of Ministers, the Presidential Council, Imre Nagy made his decisions to abandon the people's democratic revolution within a closed circle."  
Imre Pozsgay announces that MSZMP initiated a dialog with the alternative organizations.
- November 27.** The National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations (Magyar Ifjúsági Szervezetek Országos Tanácsa, MISZOT) is established, which urges a dialog among the organizations representing young people in the country and intends to represent the standpoint of 29 different organizations in discussions with state, political and governmental bodies.
- November 28.** At the meeting of the Council of Ministers and the National Council of Trade Unions, it is decided that pensions, child care allowance and family allowance will be raised in two phases in 1989; people working in health care and public education will be given a centrally funded rise in wages. In order to relieve the burden on people, a General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions urges further reduction of military spending, the extension of major investments in time and a cut down on subsidies for companies producing deficit.
- November 29.** At the party meeting in the Budapest sports stadium Károly Grósz states that there is a class-struggle going on in Hungary, and if "adversary, counter-revolutionary forces" cannot be counterbalanced, then "anarchy, chaos and – do not entertain illusions – white terror will dominate the

country." He stresses that the one-party system must be maintained because "it has naturally evolved in the course of history." János Berecz, speaking at a forum in Tatabánya, says that "there is a revolutionary crisis in Hungary at present."

The Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP), the National Peasants' Party (NPP), the Party of Hungarian Communists (MKP) and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) announce their foundation.

**December**

The last issue of *Magyar Füzetek* (Hungarian Notes) is published in Paris, the whole issue is devoted to the political crisis in Hungary.

**December 1.**

By the decision of the Council of Ministers, control of central wages will be maintained only at institutions financed by the state budget as of January 1989; within the sphere of a free market economy the Economic Chamber and the trade unions will have to negotiate the upper limits of wages.

**December 2.**

The Hungarian National Bank intends to issue a 5,000 forint banknote within two years.

**December 3-4.**

The István Széchenyi College and Social Sciences Club organizes the first scientific conference on the 1956 revolution at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences. The lectures presented at the conference are: György Litván "On the Imre Nagy Group"; András Hegedüs "Trends and Tendencies within the Party of Hungarian Workers"; András Hegedüs B. "The Petöfi Circle"; László Varga "The Chronology of Events"; Endre Bilecz "Bibó in '56"; István Csurka "How a Writer Remembers"; Sándor M. Kiss "Violations of the Law by the Security Police" (Államvédelmi Hatóság); Iván Pető "An Economic Overview"; Bálint Magyar "1956 in the Rural Country"; Sándor Rác "Evaluating the Workers' Councils of '56"; Imre Mécs "Impeachment after 1956"; Miklós Szabó "An Intellectual Overview".

**December 5.**

It is approved of by the Council for the Reconciliation of Interests that in the future any agreement affecting wage-earners can only be made with the consent of the Council of Ministers, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Economic Chamber. At the same time, the Chamber sets a veto on the motion put forth by the trade unions for fixing the minimum wage.

**December 6.**

After having been denied permission by the police to hold the demonstration in front of the House of Parliament, the Communist Youth Organization organizes a demonstration on Margitsziget demanding reforms in housing policy and more social security.

**December 7.**

The Council of Ministers and KISZ agree to set up a committee to investigate the housing situation.

**December 8.**

Defense Minister Ferenc Kárpáti believes that some 25% of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary may be affected by the unilateral reduction of armed forces announced by Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time he states that the Hungarian military budget will be 17% less in real value in 1989 than in 1988.

A campaign to collect signatures is launched in the Józsefváros district of Budapest in order to recall representative Miklós Vida, because at the Fall session of the House he also voted for a closed session when

- decision was made on the Bős-Nagymaros issue.  
Representatives of FIDESZ and those of KISZ meet officially for the first time.
- December 11.** The chairman of the Price Agency says consumer prices rise by 16% in 1988, a 1% higher rise than envisaged.
- December 13.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh believes that the Hungarian political reforms will eventually lead to a parliamentary democracy similar to those in Western countries. In an interview given to *Newsweek* he touches upon the issue that it might take as many as four years before the economy becomes stable.
- December 14.** West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visits Budapest to assess the status of reforms in Hungary. It is announced during his visit that a Hungarian consulate in Munich, and a German one in Pécs will open in 1989.  
Hungary and Austria officially submit their application for jointly organizing the 1995 World's Fair.
- December 16.** Károly Grósz says that everybody will have to make extra efforts in their own lives because without this, the economic situation will not improve after 1990 either. He asserts that MSZMP does not intend to share power, but rather, it wishes to involve allied forces in the exercise of power.  
The decree is abated which stipulates that Hungarian citizens must have legally owned hard currency worth 3,000 HUF when crossing the borders of the country.
- December 18.** Rezső Nyers says for the first time in public that MSZMP should keep its unified nature and make use of the positive features of social democratic movements.  
The water of the Danube is pumped into a temporary bed at Visegrád.
- December 19.** The Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions is formed (Független Szakszervezetek Demokratikus Ligája, Liga).  
The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front rejects the draft of the election bill because they think it is nonsense to specify the new election system before the new constitution is passed.  
Several alternative organizations demand at a mass-meeting in Vörösmarty square that a Constitutional Assembly should be elected to replace the present Parliament. At the same time 2,500 people hold a demonstration in Budapest because of the crisis in public education.  
The Economic Chamber believes that speeding up the process of selling state-owned property would help the budget.  
Minister of Industry Frigyes Berecz acknowledges on behalf of the Council of Ministers that it was a mistake to support the coal-mining program.
- December 20.** The Parliament declares March 15 to be a legal holiday.  
It is announced that representatives of the Parliament not belonging to any party wish to set up a parliamentary group of their own.
- December 21.** After a lengthy debate the Parliament passes the 1989 budget, but contrary to what the Council of Ministers proposed, instead of 6% it decides on levying a one-time 4% profit tax. To compensate for the

missing 5 billion forints the defense budget and subsidies for social organizations will be reduced.

- December 22.** By the compromise agreed on at the meeting of the National Interest Reconciliation Council the minimum level a wages will remain 3,000 HUF in the first half of 1989, but as of June 1, it will be raised to 3,700 forints.
- December 30.** The Presidential Council acquits 120 people from legal disadvantages for their deeds in 1956.
- December 31.** Miklós Németh gives an interview to the Japanese news agency Kyodo; he states that personally he could imagine forming a coalition with any party whose principles are not antagonistic with the foundations of socialist order, but in his view the situation is not mature yet for such a coalition.

## 1989

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- January 1.** In its New Year communiqué, the Parliament denounces the overt or covert derogation of ethnic minority rights; at the same time it calls the Council of Ministers to continue to keep an eye on the political situation of Hungarians living beyond the borders of the country.
- January 2.** By the decision of the Council of Ministers, as of January 9, the price of food products is raised on the average by 16-17%, detergents by 8% and cars by 25%.
- January 3.** The Committee for Historical Justice sends a letter to Minister of Justice Kálmán Kulcsár, summarizing the position of the families of Imre Nagy and his associates concerning the reburial of those died after '56. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, supported by the Ministry of the Interior, proposes that refugee camps should be set up for those coming to Hungary from Transylvania. Minister of Agriculture and Food Supply Jenő Vánca is the first government minister since 1967 to visit Israel.
- January 4.** The National Savings Bank raises the interest rate of loans for new housing to 18.5%.
- January 5.** According to data published by the State Price and Wage Agency there are as many as 15,000 unemployed people in Hungary.
- January 6.** By the resolution of the CC of the Soviet Communist Party a law must be passed to abate all those sentences brought out of court which were adjudicated between 1930 and 1940, and in the early '50s by the so-called special councils. The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions (Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa, SZOT) considers the right to strike to be an employee's right. The Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the Asylum Committee suggests that Hungary should join the Geneva Refugee Convention.
- January 09.** In response to the price increases, several thousand workers in Szabolcs-Szatmár county stop work for 10 minutes. The trade union representatives of Zala, Csongrád and Szolnok counties also make a protest. The East-West Dialog Network Circle requests the introduction of alternative military service.
- January 10-11.** The Parliament passes a law on the right for public meetings and the right of assembly. By this move political parties can be established legally in Hungary.
- January 12.** Twenty-five alternative organizations issue a joint communiqué in which they demand the restoration of the Kossuth coat-of-arms. They recall that the coat-of-arms was used for some months after October 23, 1956, by the state.



- In compensation for the rise in prices, the trade unions of several sectors of economy and some county unions demand a pay raise of 3%. At the same time they criticize the National Council of Trade Unions for their poor work in representing workers' interests.
- January 13.** Under the pressure of the sectoral unions, the SZOT also demands to counterbalance the price increases.  
The New March Front proposes to set up the National Committee in order to work out the transition into a representative democracy.
- January 14.** The Independent Lawyers' Forum (Független Jogász Fórum, FJF) is transformed into a social organization.
- January 15.** The Council of Ministers accepts a proposal to summon the National Interest Reconciliation Council before its next meeting is due in order to discuss measures to compensate for price increases.  
Leaders of the Hungarian churches express their concern in a statement for the fate of national minorities living in Romania.
- January 16.** General Secretary of MSZMP Károly Grósz confirms in the company of American representatives the invitation to president Bush to visit Hungary.  
Prime Minister Miklós Németh turns down a proposal made by MDF to resolve the problems in agriculture by means of a new redistribution of land.
- January 17.** A documentary volume on the László Rajk trial, edited by the editor-in-chief of *Esti Hírlap*, Gábor Paizs, is published.
- January 18.** In an essay entitled "The New National Alliance" published in *Hitel* Dénes Csengey it is stated that "the reassessment of 1956, finding a worthy place for it in the memory of the nations, is one of the fundamental issues and standards of the Hungarian democratic transition."  
The Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church decides to start reorganizing its former schools in Hungary.
- January 19.** The organizing committee of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt, MSZDP) holds its first open session.  
At its prompt meeting, the Council of Ministers sets up a cabinet of six and at the same time dissolves the Economic Planning Committee.  
The Gödöllő local organization of MDF initiates the recall of member of Parliament Mrs. Ferenc Cservenka. Shortly afterwards the representative stands down.
- January 20.** The journal *Világosság* publishes a roundtable talk with the witnesses of the age (Rezső Nyers, Miklós Vásárhelyi, Szilárd Ujhelyi, Sándor Balogh) under the title "Hungary, 1953-1956", an essay written by Imre Nagy in 1955, and a paper written by András Hegedűs B. on the Petőfi Circle.  
The first open talk takes place between representatives of MDF and those of MSZMP at the Political College.  
550 thousand cubic meters of rock is blasted at Nagymaros in order to prepare for building the foundation of the dam.
- January 21.** The national leadership of the Independent Smallholders' Party, which

has recently been reorganized, holds its meeting.

Deputy minister of the interior Zoltán Gál says refugee camps will be set up in Budapest and three other cities in Eastern Hungary for the refugees coming from Romania.

**January 24.** Lead by István Fodor, the fraction of independent representatives is set up in the Parliament.

The Political Committee of MSZMP holds a meeting. The items of its agenda include the submission of the proposal to the Central committee containing the political guidelines of the information bill and the bill on political publicity. The PC acknowledges that a short report will be given at the press conference following the January 26 meeting of the Council of Ministers on the issue of the exhumations and the reburial of the bodies of Imre Nagy and his associates.

The PC discusses the need to take up a party position concerning the communiqué issued by the New March Front. The PC acknowledges the report on the debate entitled "The alternatives of institutionalizing democracy in our country" organized between MSZMP and MDF at the Political College. On January 29 a similar discussion will take place with church leaders.

**January 25.** Minister of Defense Ferenc Kárpáti says one Soviet armored division and one training regiment will be withdrawn from Hungary in the first half of the year, and in the second half, a vertical assault battalion and a fighter plane regiment will be pulled out.

Gyula Horn, secretary of the foreign ministry conducts negotiations with the UN High Commissioner of Refugee Affairs on, among other issues, Hungary joining the Geneva Convention.

**January 26.** In his speech presented in Kecskemét Imre Pozsgay says the present situation in Hungary "by no means resembles the period before 1956 and that reforms are urgent both in a political and in an economic sense."

At a session of the Council of Ministers the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates is approved of as a measure of reverence. The funeral will take place in section 301 of the cemetery in Kozma utca, which will be preceded by exhumation. Setting the exact time of the funeral is in the hands of the families.

**January 27.** Headed by Imre Pozsgay, the historical sub-committee of the MSZMP CC holds a session in which they discuss a several hundred-page study to be submitted to the session by Iván Berend T., member of the CC. The participants of the discussion are Sándor Balogh, József Bayer, Csaba Csáky, György Földes, Tibor Hajdu, István Huszár, Mária Ormos, Katalin Radics and Ferenc Tőkei.

By the decision of the Presidential Council, the National Savings Bank and the mutual savings associations will lose their monopoly in collecting private deposits as of February 1.

**January 28.** In the radio show *168 Hours* Imre Pozsgay says that based on the present state of research the historical sub-committee lead by him qualifies the 1956 events as a national uprising. He judges the role of Imre Nagy as controversial.

The Hungarian churches and representatives of the state and the party

- carry on a discussion about freedom of conscience and religion. They agree that alternative military service should be introduced in Hungary.
- January 30.** Arriving home from the World Economic Forum in Switzerland Károly Grósz states that he had no knowledge of the background and the circumstances of the Pozsgay interview and stresses that it is the MSZMP CC that is in the position to assess the nature of the 1956 events.  
Prime Minister Miklós Németh says "The October of 1956 can only be characterized in extremely contradictory terms. Its true evaluation may comprise terms like 'national uprising' just as qualifications like 'terrorist riot against socialism' resulting in national tragedy. For its beginning was very different from what it turned out to be in the end." As early as 1989 and 1990, Hungary will reduce the armed forces by 9% in the Hungarian People's Army. Defense Minister Ferenc Kárpáti says the cut-down involves 9,300 troops, 251 tanks and 1 fighter plane company.
- January 31.** At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP discusses the situation arising after the Pozsgay interview (evaluating 1956 as a national uprising). The PC deems it necessary that its members and the secretaries of the CC should consult one or two members of this body before giving interviews or making statements.
- February** *Valóság* publishes an excerpt from a series of talks between István Bibó and Tibor Huszár in which Bibó tells his experiences and the events between October 23 and November 5, 1956.
- February 1.** Hungary and South Korea enter into diplomatic relations. In Seoul Gyula Horn, Secretary of the Foreign Ministry signs an agreement on economic, trading and cultural cooperation.  
János Lukács believes that it is Imre Pozsgay's personal opinion that in 1956 there was a national uprising in Hungary.
- February 2.** According to Secretary of the MSZMP CC Mátyás Szűrös, the events of 1956 cannot be characterized comprehensively by just one term, either as 'counter-revolution' or as 'national uprising'.  
MDF proposes to enter into diplomatic relations with the Vatican.
- February 3.** The journal *Élet és Irodalom* publishes an article by István Tamás entitled "What Has János Kádár Got to Say?" in which he calls the party leader to reveal his position openly.
- February 5.** According to data of the State Wage and Labor Office, there are still at least 4,000 without a job among those 130,000 young people who completed their studies in the previous year.  
The Ferenc Münnich Society objects to calling 1956 a national uprising and considers it to be an oversimplification, while SZDSZ welcomes it.
- February 6.** In an article entitled "The Morals of Memory" the daily paper *Népszabadság* levels sharp criticism against István Tamás for his Kádár article.  
In a communiqué fifteen alternative organizations and the Association of Writers urges "a just and fair historical evaluation of the 1956 national uprising", adding that this would be the only way for them to work with MSZMP either in a coalition or in the opposition.

It is announced at a party press conference that the Independent Smallholders' Party considers October 1956 to be a national uprising, a revolution against Stalinism.

The fact-finding committee of UN comes to Budapest to assess what sort of help they could give to the Transylvanian refugees.

**February 7.**

At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP discusses the conception of modifying Hungary's Constitution. In the course of the discussion the members of the PC accept the establishment of a multiparty system, demanding to maintain the leading role of MSZMP. The PC conducts consultations concerning the political situation following the study made by the historical sub-committee and Imre Pozsgay's statements.

The PC considers it justified to look into all the trial in the case of which there is reason to believe that they involved elements of a show trial, and it acknowledges that the ministry of justice will start handling the requests filed so far for retrial, legal protest or for similar reasons.

It is announced in Moscow that Károly Grósz and Mikhail Gorbachev will meet in the second half of March in the Soviet capital.

General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions Sándor Nagy says that the trade unions repudiate the agreement made with the government on the minimum wage, the necessary social measures and the raising of pensions because they believe the rate of inflation will be higher than the 12% anticipated.

Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy signs a contract with his Czechoslovakian colleague on completing the Bős-Nagymaros dam 14 months earlier than planned.

**February 8.**

Under pressure by the trade unions, the Interest Reconciliation Council proposes that companies and cooperatives should raise their employees' wages by 3%. It is agreed that as of March, instead of June, the minimum wage will be raised from 3,000 to 7,000 forints. Accepting the motion of the trade unions, the minimum wage level will increase by a further 300 forints in October.

Five independent organizations request that the Parliament modify the law of public meeting so that demonstrations can also be held in front of the House of Parliament.

A sub-committee of the body responsible for the preparation of the new constitution, National Emblems, proposes the restoration of one of the historical Hungarian coats-of-arms.

**February 10.**

The MSZMP CC convenes behind closed doors.

**February 11.**

A meeting of the MSZMP CC takes a position supporting the introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary. They recognize 1956 as a national uprising, breaking with a more than 30 year long tradition. Through reaching a consensus among alternative trends within the party they succeeded in avoiding a split in the party.

The daily paper *Magyar Nemzet* launches a series of articles entitled "Sections 301" edited by Béla Kurucz, which contains interviews with relatives of the 1956 martyrs, starting with Aliz Halda, and on the events of rehabilitation procedures.

- February 12.** A communiqué of the MSZMP CC holds that the society is not yet ready for an immediate transition to a multiparty system, therefore there is a great danger of destabilization. The document states that the economic system should be worked out in a way that the major sectors of national economy and collective ownership play a leading role while, in the rest of the economy, private ownership has an equal chance. Alexander Bovin, correspondent of the soviet paper *Izvestiya* states in a Soviet television program that it would be fit to reconsider the assessment of the military actions taken in 1956 in Hungary and in 1968 in Czechoslovakia.
- February 13.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky agree on the removal of the barbed wire on the frontier.
- February 14.** According to a statement by Prime Minister Miklós Németh Imre Nagy was not a "born counter-revolutionary". Chief commanders of the Workers' Militia support the recent statement made by the MSZMP CC in their meeting. On the issue of the discharge and enlistment of troops, representatives of the Ministry of Defense announce that according to current plans, alternative military service will last for 24 months and civil military service for 36 months. Miklós Németh receives Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs Zevulun Hammer who confirms the invitation of the Hungarian Prime Minister to visit Israel. In its statement the MSZMP CC supports the idea of setting up a political forum which could facilitate the elaboration of the new constitution and the new election law through continuous dialogue. The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) urges a roundtable talk between the various political forces.
- February 15.** The Holy Crown Society is established.
- February 16.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh says that the most important result of the last CC meeting of MSZMP was that they could overcome the split in the party. He characterizes Imre Pozsgay' role as positive because it was he who challenged the CC to put forward their opinion on pluralism, freedom of platforms and the multiparty system. The National Peace Council objects to the proposal made by the Ministry of Defense that civil military service should take 36 months, a disproportionately long time with a punitive character. The Csongrád County Party Committee of MSZMP decides to rehabilitate the editors of the literary journal *Tiszatáj* fired two and a half years ago.
- February 17.** In a joint communiqué independent political organizations and parties welcome the statement of the MSZMP CC on the introduction of a multiparty system, but at the same time, they criticize the Party because it is still not willing to accept 1956 as a revolution and a fight for freedom. The Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Transylvania Alliance, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the

- Committee for Historical Justice, the Péter Veres Society and the Alliance of Free Democrats put forward a proposal to set up a national roundtable to start talks.
- With documents issued by the International Red Cross twelve Transylvanian refugees who fled to the Hungarian embassy in Sofia in September 1988, fly first to Vienna and then to Hungary.
- The Patriotic People's Front calls for commemorating March 15 together with all political organizations.
- February 18.** The journal *Képes* 7 publishes passages from Khrushchev's memoirs, pronounced fake before, including the chapter on the 1956 revolution. Secretary of the foreign Ministry Gyula Horn's statement appears in *Népszabadság*: "...by the end of October, following the October 23 uprising, a national uprising, counter-revolutionary events became increasingly prevalent, and the danger of a counter-revolution was imminent."
- There are now 23 representatives of Parliament who propose that the House revise its decision on the Bős-Nagymaros dam.
- February 19.** Representatives of The Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Smallholders' Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats meet in Budapest. They refute the call made by the Patriotic People's Front, harmonize their position on the issue of commemorating March 15 and accept a 12 point statement. Point number 10 states: "We demand justice for 1956, respect for the martyrs of the revolution. October 23 must be declared to be a national holiday."
- February 20.** The Committee for Historical Justice becomes a legally registered social organization.
- At its two-day session the MSZMP CC approves of the report on the program of the new constitution which says that the party abandon its claim to be included in the new basic law as a party with a leading role in society. The body also accepts the agricultural program of MSZMP and submits it to discussion by the party members. The CC sets up working groups to conduct negotiations with various different political organizations in order to pave the way for the national roundtable talks. The planning and budgetary committee of the Parliament supports the introduction of the Institution of Solidarity strike.
- February 21.** In its article entitled "The Fund-Raising Campaign of FIDESZ-Dancers" the daily paper *Népszabadság* makes a savage attack on the Federation of Young Democrats because their representatives showed up in the company of, among others, poet Tibor Tollas, editor of the paper *Nemzetőr* in Munich.
- The legal committee of the House agrees that the regulation banning any strikes in front of the House of Parliament should be removed from the law of public meeting.
- February 22.** Minister of Justice Kálmán Kulcsár says that the Council of Ministers set up a committee to deal with the revision of show trials which will investigate all the trials between 1945 and 1962.
- The National Alliance of Hungarian Political Prisoners (POFOSZ) is

established in Budapest. The chairman of the alliance is engineer Jenő Fónay, who says: "We want to show our truth without any sense of revenge ... what we want is that the whole truth should be revealed about 1956."

The Council of Ministers withdraws the planned price increases. November 7 is declared to be a workday.

- February 23.** Leaders of the Danube movements announce that more than 124 thousand people have already signed the petition demanding a referendum on the issue of the Bős-Nagymaros dam.
- February 24.** The Presidential Council decides that Hungary should join the Geneva Refugee Convention and that the imprisonment of those who repudiated military service should be suspended.
- February 25.** The Solidarity Workers' Trade Union Alliance is established. László Síkvölgyi, consul-general of Hungary in New York visits Gergely Pongrátz in Akron, Ohio and invites him and other representatives of Hungarian emigrants to attend the funeral of Imre Nagy and his companions. Pongrátz turns down the invitation.
- February 27.** Before his talks in Yugoslavia, Károly Grósz gives an interview to the press agency Tanjug: "The burial of Imre Nagy and his closest associates is justified on humanitarian grounds. This is no political rehabilitation. (...) Should we find any evidence, any new fact which could justify their rehabilitation, then we would have to face it."
- February 28.** The special February issue of *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review) is reprinted and contains the Pozsgay report under the title "Our historical Route".
- The National Council of Trade Unions rejects the strike bill in case it still contains restrictions in the version to be submitted to the Parliament. Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Gyula Horn calls attention to the serious situation of Hungarian national minorities living in Romania at the meeting of the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva.
- At its next meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP acknowledges the report on the status and activity of the border guards, it deems necessary to remove the restrictions concerning the borderland and the border waters and abolish the electric alarm system by January 1, 1991. It does not consider justified to maintain the frontier zones either in the south or in the west.
- The PC acknowledges that the Council of Ministers ruled in its resolution 3316/1988 that the right of ownership of the MSZMP CC for the immovable properties managed by the party should be restored free of charge. It agrees that every immovable property which was used or possessed by the party as an owner before January 1, 1978 should be legally transferred to the MSZMP CC in a contract made by the minister of finance.
- The PC endorses that version of the modification of the law of assembly which proposes that meeting can only be banned at Kossuth square only when the Parliament is in session.
- On hearing György Fejti's statement, the PC acknowledges that he will conduct preparatory talks with representatives of the New March Front

on March 1, with MDF on March 2, with MSZDP on March 3, with the Ferenc Münnich Society, the Hungarian Alliance of Resistants and Anti-fascists, and the the Smallholder's party on March 4, the national Council of Hungarian Youth Federations and the People's Party on March 5, and SZDSZ on March 6.

- March 1.** General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Achille Occhetto stresses in his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev that he highly appreciates the declaration of the Hungarian multiparty system and the change in the evaluation of the 1956 events. Executive Secretary of the Ferenc Münnich Society Ferenc Berényi says that the evaluation of 1956 is premature since many of the participants of those events are still alive. MSZMP and the New March Front propose to set up a discussion group to start a dialog between political and social organizations. 70 young people are set free in Baracska who earlier repudiated military service and were sentenced to imprisonment. Four new frontier stations are opened on the Hungarian-Soviet frontier for those who live in the area near the two sides of the border.
- March 2.** FIDESZ organizes a demonstration in Vörösmarty tér to protest against the imprisonment of Václav Havel.
- March 3.** Ambassador of the Soviet Union accredited to EEC Vladimir Shemiatenko says in his interview given to the paper *Le Soir* in Brussels that the Soviet measures taken in 1956 and 1968 rested on legal grounds. He expresses his hopes, however, that such events and situations will not occur in the future again. A meeting is held at the Political College on the Pozsgay report. The questions brought up in the discussion are answered by Sándor Balogh, József Bayer and György Földes. In their opinion Imre Nagy had historical rather than any kind of criminal responsibility for what he did. Miklós Németh, following his one day visit to Moscow, says that the Soviet leaders support the Hungarian reform program. Representatives of MSZMP and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) discuss the election law and the constitution.
- March 4.** The Opening General Assembly of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) takes place. In order to prepare the national roundtable talks, representatives of MSZMP conduct negotiations separately with the delegation of the Alliance of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Anti-fascists, the Ferenc Münnich Society and the FKGP.
- March 5.** Bilateral consultations continue to prepare the national roundtable talks. The negotiating delegation of MSZMP meets with representatives of National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations, the Hungarian People's Party (MNP) and MDF. In his television interview, Rezső Nyers says that in his view it would not lead to a split in the party if followers of socialism taken in its traditional sense left MSZMP. Foreign minister Péter Várkonyi conducts negotiations separately with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and American Secretary of State James Baker.



- March 6.** Hungarian Television broadcasts a program made in memory of László Rajk, born 80 years ago. General Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front István Huszár states that the Front will have to work in the future as an independent social alliance following its own route, independent of any party.
- March 7.** Talks are held between representatives of MSZMP and MSZDP. The sculpture of László Rajk made by István Szabó Jr. is inaugurated in the garden of the training center of the Patriotic People's Front in Gárdony. The MSZMP CC discusses its short-term plan of action during a one day session. Secretary of the CC Mátyás Szűrös's nomination as Speaker of the House is approved at the meeting.
- March 8.** In a joint communiqué, the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Publicity Club, the István Hajnal Circle and the Committee for Historical Justice state that independent professional organizations must also be involved in the rehabilitation procedures, and they express their readiness to participate in the elaboration of the principles of rehabilitation procedures. A collection of texts broadcast over Hungarian radio in 1956 is published under the title "The Voice of the Revolution" edited by János Kenedi. The Parliament elects Mátyás Szűrös Speaker of the House, replacing the retired István Stadinger. The representatives approve of the conception of the new constitution which specifies the introduction of the function of president of the republic and the dissolution of the Presidential Council. The Council of Ministers is given the task to work out a draft version of the text of the new constitution. As a response to a motion made by several representatives, Prime Minister Miklós Németh says the Council of Ministers is willing to investigate the possibility of calling a referendum on the issue of the Bós-Nagymaros dam. The House modifies the law of public meeting; thus, from now on, if the Parliament is not in session, demonstrations may be held in front of the House of Parliament. The session of the House will resume on March 22.
- March 10.** András Kanyó starts a series of talks with János Kádár in which Kádár talks about his course of life and 1956. Passages of the interview are published first in the journal *Magyarország*; it later appears in book form in the fall under the title *Testament*. The action plan of MSZMP CC is made public. In it the party distances itself from the mistakes committed by the former leadership, from subjectivism and from a policy making practice that excluded most of the members of the party. At the same time, it takes a stand on a constitutional state, a constitutional multiparty system, free elections and coalition government. The Szeged local organization of MDF nominates one of its members, historian Ernő Raffay, to take the seat of Antal Apró in the House who resigned recently.
- March 11-12.** The national meeting of MDF is held. The delegates approve of the charter and the program of MDF. The political communiqué issued by the meeting demands national autonomy, parliamentary democracy,

economic renewal and the representation of the interests of all Hungarians wherever they happen to live. MDF sets up a committee to make preparations to transform the forum into a political party and elects a chairmanship consisting of 15 members. The meeting calls the Council of Ministers to request the Warsaw Treaty Organization to summon its political negotiating body because of the situation in Romania. Prime Minister Miklós Németh travels to Prague to attend a summit meeting of 24 countries on environmental protection. He conducts separate talks with the Dutch, the French and the Swedish prime ministers.

- March 13.** In the radio program *First Hand Facts* Lajos Czinege says that in his view "1956 saw a national uprising and a counter-revolution going on parallel."
- March 14.** At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP discusses the proposals concerning the establishment of the Constitutional Court and the measure to make legal procedures common in public administration. The PC suggests that the bill on the Constitutional Court be submitted to the Parliament before the one on the political parties. It does not deem necessary to conduct a nationwide debate over these two bills. The PC asks the minister of justice to conduct conciliatory talks on the conception concerning the political parties with the major traditional and newly established political and social organizations, and it considers important that the government submit this bill to the Parliament by August 1, 1989. The PC establishes that the center of economic policy should involve opening towards world economy and to this effect liberalization of the economy and a change in foreign trading should be implemented. A basic precondition of opening up is to improve the market conditions in the country and to build a tough, competitive market. With the strong Comecon orientation of Hungarian economy it is not possible without radically redefining Hungary's foreign economic relations with the socialist countries. It endorses the initiation that aims in the first place at radically changing the economic relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. The PC acknowledges György Fejti's report on the first phase of the conciliatory negotiations between MSZMP and other political and social organizations.
- March 14.** US ambassador to Budapest Mark Palmer visits leaders of the Workers' Militia. A new political-social weekly is published in Debrecen under the title *Úton* (On the road) which brings out a hitherto unpublished speech made by Imre Nagy in the radio on October 28, 1956.
- March 15.** Thousands of people demonstrate in Budapest. On behalf of the Committee for Historical Justice, Imre Mécs speaks at the Petőfi sculpture, János Dénes on Bem square on behalf of the workers' councils, Jenő Fónay, at the same site, on behalf of The National Alliance of Political Prisoners. Tibor Hornyák, member of the former Újpest revolutionary committee, and the sister of the executed Pál Kósa

- both call for forgiveness and reconciliation. On the staircase of the television building on Szabadság Square, actor György Cserhalmi reads out the 12 points written by the opposition organizations which organized the demonstration. Official mass media, especially the Hungarian television, continue to suppress or distort the demonstrations in their account.
- March 16.** Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat conducts talks with Károly Grósz in Budapest.  
Foreign Minister Péter Várkonyi meets with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London.  
SZDSZ suggests that independent organizations should work out a common stand in a roundtable discussion before they sit down for negotiations with MSZMP.
- March 17.** The Christian Democratic People's Party (Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt, KDNP) is established.  
Hungary joins the refugee convention of UN.  
Several independent organizations protest that the blasting of rocks continues at the Bős-Nagymaros building site, though Prime Minister Miklós Németh promised nothing irreversible would be done in the future.
- March 18.** A scientific memorial meeting is held in the banquet-hall of Vigadó in Buda under the title "The Petőfi Circle – the Forum of Reform Movements in 1956". The opening lecture is presented by András Hegedűs B. Further speakers include István Lakatos, chairman of the former Bessenyei Circle, Domokos Kosáry, Miklós Vásárhelyi, Ferenc Pataki, Balázs Nagy, Péter Kende, Imre Mécs, Károly Vígh and György Litván. (András Hegedűs B.'s address is published in the June issue of *Világosság*.)
- March 19.** The first national meeting of SZDSZ is held in the Corvin Film Theater.  
Archbishop, László Paskai pays a private visit to Pope John Paul II.
- March 20.** As a guest visitor of the congress of the Italian Communist Party in Rome, Imre Pozsgay meets with Pope John Paul II. "I have also informed His Holiness of the decision of the Hungarian Council of Ministers to revise the political trials between 1945 and 1962, and this will surely involve those legal actions which were brought against clergymen, including the Mindszety trial." The Hungarian politician announces that the Pope will probably visit Hungary in September 1991. The local party organization of Magymaros starts a signature collecting campaign for building the dam.
- March 21.** At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP acknowledges the report on the conference attended by the secretaries of the CC of the communist and worker's parties of Comecon member countries responsible for economic policy on March 6-7, 1989 in Prague, and it suggests that the following principles be observed in further talks:  
– Instead of Comecon autarchy, opening to the world market is needed, this is of primary importance for the Hungarian economy. The cooperation within Comecon should facilitate this opening.  
– A radical change should be achieved in Comecon cooperation.

Progress should be sought in bi- and multilateral cooperation with the countries involved, not waiting for full agreement within Comecon.

– The development of socialist economic integration is the task of the individual member countries, we reject any ideas or institutions over the heads of nations. Under the present circumstances it is not a viable goal to establish an integrated market for the member states. ... The establishment of an integrated market is only possible if national markets exist. In order to build real market relations, we have to start at the bottom, gradually establishing the national markets first.

– We have to strengthen the basic principle that the most important precondition of reforming our socialist economic cooperation is the modernization of internal economic mechanisms, building on relations of money and commodities.”

On the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, after the official commemoration in Budapest, more than 200 people walk to the memorial place in Dózsa György street with a photo of János Kádár and with placards saying “Long live MSZMP!”

**March 22.**

The parliament passes an act on the right to strike.

At the initiation of the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Opposition Roundtable is established at Eötvös Lóránd University.

The Lenin sculpture in Salgótarján is brought down.

**March 23.**

Secretary of the Ministry of Justice Gyula Borics says that the exhumation of the mortal remains of Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter, Miklós Gimes, József Szilágyi and Géza Losonczy will begin in a few days, after a sketch of section 301 has been located. At the request of the families, the funeral will take place on June 16, 1989, on the anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates.

**March 24.**

A government spokesman confirms the announcement made by Secretary of the Ministry of Justice Gyula Borics that Imre Nagy and his associates will be buried on June 16.

The Council of Ministers discusses a bill on the motion of censure, vote of confidence and a national referendum.

The Foreign Ministry lodges a note of protest with the Romanian embassy in Budapest because the authorities in Bucharest took the text of the poem “National Song” out of the cabinet in the Hungarian embassy on March 15.

**March 28.**

Judit Ember's book entitled *Right of Asylum – 1956*, the script of a film under the same title, as well as a book edited by Áron Tóbiás under the title “In Memoriam Imre Nagy” are published.

Károly Grósz, Miklós Németh and Rezső Nyers receive the delegation of the US Congress.

Chairman of the Hungarian National Bank Ferenc Bartha says that the deficit of the balance of payments in the first three months of the year amounts to 600 million USD, which is more than it was for the whole of last year.

**March 29.**

The exhumation of the bodies of Imre Nagy, Miklós Gimes, Géza Losonczy, Pál Maléter and József Szilágyi buried in an unmarked grave begins in section 301 of the Rákoskeresztúr Cemetery. For reasons of

reverence, the exhumation procedure is overseen only by family members, representatives of the Committee for Historical Justice, some experts and Secretary of the Ministry of Justice Gyula Borics. On behalf of the Independent Smallholders' Party, Attorney General of the Party Imre Boross and General Secretary Dezső Futó request Minister of Justice Kálmán Kulcsár to make an apology to the former leaders of their party and the Hungarian peasants who were persecuted in the '50s and '60s.

- The MSZMP CC holds a one day meeting to discuss the draft of a statement on the development of political publicity, the basic principles of the information law and the principles of the party's press policy.
- March 30.** Secretary of the MSZMP CC János Lukács says that 120 thousand people have left the party in the last one and a half years and 20 thousand new members have joined the party.
- March 31.** The Presidential Council modifies the executive order on private trading, thus private people dealing in trading can now employ as many as 500 people.
- April 1.** In section 301 of the new Rákoskeresztúr Public Cemetery, family members identify the remains of Imre Nagy, Miklós Gimes and Pál Maléter.
- Secretary Gyula Borics, in an interview given to Magyar Nemzet, says the Council of Ministers will see to it that Imre Nagy and his associates be given a fair and respectable funeral, and no difficulties will be raised against erecting a memorial.
- The Committee for Historical Justice decides that a memorial will be erected in Section 301 in memory of all the martyrs executed.
- The independent artistic group Inconnu calls on all citizens of the country to give moral and financial support for the memorial graveyard to be established for the national heroes.
- The Council of Ministers makes a decision on the introduction of tolls on highways. László Somogyi is commissioned to head the committee responsible to make preparations for the 1995 Vienna-Budapest World's Fair.
- The Hungarian New Apostolic Church is pronounced to be a legally recognized confession.
- April 2.** General Secretary of MSZMP Károly Grósz answers questions put by listeners on the radio. He believes it is unlikely that Imre Nagy will receive political rehabilitation.
- The Hungarian Independence Party is re-established.
- April 3.** On his way to Sub-Carpathia Károly Grósz confers the status of city on Záhony. In his speech he states that a new national consensus is needed in the framework of which MSZMP must distance itself from the mistakes committed in the last one and a half decades. He believes that some measures that may have a bad influence on general feeling in the population are unavoidable, for the outstanding total debt of the country is nearly unmanageable. Invited by the CC of the Soviet Communist Party, Grósz visits places inhabited by Hungarian in Sub-Carpathia.
- April 4.** According to estimates, over 150 thousand Hungarians traveled to

- Austria to do shopping on this holiday.
- April 5.** Discussing principles of the freedom of conscience and religion, the MSZMP CC states that in the future the state should not interfere with internal affairs of the churches.
- April 6.** The exhumation of the bodies of Imre Nagy, Miklós Gimes, Géza Losonczy, Pál Maléter and József Szilágyi is completed in cemetery section 31.  
The Council of Ministers discusses the referendum bill. According to present conceptions the referendum must be called only if the Parliament intends to modify the constitution, or if it is requested by, alternatively, at least 100,000 or at least 150,000 people.
- April 8.** At the initiation of MSZMP representatives of seven political and social organizations hold a meeting to discuss the establishment of a political forum for the reconciliation of interests. Of the newly formed organizations only the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Ferenc Münnich Society participate in the discussion. The other eight organizations invited to attend the meeting, all members of the Opposition Roundtable, stay away from it saying that it was not prepared properly and thus real discussion was not possible.
- April 11.** In a unanimous decision, the Mosonmagyaróvár City Committee of MSZMP decides to request the exact clarification of the local events and their background that took place in 1956.  
Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) Ferenc Szalai says that contrary to an earlier decision the council will nevertheless organize the general meeting and the procession on May 1. In the meantime the independent trade unions also announce plans to organize a May picnic in Népliget, to which they invite representatives of the newly established political organizations, MSZMP and the SZOT.
- April 12.** The last public speech made by János Kádár at the meeting of the MSZMP CC. With an unbalanced mind, Kádár battles with the shadow of Imre Nagy and his own conscience and explains at length his reasons for his old decisions. The speech is not publicized in press, its text is published only later. After reorganizing the Politburo, the number of its members is reduced from 11 to 9. János Berecz, Judit Csehák, János Lukács and István Szabó are not reelected, they are replaced by Mihály Jassó, Secretary of the Budapest Committee, and Pál Vastagh, Secretary of the Szeged Committee.
- April 13.** At its prompt meeting the Council of Ministers decides that as of April 14 the forint is devalued by 6% with respect to convertible currencies. The advisory body of the Council of Ministers urges the revision of the Imre Nagy trial.  
The border guards announce that, within three days, they will start removing the barbed wire on the Austrian-Hungarian border.
- April 14.** The Nyíregyháza local organization of MDF and the Szabolcs-Szatmár county board of the FKGP request that the Minister of Justice to take steps in the case of the Nyíregyháza martyrs of the revolution.  
MDF proposes to set up a crisis government.  
The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front elects an interim

- leadership. István Kukorelli is elected executive president, István Huszár chairman-general secretary.
- April 15.** György Marosán's memoirs entitled *The Witnesses are Still Alive*, in which he gives an account of the events between September and December 1956, appears.
- A national conference is held in Kecskemét under the title "Reform-circle". It is also the first meeting of the reform circles of MSZMP. They believe that an advanced congress must be held, and they sharply criticize the party leadership and the government.
- April 16.** The general assembly of SZDSZ proposes to set up an expert government lead by one of the ministers of state. In another statement they suggest that Hungary should declare its neutrality.
- General Secretary of MSZMP Károly Grósz pays a one-day visit to Sofia.
- April 17.** The Central Supervisory Committee of MSZMP abates the decision which excluded Mihály Bihari, Zoltán Bíró, Zoltán Király and László Lengyel from the party, but those involved do not rejoin MSZMP.
- April 18.** Károly Grósz and Prime Minister Miklós Németh conduct negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in Budapest. The parties confirm that they are both ready to develop relations between the two countries.
- April 19.** It is decided at the meeting of the Opposition Roundtable that they will start negotiations with MSZMP. They propose that before the negotiations start both MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable should make a public statement on complying with the constitution. They want bilateral negotiations to agree on laws and regulations concerning the democratic transition and the time of general elections.
- April 19.** The Political Committee of MSZMP conducts consultations on the working draft concerned with the modification of the organization and functioning of MSZMP. The PC proposes to the CC that the party should give up its authority in the political screening of leaders in case the post is not within the party. In their view life has already outdated the traditional idea of democratic centralism, therefore this term is omitted in the draft version of the party rules.
- The PC discusses the bill on the one- and the two-chamber parliament and the proposals concerning the principles relating to the presidential institution and the mode and the time of the election of the representatives of the Parliament and the local governments.
- The PC acknowledges the report concerning the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, and agrees that the documents of the trial in the case of Imre Nagy and his associates should be turned over to the Supreme Prosecution.
- April 20.** The Council of Ministers requests that the Minister of Justice hand over the documents of the Imre Nagy trial to the Minister of the Interior and suggests that the revision of the legality of the sentence.
- The Council of Ministers decides on the shut-down of the bauxite mines in Nyírád within a year.
- April 21.** Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, speaking at the meeting of the World

- Alliance of Hungarians, says that the Council of Ministers will not use administrative measures in the future to prevent people from settling down abroad if that is what they wish to do in order to get along in their life.
- Workers of the bauxite mines in Nyírád hand over their letter to Prime Minister Miklós Németh and General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions Sándor Nagy in which they demand that they should be given guarantees that their social and financial conditions will be secure and that they should be told what economic reasons have lead the government to shut down the mines.
- April 21-22.** At the 12<sup>th</sup> congress of the Communist Youth Federation (KISZ) the dissolution of the organization is declared, and the Hungarian Democratic Youth Society (Magyar Demokratikus Ifjúsági Szövetség, DEMISZ) is established as its successor. Imre Nagy is elected chairman of the new organization.
- April 22.** It is decided at the meeting of the Duna Circle that a voting office of the Duna movements will be opened whose task will be to inform the people about issues concerning the Bós-Nagymaros Dam, including questions relating to topology, energy, shipping and agriculture.  
The Independent Lawyers' Forum urges the renewal of criminal law and a new definition of anti-state crimes.
- April 25.** The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary begins. The Soviet armored battalion in Kiskunhalas leaves for home.
- April 26.** The Council of Ministers sets up a committee comprising criminal lawyers and historians to revise the show trials. The committee is co-chaired by Tibor Zinner and József Földvári.  
Prime Minister Miklós Németh submits his proposal to reconstruct the government to the Presidential Council. He nominates Gyula Horn, Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, foreign minister; László Békesi, Deputy minister of Finance, Minister of Finance; Csaba Hütter, Chairman of a Cooperative in Szécsény, Minister of Industry; Ferenc Glatz, Director of the Institute for History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Minister of Culture; and Ernő Kemenes, Secretary of the National Planning Office, President of the National Planning Office.  
The new government takes office on April 28.  
On his visit to France, Minister of Trade Tamás Beck confirms that 50 companies will be privatized.
- April 28.** The Opposition Roundtable has its meeting. They will resume talks on May 1 and May 2.
- May 1.** A political meeting, organized by the National Council of Trade Unions, is held on the Procession Square in Budapest.
- May 2.** At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP acknowledges the report on the preliminary experience of the operation of the reform circles and decides to submit the draft version of a resolution to the next meeting of the CC concerning issues of free initiation and free statement of views within the party.  
The PC acknowledges the verbal report given by György Fejti on the talks conducted by a delegation of the MSZMP CC about setting up a



political conciliatory forum.

The PC acknowledges the report that the Supreme Prosecutor has started the revision of the criminal procedures in the case of Imre Nagy and his associates from a legal point of view. The International, Legal and Administrative Department of the CC discusses issues concerning the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates.

The breakup of the technical sealing of the frontier begins near Kőszeg at the Austrian-Hungarian border,

Barna Sarkadi Nagy, the new leader of the State Office of Church Affairs, says that the state will give up control of any aspect of church life.

At the invitation of the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Society, historian Péter Gosztonyi gives a lecture in Budapest under the title "The 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the Light of the Most Recent Research".

**May 3.** Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy carries on talks with Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Hrivak in Prague. He says Hungary will not yet sign the agreement with Czechoslovakia on the environmental and water-purifying projects related to the Bős-Nagymaros Dam, because it has to wait for the decision of the Parliament.

The advisory board of the Council of Ministers, with the participation of Prime Minister Miklós Németh, discusses current issues of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam. They also listen to the opinion of experts of the Danube Circle who oppose the dam.

The Budapest division of the Paris-based Hungarian League of Human Rights is established.

**May 4.** The Council of Ministers takes a position on working out a comprehensive economic package. Government spokesman György Marosán Jr. says that the price increases will exceed what was expected earlier, on the other hand, the government intends to accelerate the development of enterprises and the economy and facilitate the privatization of state ownership.

**May 5.** The Supreme Prosecutor submits a protest on legal grounds against the sentence passed in Pál Demény's case in 1946.

**May 8-9.** In view of his ill health, János Kádár is relieved of all his duties by the MSZMP CC. At the meeting of the CC, a national meeting is summoned for the fall and a proposal is made to set up a political conciliation forum.

The general assembly of the National Academy of Sciences discusses the rehabilitation excluded members: among others, the academy membership of Imre Nagy and several philosophers excluded in 1973 is restored.

**May 9.** The letter of the MSZMP CC written to János Kádár is made public. It says that the CC made its decision to relieve the chairman of the party of all his duties in the party after carefully weighing his physical conditions. The letter stresses that "Today we are not yet in the position to evaluate this half a century long course of life of historical significance. . . . The Hungarian communists look upon János Kádár as a leader who was always prepared to achieve consensus for the sake of reconciliation."

- May 10.** The Ministry of Justice makes public the list of those sentenced to death by the courts and executed between December 20, 1956, and December 13, 1961. The list of names was compiled based on data from correction institutions and from documents.  
Secretary of the Ministry of Finance Gyula Borics says the Council of Ministers will not be officially represented at the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates on June 16, 1989.
- May 10-12.** The Parliament declares invalid the 1955 law marking the memory of Stalin.  
After modifying the constitution, the representatives of the House pass the Bill on the motion of censure. The election law is also modified. It is stipulated that seats becoming empty in the House must be filled in the course of by-elections, and that the candidates must accept the constitution rather than the program of the Patriotic People's Front.
- May 12.** In its communiqué the Committee for Historical Justice demands that the revision of the political trials of the past historical period should be done in a fair and impartial manner. The Committee regards it as unacceptable that Hungary's interests are represented in the Soviet Union of Gorbachev by ambassador Sándor Rajnai, the person who arrested Imre Nagy and his associates and then led the investigations of their case.  
The advisory board of the Council of Ministers proposes to bring the building of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam to a full stop. The reason for the proposal is that the investment has become the symbol of a mistaken and out-dated policy of economic development demanding way too much energy and resources, and it also epitomizes a decision-making system that excludes a wide range of experts and works without public control. The board rejects the proposal that the issue must be decided in a referendum.
- May 13.** At its emergency meeting the Council of Ministers suspends the building of the Nagymaros dam with immediate effect. Miklós Németh will start negotiations in Czechoslovakia on the problem on May 24.
- May 14.** Minister of Finance László Békesi, speaking of the economic package of the Council of Ministers, says that the government intends to reduce the budgetary expenditures by 20 billion forints, the budget of national defense by 5 billion, that of executive bodies by 1 billion and the subsidies given to social organization by 1 billion. At the upcoming meeting between the government and the National Council of Trade Unions the Council of Ministers will put forward the government's social security package estimated at 5-6 billion as well.
- May 15.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh conducts negotiations with Prime Minister Mielczyslaw Rakowski and Wojciech Jaruzelski, General Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, in Warsaw.
- May 16.** The Political Committee of MSZMP discusses recent proposals concerning issues relating to the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The PC initiates that – at the meeting of the Political Negotiating Council of WTO in Bucharest – bilateral talks should be conducted with the Soviet partners on issues concerning the withdrawal of troops stationed in our country.

The PC acknowledges the report on the circumstances related to the decision by the Council of Ministers to suspend the building of the Bős-Nagymaros investment. It acknowledges that in order to consider the possibility to stop the investment for good, the Council of Ministers ordered to carry out investigations by experts.

The PC surveys the experiences concerning the negotiations meant to establish a political conciliatory forum and endorses the idea that in order to get out of the deadlock bilateral talks should be started with those organizations with which we have well-balanced relations.

The PC acknowledges that György Fejti will conduct negotiations this week with three members of TIB. The PC agrees that MSZMP should issue a communiqué before the Imre Nagy funeral in the spirit of reconciliation.

The Politburo of MSZMP summons the CC to meet on May 29. It suggests that the policy of the party in religious and church affairs should be modified. According to the Politburo, the CC will also have to work out a new agrarian program, because the one proposed earlier has been criticized extensively.

May 17.

It is announced at the joint meeting of the Council of Ministers and the National Council of Trade Unions that the government waives raising the price of water supply and canal toll as well as the rental rates of state-owned apartments. At the same time it is announced that the price of home energy will be raised as of January, but its extent will be smaller than planned.

Deputy Prime Minister Péter Medgyessy says after the meeting of the executive committee of Comecon in Moscow that the Soviet Union seems willing to change to a convertible system of accounting in trading with Hungary.

May 18.

Participant organizations of the opposition roundtable say in their letter that MSZMP has blocked, or even put an end to, the negotiations started between the governing party and the opposition. The offer made by MSZMP is nothing but a propaganda trick, as Károly Grósz said the first general elections can take place six years from now at the earliest.

May 20.

The reform circles of MSZMP demand at their Szeged conference that the party congress should be convened and they should collect signatures to achieve this goal. They propose in a statement that the CC should declare before the June 16 funeral that Imre Nagy fell victim to a show political trial.

Leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary say that the party has some 20-30 thousand members, and they intend to hold a congress at the end of the year.

Leaders of FIDESZ announce that they leave the National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations (MISZOT).

In an interview given to an Italian television station Speaker of the House Mátyás Szűrös urges the political and legal rehabilitation of Imre Nagy.

May 22.

At a discussion forum of the Eger reform circles of MSZMP Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, and in a radio interview Speaker of the House

- Mátyás Szűrös state that Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs were victims of a political show trial.
- May 23.** The Committee for Historical Justice, family members of those executed and the authorities come to an agreement concerning the plan for the June 16 funeral of Imre Nagy. June 16 will be a national day of mourning; at half past twelve people all over the country will pay tribute to the martyrs' memory by standing up in silence for one minute and all the bells in the country will toll. Six bodies will lie in state: Imre Nagy's, Miklós Gimes's, Géza Losonczy's, Pál Maléter's, József Szilágyi's and the sixth one of an unknown revolutionary. The coffins will be transported from Hősök tere to section 301 where the last honor will be paid in the presence of the families.
- Foreign Minister Gyula Horn says "It is imperative and pressing that the society, the nation administer justice to Imre Nagy and his associates." The Supreme Court declares null and void the unlawful sentence passed on Pál Demény in 1946.
- Speaker of the House Mátyás Szűrös offers his help in organizing the negotiations between MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable.
- May 24.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh agrees with Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec in Prague to set up a Hungarian-Czechoslovakian expert group lead by Deputy Prime ministers to settle the matters concerning the Bős-Nagymaros Dam.
- In his talks in Belgrade, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn agrees with the Yugoslav party that Yugoslavia will hand over to Hungary the Yugoslavian documents relating to the period of Hungarian history between 1956–1968.
- The Opposition Roundtable accepts Imre Pozsgay as a partner in the negotiations.
- May 26.** Police colonel Sándor Pongor announces at a press conference in the Budapest Main Police Station that there is no need to issue permission for public meetings on June 16, since it is going to be a private funeral. The police will protect all the sites involved. Organizers of the Committee for Historical Justice and activists of MDF will also be helping the police keep everything under control on Heroes' Square. Colonel Pongor says there has been an agreement made between the police and the TIB that the coffins for the memorial ceremony on Heroes' Square will be placed on a stand erected on the staircase of the Art Gallery.
- At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP overviews the drafts of legal regulations that form the basis for the negotiations to be conducted with the Opposition Roundtable. The PC will express its preference in the talks for advanced elections –sometime in November or December – for that seems favorable for the country. It considers reasonable to have the parliamentary elections and the local governmental elections at the same time.
- The PC endorses semi-official and not publicized meetings between Károly Grósz and the leaders of the three historical parties separately. After the meetings – starting on the week of June 5 – representatives of

MSZMP, the government and the trade unions are ready to conduct consultations with the Opposition Roundtable.

The PC endorses the proposal on a two-chambered Parliament and advocates the preparation of a bill on the two chambers and the mode of their election.

The PC acknowledges the report on the preparations of the funeral of Imre Nagy and the proposals submitted by the organizers of the funeral. It proposes to the CC to issue a communiqué on the occasion of the funeral of Imre Nagy. The PC acknowledges that János Kádár urges in his letter addressed to the CC that the revision of Imre Nagy's trial be completed and his role in it be clarified.

The PC acknowledges that at a press conference given on May 17 in Vienna and in an interview given to Radio Free Europe on May 24 Imre Pozsgay made remarks about the general secretary of the party which went beyond limits of comradeship. The clarification of the issue will be done in the presence of Imre Pozsgay.

MSZMP nullifies the decision made in the case of seven philosophers and sociologists – Ágnes Heller and others – in 1973. In support of the government decision on the issue of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam, some 6,000 people walk to the House of Parliament. Representatives of the Danube movements present the papers in which another 40,000 people demand calling a referendum on the investment. In the meantime representatives of the Nagymaros local party organization of MSZMP take 78,500 signatures to the house of parliament demanding the completion of the Nagymaros Dam.

**May 27.** The Solidarity Trade Union Workers' Council has its statutory congress in the Jurta theater.

It is announced that Hungary and the International Monetary Fund will continue their financial cooperation, although for the time being the IMF does not grant the last installment of the most recent stand-by credit because Hungary has failed to meet the conditions accepted in the agreement. At the same time representatives of IMF expressed their agreement in the talks in Budapest concerning the economic package of the government.

**May 28.** The reduction of Soviet ground forces planned for 1989 is completed.

**May 29.** According to the position accepted at the meeting of MSZMP CC, representatives of the party will not officially attend the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates.

**May 30.** In the House of Parliament, Prime Minister Miklós Németh announces that after studying the documents of the Imre Nagy trial the Supreme Prosecutor will very soon – before the funeral – define his legal position, and then the legal and political rehabilitation can take place. He adds: "This means that we can attend their coffins resting in state bearing in mind that we bow our heads before the former Prime Minister, the Minister of State and the Minister of Defense of the Hungarian government." He brings up the idea for consideration that a law should be passed stating the innocence of other victims of the political show trials.

The new proposal for negotiations by MSZMP is made public. According to it, quadrilateral negotiations should be held in such a way that one side is taken by MSZMP, the other by the Opposition Roundtable, the third by the rest of the independent organizations, and the fourth by observers. MSZMP requests that the Speaker of the House chair the sessions of the negotiations.

**May 30–June 2.**

The Parliament passes a bill on calling a referendum and popular initiatives, the law on the transformation of economic organizations and companies and modifies the company law and the cooperative law. In its communiqué the MSZMP CC considers it to be necessary that the revision of the trials of Imre Nagy and his associates be completed as soon as possible and justice be administered to the convicted politicians. In the course of renewing the party, they will build on the principles of the policy adopted at the end of October 1956 and openly accept the heritage of the reform initiatives of 1953-54.

The Supreme Prosecution hands over the personal bequest of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy to his daughter, including a draft of a memoir entitled "A Stormy Generation", his notes taken in Snagov, poems and letters. According to Erzsébet Nagy, several items are missing from the bequest.

**Summer**

The last issue of the samizdat paper appears which publishes several 1956 documents and photos in the spirit of the upcoming national day of mourning. Included are a paper written jointly by Imre Mécs and János Rajna M. about the activities of the special police force in 1957, and the sentence passed by the Council of the People's Court of the Supreme Court in the case of István Bibó, Árpád Göncz and László Regéczy-Nagy pronounced on August 2, 1958.

**June 1.**

The Committee for Historical Justice objects to representatives of MSZMP, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers officially laying a wreath on the coffins at the funeral, because they have not yet distanced themselves in a straightforward fashion from the events taking place in 1956 and afterwards.

**June 2.**

The first round of talks between MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable bring no results.

The Budapest reform circle of MSZMP sends an open letter to the presidency of the Committee for Historical Justice in which they denounce Károly Grósz for his actions.

The party committee of the Technical University of Budapest makes a statement public in which they call for the General Secretary of MSZMP to resign immediately.

Accepting the proposal made by Mátyás Szűrös, the Parliament supports the idea that a parliamentary delegation should lay a wreath at the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates. Agreeing with the motion of the Prime Minister, the representatives of the House take a position on passing a law to nullify the sentences passed in the show trials. The House acknowledges that the Council of Ministers has suspended the building of the Bős-Nagymaros dam. Two members of the House call for Minister

- of Environmental Protection and Management of Water Supplies László Maróthy to resign.  
Representatives of the Council of Ministers, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian People's Party, the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the Left-wing Alternative Association and the New March Front hold preliminary negotiations.
- June 3.** The National Board of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP), now numbering 6,000 members, elects Vince Vörös chairman and Tivadar Pártay honorary chairman.
- June 4.** In China the army is used to put an end to the several-week long demonstration of students on Tienanmen Square in Beijing.
- June 5.** The Council of Ministers makes a decision that the employment and the pension of those relocated between 1949-1953 will be settled by the end of June. Fair measures will be taken in September in the cases of those relocated between 1945-1949 and after 1956 who suffered legal disadvantages. The mode of compensation will be codified in a law. The Council of Ministers also decides that from now on no permission is needed to publish books or show films.  
Foreign Minister Gyula Horn states nothing can justify the bloodshed in Beijing.  
Many political and social organizations condemn the bloodshed in Beijing in a communiqué and warn that political conflicts should not be settled by armed force in Hungary. There are demonstrations in front of the Chinese Embassy in Budapest.
- June 5-6.** The independent artistic group Inconnu pays tribute to the memory of the nameless victims lying in section 301 of the Rákoskeresztúr Public Cemetery by erecting 301 wooden headstones.
- June 7-9.** The Hungarian television broadcasts Judit Ember's – hitherto banned – 11 hour long documentary film entitled "Right of Asylum" in three installments.
- June 7.** The Council of Ministers denounces the events in Beijing in a communiqué. FIDESZ demonstrates in front of the Chinese embassy in Budapest.  
The Christian Democratic Party of Hungary (KDNP) is admitted to the organization at the meeting of the Opposition Roundtable.
- June 8.** According to the agreement made between the Council of Ministers and the Committee for Historical Justice, Miklós Németh and Mátyás Szűrös will officially participate in the funeral on June 16, but MSZMP as a political organization will not be represented.  
It is announced that Russian will cease to be a mandatory foreign language in schools from the next academic year.
- June 9.** The Supreme Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Hungary submits a protest on legal grounds to the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Hungary in the case of Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donáth, Miklós Gimes, Zoltán Tildy, Pál Maléter, Sándor Kopácsi, József Szilágyi, Ferenc Jánosi and Miklós Vásárhelyi in which it motions that the unlawful sentences be annulled and those unjustly condemned be acquitted.

- The Ferenc Münnich Society issues a communiqué in which, “welcoming the day of national reconciliation” it calls every loyal supporter of socialism to refrain from any action which would endanger the national reconciliation treasured by everyone.
- The 5<sup>th</sup> district committee of MSZMP proposes that after the legal rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, the nameless square in the 5<sup>th</sup> district of Budapest, where the Bathyhány sanctuary lamp is to be found, should be named Imre Nagy Square.
- June 10.** Experts of MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable agree on starting genuine political negotiations.
- The radio program *168 Hours* talks with András Hegedűs B. on the preparations for the funeral, with Imre Pozsgay on the intellectual heritage of Imre Nagy and his associates, and with Rezső Nyers on the Imre Nagy trial.
- The New March Front, established 15 months ago, becomes an independent intellectual, political organization with members of its own.
- June 11.** The television program “Hét” (Week) gives a brief historical overview of Imre Nagy’s political course of life. Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who believe the funeral may turn out to put and end to a historical era, are interviewed.
- Local people commemorate Ferenc Nagy, the Prime Minister of the coalition government after 1945, in his home village in Baranya county, in Bisse. A memorial tablet is unveiled at the ceremony organized by the Independent Smallholders’ Party, MDF and the local reformed community.
- The agreement on the beginning of the political conciliatory negotiations is made public according to which the democratic transition and the resolution of conflicts should be implemented in a peaceful manner excluding any form of violence, therefore no social organization can have direct control over the armed forces.
- June 12.** Leaders of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church, The Ecumenical Council of the Hungarian Churches, the Reformed Church, the Evangelical Church, the Orthodox Church, the Council of Denominational Churches, the Methodist Church, the Unitarian Church and the Israelite Confession issue a solemn communiqué concerning the re-burial of the martyrs of the 1956 revolution. They all state that June 16, the day of national mourning, should be the dawn of union, collaboration and resurrection.
- June 13.** The national Roundtable negotiations have started with the participation of MSZMP, the Opposition Roundtable and the so-called third party (including social organizations and movements).
- At its meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP accepts the proposal concerning the tasks and schedule of the preparations for the elections. The PC acknowledges the report on the agreement made between MSZMP and OR to start the political negotiations.
- The PC took up a position on the issue of the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates that the Budapest Party committee and the local party committees should decide for themselves whether their representatives



will attend the funeral. The CC will not be represented at the funeral but a black banner will be flown at the central building of the CC on the day of the funeral.

The PC endorses the preparation of a document, as has been demanded by the CC at its May 29 meeting, on what are the consequences of the agreement between the International Monetary Fund and the Hungarian government, how they affect our country's freedom of choice.

Representatives of the Council of Ministers Miklós Németh, Ferenc Glatz and Gyula Horn meet with Imre Nagy's daughter, Erzsébet Nagy, and her husband. They fully agree that the funeral ceremony on June 16 should serve justice and national reconciliation.

The executive presidency of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front issues a statement: The execution of Imre Nagy and his associates is a disgrace to the history of Hungary and Europe after 1956. Ambassador André Erdős announces at the human rights conference in Paris that 75% of the refugees coming to Hungary from Romania are no longer of Hungarian nationality.

**June 14.** In its statement the Council of Ministers pays a tribute of respect to Imre Nagy and his companions, "to all the victims of the 1956 national uprising and tragedy", and states that he shares the grief of their families. The US Senate passes a unanimous decision which states: "The 1956 Hungarian revolution was a breakthrough in recent history, the first important signal that the destruction of Stalinism was inevitable." Károly Grósz participates in the party meeting of the Salgótarján party organization, where he says concerning the assessment of 1956 that a more careful examination of the documents sheds light on the unlawfulness of the sentences.

**June 15.** The Workers' Militia is placed under the control of the Council of Ministers.

A temporary memorial tablet is placed on the wall of the prison in Fő street where Imre Nagy and his associates were sentenced to death. On behalf of those convicted Imre Mécs commemorates Imre Nagy, then József Antall, Károly Debreceni and Gábor Fodor gives a speech. At the initiative of FIDESZ, more than 200 people demonstrate in front of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Budapest demanding the prompt withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

A memorial tablet is inaugurated on the wall of Imre Nagy's birth-place in Kaposvár.

**June 16.** Hundreds of thousands pay their tribute at the funeral of Imre Nagy and his companions on Heroes' square. The funeral ceremony starts at 9 o'clock. At 10 actor Imre Sinkovits reads out the communiqué written by the families, the Committee for Historical Justice and other opposition and alternative organizations. Then people march past the coffins in a long line for two hours, paying their respect to the martyrs. Actor László Mensáros and others read out the names of all the martyrs. Shortly after 11 wreaths are placed on the coffins. At 12 Árpád Göncz opens the funeral ceremony, calling all the people of the country for five minutes of silence. Chairman of the Committee for Historical Justice makes his

funeral speech. He is followed by Sándor Rácz, former chairman of the Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest who recalls the memory of his deceased companions. Imre Mécs speaks on behalf of all his companions sentenced to death, while Tibor Zimányi on behalf of those relocated, interned and imprisoned in Recsk. Commander of the Militia Béla Király speaks on behalf of the freedom-fighters, and Victor Orbán, in the name of young people of Hungary, demands the withdrawal of Soviet troops. At around 13:30 the funeral procession leaves for the Rákoskeresztúr New Public Cemetery. There, in the presence of family members, fellow freedom-fighters and friends, the names of the martyrs are read out again. The corner-stone of the monument to be erected is laid. Then a separate church service is given to Flórián Szegedi, András Czakó, Pál Kósa and István Szelepcsényi, who still lie in a nameless grave. Finally, priests of the various denominations offer an ecumenical prayer and bless section 301. As a conclusion to the service, while the poem "Szózat" is being recited, the coffins of Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donáth, Miklós Gimes, Pál Maléter, József Szilágyi, and an unknown freedom-fighter descend into their graves.

The funeral service in Heroes' Square and in the cemetery is covered by the Hungarian Television and the radio live all the way through, and a large number of television stations all over the world cover the event on site. Bill Lomax, Béla Szász and Béla Varga, former Speaker of the National Assembly, give an interview in the morning program of the radio.

In the evening the Committee for Historical Justice gives a reception at the Institute for Educational Research in honor of the representatives of the Hungarian emigration – most of whom have come home for the first time.

The Hungarian television shows a documentary on Imre Nagy entitled "Stormy Generation" in the evening.

Late in the evening, a delegation of the 16<sup>th</sup> district organization of SZDSZ, FIDESZ and MDF visit the Soviet barracks in Mátyásföld where Imre Nagy and his associates were temporarily kept after having been transported there from the Yugoslav embassy. The Soviet officers show them to the exact place where the delegation places a wreath and lights candles in memory of the martyrs.

At its prompt meeting the Political Committee of MSZMP listens to the report of István Horváth on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates. It decides that a firm response should be given to the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-regime statements made at the funeral. The PC acknowledges that for his press interviews – given to the Italian La Stampa and L'Unita - which seriously violate our foreign and military-political interests the party secretary instantly relieves Csaba Tabajdi of his office as deputy head of the Department of International Relations of the CC.

**June 19.**

There is a "nationwide protest by workers" in Romania against the "chauvinist, fascist and nationalist" speeches made at the Imre Nagy funeral.

- Foreign Minister Gyula Horn gives an interview to the radio program called *First-Hand Facts*. He says the Council of Ministers does not intend to respond to the Romanian and Czechoslovakian accusations concerning the June 16 funeral.
- June 21.** At the second round of the political conciliatory negotiations, the representative of MSZMP announces that the ruling party will not propose to place the bills on the agenda of the session of the House beginning on June 27 concerning the modification of the constitution, the political parties, the introduction of the office of presidency and the Constitutional Court. This is welcomed by the spokesman of the Opposition Roundtable. The same position is taken by the representative of the third party, but he also brings up the proposition that perhaps the president of the country should be elected, for he could play a stabilizing role after the general elections.
- Prime Minister Miklós Németh gives an interview on the June 16 events. The leadership of the country and the moderate public alike distanced themselves from political demagoguery that also hurts feelings of reverence. Radio Free Europe sets up an office in Budapest.
- June 22.** General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions Sándor Nagy visits the Metallurgical Works in Ózd, after the workers held out a prospect of going on strike because as a result of reorganizing the production of the plant 2,500 workers are in danger of losing their job in 1990.
- June 23-24.** A presidency of four members (Károly Grósz, Miklós Németh, Rezső Nyers and Imre Pozsgay) and a Political Executive Committee of 21 members are elected at a meeting of the MSZMP CC. Imre Pozsgay is nominated president of the republic.
- In a survey made by the Central Committee for People's Control nearly 130,000 people were unemployed in 1988, showing an increase of 20% with respect to the previous year.
- June 24.** The chairmanship and the committee of MDF decides that the organization should constitute itself a political party.
- June 26.** The Council of Ministers makes public a statement saying that the agreement made in 1950 regulating the relationship between the state and the churches becomes ineffective and the State Office of Church Affairs ceases to exist without any legal successor.
- The Council of Ministers accepts the proposal of the bills on emigration, immigration, travel abroad and passports.
- The Presidential Council suspends making decisions on petitions for pardon until the Parliament decides on the abolition of the death penalty.
- June 27.** Led by György Krassó, Pál Szolnoki and József Bánlaki the Hungarian October Party is established. Their intention is to facilitate the full implementation of the objectives of the 1956 revolution and fight for freedom.
- The Parliament passes a bill on the completion of the 1988 budget, relieves Rezső Nyers, who has just been elected chairman of MSZMP, from his office as Minister of State and elects independent member of Parliament István Fodor Deputy Speaker of the House.

- Mark Palmer, US ambassador to Budapest, meets with representatives of the Opposition Roundtable.
- Foreign minister Gyula Horn visits Austria to negotiate about the Bős-Nagymaros Dam, the 1955 World's Fair and Austrian-Hungarian relations in general.
- June 28.** The Salgótarján local organization of MDF hold a conference on the salvo on December 8, 1956.
- The Parliament accepts the first draft of the memorandum on the lessons of the new tax reform and the conception of the modernization of the tax system.
- June 29.** Yevgeny Ambarutsev publishes an essay on the occasion of the Imre Nagy funeral in *Moskovskie Novosti*. In it he stresses: "Though Imre Nagy was convicted by a Hungarian court in Budapest, it is unquestionably our sin, the sin of our leader at that time, Khrushchev's".
- June 30.** The Parliament modifies the national defense law, specifying that the term of military service (be it regular, unarmed or civic) is uniformly 24 months. The Penal Code is modified by the representatives in a way that the longest term inflicted for repudiating civic military service should be 3 years.
- July 1.** The daily paper *Magyar Nemzet* launches a series of articles entitled "White Spots in Our History".
- State control over church press and publications is abated.
- July 2.** According to Chairman of MSZMP, Rezső Nyers, the utilization of foreign and domestic private capital is not inconsistent with socialism; on the contrary, it promotes the socialist system.
- July 4.** Minister of Culture Ferenc Glatz says it is in the social and national interest of Hungary to return the church estates to their original owners. In the future MDF intends to function simultaneously as an intellectual movement and as a political party.
- July 5.** Secretary of the MSZMP CC János Barabás states in his press conference that "drawing a lesson from recent events MSZMP will take the initiative in getting ready for the upcoming anniversary of the 1956 national uprising."
- One of the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party requests in a letter that the city council of Rome name a square in Rome after Imre Nagy.
- July 6.** By the decision of the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court, the protest filed on legal grounds is well-founded, therefore the sentence passed in the cases of Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donát, Miklós Gimes, Zoltán Tildy, Pál Maléter, Sándor Kopácsi, Ferenc Jánosi, József Szilágyi and Miklós Vásárhelyi is repealed and those convicted are acquitted for lack of evidence.
- After a long period of ill health – in the hours of Imre Nagy's acquittal – János Kádár passes away. The Council of Ministers orders national mourning.
- The membership of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) is suspended at the meeting of the Opposition Roundtable.
- According to the statement of the Ministry of Justice, Béla Zsedényi, former Speaker of the National Assembly convicted in 1950 was

- innocent and the legal action against him was unlawful.
- July 7.** Rezső Nyers meets with Mikhail Gorbachev and Miklós Németh with Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Vladislav Adamec at a meeting of the political council-board of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The chairman of MSZMP says at the summit meeting that there is no mandatory model for all the socialist countries to follow, therefore national character and seeking one's ways and means independently should be given utmost respect.
- July 8.** In the future Hungary can send six representatives to sessions of the European Council as observers.
- July 9.** Simultaneously with filing a protest on legal grounds in the cases of Imre Nagy and his associates, the Supreme Prosecution abates the criminal investigation for lack of evidence in the case of Géza Losonczy. The decision points out that the former Minister of State was in custody illegally until his death.
- July 10.** Archbishop of Esztergom László Paskai requests in a letter to Miklós Németh that the Hungarian government should initiate the revision of József Mindszenty's trial. In his response Miklós Németh says that the Council of Ministers has already requested the Supreme Prosecutor to revise the legal action brought against archbishop Mindszenty. The State Wage and Labor Office will cover 65% of the costs of retraining the teachers of Russian from the employment fund. Péter Zwack, descendant of the former owner of a liquor company, establishes a limited liability company called Zwack Unicum with a registered capital of 60 million forints.
- July 11.** The Political Executive Committee (PEC) of MSZMP decides that it submits a proposal to commemorate the 1956 national uprising. the Political Executive Committee deems it necessary that some of its members visit the neighboring socialist countries in the near future. they should conduct negotiations with party leaders – or perhaps state leaders – and in case there is a chance, they should talk before experts as well. At the meetings – depending on the situation, the status of the given country or party and considering their statements made so far – they should point out MSZMP's conviction to socialism, that MSZMP firmly dissociated itself from the views of minority extremists; they should emphasize the need to implement the reform processes in a resolute way, its economic and political factors, and the fact that – in case the international situation is favorable – the free elections will result in the coalition of left-wing forces and the program of developing democratic socialism will not be questioned. Deputy to the Leader of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Justice Ferenc Pintér says to the daily paper *Népszava* that 277 people are known to have been executed for their role in the 1956 events. President of the United States of America George Bush arrives in Budapest. In the course of the day, four Hungarian-American joint venture company contracts are signed. The Opposition Roundtable rules that temporarily representatives of the Social Democrats can participate only in the highest level of the political

- conciliatory negotiations.
- July 12.** George Bush makes a promise in Budapest that he will urge for effective economic help for Hungary at international forums at the upcoming summit meeting in Paris. The US president suggests that Congress should establish a 25 million USD fund to support the acceleration of private business in Hungary, and furthermore, in case the Hungarian Parliament passes the bill on emigration, trade restrictions on Hungary should be lifted. The American Peace Corps will send English teachers to Hungary. The Minister of Culture says the costs of retraining the Russian teachers will be covered – in addition to the employment fund – by the local councils and schools, so Russian teachers will have to pay nothing for their retraining.
- The Independent Police Trade Unions is established.
- July 14.** János Kádár is accompanied by a crowd of several thousand from his catafalque in the seat of the MSZMP CC to the Kerepesi Cemetery where he is laid to rest in peace in the Pantheon of the Workers' Movement.
- László Rajk jr. issues a statement saying that he intends to have the mortal remains of his parents removed from the pantheon of labor movement.
- The Hungarian October Party and the Hungarian Radical Party hold a demonstration in Budapest in Ferenc Münnich (Nádor) Street. They cover up all the street signs and place the name "Nádor Street" on walls everywhere.
- Archbishop of Esztergom László Paskai and Minister of Culture Ferenc Glatz discuss the possibility of returning state immovable estates and establishing catholic schools.
- July 15.** Leaders of the seven most developed capitalist countries envisage a concerted economic aid for Hungary and Poland and promise to convene an international conference in order to support the reforms in the two countries.
- July 18.** The volume on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates entitled "301," edited by Éva Kapitány and Péter Grawátsch, is published.
- In an open letter, the opposition roundtable requests Prime Minister Miklós Németh to revise his position on the issue of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam.
- According to official data from Bonn, at least 60 East German citizens managed to get to Austria from Hungary in the past three weeks since the removal of the barbed wire on the border started.
- July 19.** Péter Borenich interviews Ferenc Vida, a retired judge who was the judge in Imre Nagy's case and in many other cases of retortion.
- July 20.** The Czechoslovakian and the Hungarian prime ministers agree at their meeting that further examinations are needed to clarify the potential environmental effects of the Bős-Nagymaros investment, and also that before the end of October the prime ministers will sit down again to discuss the results of research, but until then no irreversible operations may be carried out at Nagymaros.
- One of the leaders of MDF conducts negotiations in Brussels with the

- Christian Democratic group of representatives of the European Parliament. According to József Antall, the general elections in Hungary must take place in November or in March at the latest.
- July 21.** The Left-wing Youth Association, one successor organization of the Communist Youth Federation (KISZ), calls the political parties and organizations to declare October 23 "the day of non-violence."
- July 24.** Chairman of MSZMP Rezső Nyers and General Secretary Károly Grósz pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.
- July 25.** SZDSZ and MDF call for a general revision of street names in the capital city.  
In Moscow Mikhail Gorbachev, Rezső Nyers and Károly Grósz agree to continue negotiations on the further withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. They also agree that under appropriate international circumstances the reduction of troops may lead to a complete withdrawal of armed forces.
- July 26.** The delegation of the Common Market visits Hungary in order to learn about the political and economic situation in the country.  
The assembly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences rules that redressing the unfair grievances is a moral obligation, therefore the measures and resolutions having infringed on the rights of members of the academy will be annulled and membership of those suspended or excluded will be continued.  
Pope John Paul II announces that he will visit Hungary in 1991.  
SZDSZ demands that Hungarian border guards should not put a special stamp in the passport of East German citizens who are caught trying to escape from Hungary to Austria.
- July 27.** The Hungarian October Party and the Budapest city council agree that Ferenc Münnich Street will regain its original name, Nádor Street, and a committee will be set up comprising representatives of political and social organizations and other experts to revise the status of political symbols and names of public places.
- July 28.** The MSZMP CC initiates that MSZMP should make preparations for October 23 in the spirit of serving the cause of national reconciliation. Valentyin Falin, leader of the International Department of the CC of the Soviet Communist Party, says in his interview given to the paper *Új Fórum*: "... I do not have any evidence confirming that the Soviet Union should have played a decisive or a significant role in determining the fate of Imre Nagy. The existing documents indicate that the final decision was not made over here."  
Otto von Habsburg is elected president of the Hungarian delegation in the European Parliament. The body will be composed by half of representatives of the European Parliament and by half of Hungarian members of Parliament.
- August 1.** It is said at the press conference of the National Planning Office that the rate of inflation in the first half of the year was 15%, and presumably it will change in the rest of the year. The deficit of the convertible balance of payments is greater than expected, due to tourist shopping by Hungarians abroad.

- August 2.** The Council of Ministers does not intend to request easy terms of payment from Western creditors; however, it would like Hungary to be able to get credits faster and easier so that it could improve its infrastructure and reduce the deficit of the balance of payments. At the same time, the Council of Ministers proposes to the Common Market that the trading quotas inflicted on Hungary should be lifted as early as next year.  
The Opposition Roundtable criticizes MSZMP for not accepting publicity and public debate in the trilateral negotiations, and also for not taking written responsibility for the party's assets.
- August 4.** The West German government intends to negotiate with representatives of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior and the Foreign Ministry about the status of East German citizens staying at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Budapest. 130 East German citizens are reported to be waiting for an entry visa to the FRG at the embassy. The Hungarian Ministry of the Interior says that it is ready to investigate the application for political asylum submitted by the East German citizens.  
At its meeting the Political Executive Committee of MSZMP decides that the position on national reconciliation should be modified. After having a discussion about it with members of the party the draft will have to be submitted to the September meeting of the CC.  
More than 17 thousand Romanian refugees live in Hungary. 171 million Forints were used to cover the costs helping the refugees from the settlement fund.
- August 5.** By-elections are held in three electorates as a result of recalling the representatives. In Szeged and in Kecskemét, MDF candidates Ernő Raffay and József Debreceni win seats. In Kiskunfélegyháza no representative is elected, because only less than 50% of voters turn up at the election.  
Representatives of the Opposition Roundtable go on a study trip to England.
- August 6.** The National Council of Trade Unions denies that it intends to sell its resort places and to cease the granting of accommodation at its resort places for a nominal charge.
- August 7.** According to some sources there are as many as 200 East German citizens staying at the West German embassy in Budapest. A high ranking West German government official says the authorities in Berlin try to prevent East German tourists from traveling to Hungary by using administrative measures.  
Hungary is invited as a guest to the summit meeting of the non-allied countries.  
After 50 years, sailing on Lake Fertő is possible without any restriction.
- August 8.** The opposing fractions of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) agree to convene a congress in November and before that a party conference. On learning about the agreement, the Opposition Roundtable reinstates the Social Democrats in the roundtable.
- August 11.** The Supreme Prosecutor submits a protest on legal grounds in the legal action brought against high ranking officials of the Ministry of



- Agriculture in 1948.
- August 13.** DEMISZ launches a signature-collecting campaign so that the office of the president be introduced before the general elections scheduled for next year.
- August 14.** The West German embassy in Budapest is temporarily closed down because it can not accommodate any more East Germans who intend to emigrate. West German Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Jürgen Südhoff starts negotiations in Budapest to resolve the case of the East Germans. The Hungarian opinion is that the emigration of East German citizens to West Germany is an issue to be resolved by the two German states, but in order to achieve a humanitarian solution to the problem Hungary will discuss it with Berlin.
- August 15.** The Political Executive Committee authorizes the delegation participating at the intermediate-level conciliatory negotiations to make an agreement on the issues of the party law and the electoral law, to urge the establishment of the Constitutional Court, but if it is necessary, to agree to postpone it to the new Parliament, to suggest the establishment of the institution of the ombudsman, offering that the office be filled by the opposition. It should insist that the relevant text of the constitution contain reference to socialism. It should endorse the establishment of the presidential institution by referendum. The PEC deems it necessary that in its propaganda the party should decrease and then stop analyzing the mistakes of the past. While getting prepared for its congress MSZMP should powerfully identify itself as a renewed reform party which opens up a new era in the history of Hungarian worker's movement. Those who have lost their moral and political credibility should be removed from party and state offices.
- The PEC does not endorse the dissolution of party organizations at the workplace. It has to be made possible for every party to build out its own organization. The party organizations at the workplace may not direct and control the leadership of the company. The PEC agrees that the MSZMP organizations should be kept at the armed forces until the elections, giving an opportunity to other parties too to establish their own organizations.
- The leadership of MSZMP does not identify itself with the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It establishes it as a historical fact that the leaders of that time originally endorsed a political settlement of the problem, respecting basic norms of international relations and the interests of socialism.
- August 16.** The Political Executive Committee of MSZMP issues a statement saying that the party leadership does not endorse the military intervention in Prague in 1968.
- According to Imre Pozsgay, the signature-collecting campaign of DEMISZ for the early introduction of the office of the president is in conflict with the preliminary agreement made at the National Roundtable.
- August 17.** The Secretary of the West German Foreign Ministry visits Budapest again to negotiate the case of East German refugees. According to the

- British news agency *Reuters*, 1,100 East German citizens fled to Austria through the Hungarian border in the first half of the month.
- August 18.** Representatives of SZDSZ hand over a letter written to Gorbachev to the Soviet embassy in Budapest. In it they request that the President of the Supreme Council take steps so that the leadership of the Soviet state officially denounce the military interventions of 1956 and 1968 which violated international laws.
- According to estimates of the trade unions, 1 million people take part in the warning strikes against the rise of meat prices. The National Council of Trade Unions and the Council of Ministers agree at their meeting that they will both ask the meat companies not to raise their prices.
- The Czechoslovakian government sends a diplomatic communication to Hungary saying that they insist on complying with the contract signed by the two parties on the Bős-Nagymaros investment and on compensation for the damage inflicted by the suspension of work on the Hungarian side.
- Deputy Foreign Minister István Őszí talks with the ambassador of East Germany to Budapest about the case of East Germans wishing to emigrate to West Germany.
- August 19.** The new draft program declaration of MSZMP appears, which characterizes the 1956 events as a popular uprising and points at that "Imre Nagy had suffered the death of a martyr, and at the same time, János Kádár was forced to make severe compromises with the hard-liners of the party."
- A "Pan-European Picnic" is held near Sopron where 300 East German citizens flee to Austria through the temporarily open border.
- MDF opens its own market selling vegetables and fruits at a reduced price.
- August 20.** After a break of forty-one years, the ecclesiastical Holy Right Procession is held again in Budapest.
- In his ceremonial speech, Mátyás Szűrös says that in the spirit of national reconciliation the Parliament could propose a motion as early as its next session that the new constitution should declare October 23 a national holiday.
- August 21.** Several activists of FIDESZ are arrested at the demonstrations held in Prague on the anniversary of the military intervention. Their fellow activists hold a sit-in and a hunger-strike in front of the Czechoslovakian embassy in Budapest between August 22 – 29 for their release.
- Despite previous denial, the price of meat and meat products is raised.
- August 24.** The first group of the East German citizens who were granted political asylum at the West German embassy in Budapest leave for Austria.
- Foreign Minister Gyula Horn announces at a press briefing that at least 20 thousand of the 200 thousand East German citizens staying in Hungary do not intend to go back home.
- The Council of Ministers proposes to convene a prompt meeting of the Interest Reconciliation Council in order to ease the tension caused by the price increases.
- The three parties of the trilateral political conciliatory negotiations agree

- to set up a Committee for Impartial Information with the task to supervise Hungarian Radio, Hungarian Television and the Hungarian News Agency.
- The National Council of Consumers' Cooperatives protests the plan of the Council of Ministers to modify unilaterally housing loan contracts already in force.
- August 25.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn conduct negotiations in Bonn on the issue of East German refugees staying in Hungary.
- The Hungarian National Bank says it will borrow a loan of 2.3 billion USD in 1989 in foreign countries. This will be used to finance the deficit of current balance of payments, the expiring loans and the interests of standing credits.
- The Presidential Council issues an executive order which gives permission to monastic orders to function, and another one on the enforcement of the Geneva Refugee Convention in Hungary.
- August 26.** The district court of Prague rules that legal action will be brought against Tamás Deutsch and György Kerényi. The participants of the meeting organized by SZDSZ on 200<sup>th</sup> the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights march to the Czechoslovakian embassy in Budapest in protest to the charges. The Free Democrats say at the meeting that MSZMP makes every effort possible to preserve its power; for instance, it established the one-man NEXT 2000 limited liability company which looks after the party's resort places worth 1.2 billion forints.
- August 28.** The Foreign Minister summons the interim chargé d'affaires of the Czechoslovakian embassy to Budapest and tells him that Hungary is filing a protest against the legal procedure brought against the two Hungarian citizens arrested at the demonstrations in Prague.
- The court in Prague finds Tamás Deutsch and György Kerényi guilty, inflicts a fine of 5,000 crowns on them and expels them from Czechoslovakia. After the two youngsters return home, the sit-in and hunger-strikes in front of the Czechoslovakian embassy in Budapest come to an end.
- August 30.** Close to 10 thousand people demonstrate in Pécs against the planned reduction of mining in the area. The crowd hoots the Minister of Industry down at the meeting when Ferenc Horváth starts saying that the shut-down of the mines will have to begin at the beginning of the '90s.
- The National Council of Trade Unions walks out of the political conciliatory negotiations because they believe the forum is gradually turning into an inter-party discussion.
- The Opposition Roundtable proposes at the conciliatory negotiations that the Law on the Office of the President should be made in the transitional period, but the office should be filled in only after the general elections. According to the opposition, the rights of the president should be exercised in the interim period by the Speaker of the House.
- August 31.** Five members of the House set up an opposition parliamentary group lead by Zoltán Király.
- At its meeting the Political Executive Committee takes the view that the

- political conciliatory negotiations are going on in accordance with the goals of the party. It suggests that concerning the date of the elections its delegation should endorse and urge the possibility of having the elections this year.
- September 1.** The refugee camp of Csillebérc in Budapest becomes full with the 2,500 East German refugees, so the newcomers are transported to the refugee camp in Zánka by bus.  
New rules of military service are laid down at the Ministry of Defense. As of the middle of September soldiers can exercise their religion and their right of association outside the barracks just like any civilian.
- September 2.** The secretary of the MSZMP CC says that some 10,000 people leave the party every month, membership being estimated at roughly 730,000 at present.
- September 3.** Led by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, a Hungarian delegation participates at the meeting of non-allied countries as an invited guest.
- September 4.** Representatives of the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the National Alliance of Political Prisoners and the Recsk Alliance set up the October 23 Committee to organize the ceremony commemorating the 1956 revolution and freedom fight and to have October 23 pronounced a national holiday. The committee proposes that the House declare October 23 a national holiday and a day of rest in its next session. Intermediate level representatives of the members of the National Roundtable agree that the modified constitution should rule that the Republic of Hungary is a sovereign, democratic constitutional state in which principles of civil democracy and democratic socialism both play a crucial role.  
The National Command of the Workers' Militia accepts the proposal that in the future the militia should only contribute to fixing the damage caused by the forces of nature and to maintaining order and public safety. For the latter, however, they believe they will need firearms.
- September 5.** The Political Executive Committee acknowledges Imre Pozsgay's report on the trilateral conciliatory negotiations. It suggests to the CC that it should consider the December date, but as an alternative it should also take into consideration the June date.  
The PEC acknowledges that the modified constitution includes the institution of the Constitutional Court and the institution of the president. It proposes that the MSZMP delegation should endorse a referendum on the issue of the coat-of-arms and support that for the sake of a democratic transition the president be elected just one time by a referendum.  
The PEC supports the submission of the fundamental laws to the Parliament by the Council of Ministers. It deems necessary that the government should represent the position of MSZMP in the case of political issues of primary importance, and at the same time it should also indicate the position of the third party, the opposition as well as its own.

With respect to the institution of recall of representatives the delegation should show resolution and fight for the elimination of this anti-democratic institution and its removal from the law. The delegation should not urge the law on local governments, only if the elections can take place in June next year. The congress should be informed about the party properties. At its next meeting the CC should be informed as to what has been turned over to public use in the course of last year and this year.

SZDSZ urges Hungarian television to broadcast the intermediate level talks of the political conciliatory negotiations.

- September 6.** Imre Pozsgay announces at the intermediate level round of the trilateral negotiations that MSZMP is willing to give an account of its assets to the new Parliament.
- September 8.** It is agreed that Hungarian Television will cover the political conciliatory talks once every week, and the intermediate level negotiations will be given the widest publicity possible.
- September 10.** The Council of Ministers announces that as of 00:00 o'clock September 11, East German citizens are allowed to leave Hungary for Western countries as well. The next three days over 12,000 people take advantage of this opportunity.
- September 13.** Miklós Németh sends a letter to the Independent Rehabilitation Committee and the Recsk Alliance. In it he states that "... the present Council of Ministers does not assume responsibility for the injustice and the unlawful measures taken by the former regime. On initiating rehabilitation the Council is determined to push the process through to its end with no compromise."
- September 14.** The Committee for Historical Justice demands that October 23 be declared a national holiday and a day of rest.  
The Vatican and Hungary express their willingness to start negotiations on reestablishing diplomatic relations.
- September 16.** Heading a Hungarian parliamentary delegation Mátyás Szűrös, while staying in the United States, lays a wreath on the memorial monument of the Hungarian freedom-fighter in the city of Passaic.  
The Movement for Democratic Hungary is established, and Imre Pozsgay becomes its interim chairman.
- September 18.** The first phase of the negotiations of the National Roundtable is concluded by signing an agreement which is, however, not accepted by FIDESZ and SZDSZ. According to the agreement, the Presidential Council should resign immediately when the modification of the constitution comes into force, and until the president of the republic is elected, the office of the president will be served by the Speaker of the House. The next day SZDSZ publishes a statement in which they demand that the assets of MSZMP, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Workers' Militia should be frozen.  
The October 23 Committee has its meeting, joined now by FIDESZ, the Hungarian October Party, SZDSZ and the Committee for Historical Justice. A resolution is made at the meeting saying that the anniversary of the revolution will be commemorated at the memorial sites of the

- 1956 events.  
After 22 years Hungary and Israel restore diplomatic relations.
- September 19.** The Political Executive Committee acknowledges Imre Pozsgay's report on the trilateral political conciliatory negotiations. It approves of the agreement signed as a result of concluding the negotiations. It emphasizes that through quick and lively propaganda a proper interpretation of the main issues of the agreement must be ensured. The PEC acknowledges that – following an earlier resolution - there have been measures taken to learn about the experiences of Western countries concerning parliamentary elections.
- September 20.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh receives the representatives of the Evangelical Church, the National Representation of Israelites and the Council of Denominational Churches, which intend to take part in the activities of the National Council of Religious Affairs.
- September 22.** The Supreme Prosecutor announces at the meeting of the Council of Ministers that the revision of the show trials is in progress; in eight cases he filed a protest on legal grounds, among others in the cases of József Mindszenty and his associates and József Grósz and his associates. The Council of Ministers puts on its agenda the draft of a decree on the rehabilitation of those interned or relocated between 1953–1956 and of those convicted for their participation in the 1956 events.  
In accordance with the international agreement, the Presidential Council issues an executive order to acknowledge the Hungarian citizenship of those who are granted refugee status.
- September 24.** SZDSZ starts a signature-collecting campaign in order to call a referendum on four questions: 1: Should MSZMP leave the work-place? 2. Should MSZMP give an account of its assets? 3. Should the Workers' Militia be dissolved? 4. Should the president be elected after the free general elections?  
Anders Björck, president of the parliamentary assembly of the European Council, says that Hungary can be the first country to be granted full membership in international organizations in the '90s.  
The workers' militiamen in Békés county threaten with armed retaliation if "the incitement to counter-revolutionary riots" does not come to an end.  
The Parliament passes the Emigration and Immigration Act which declares emigration to be a fundamental human right, and the Passport Act which no longer restricts the length of stay abroad.
- September 27.** The Parliament passes a motion for an amendment concerning the Penal Code and the law on legal procedure, and modifies the tax law.
- September 28.** The Parliament distances itself in its statement from the military intervention of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and condemns the fact that at that time Hungarian troops were sent to Czechoslovakia without the approval of the House.
- September 29.** In New York Gyula Horn negotiates with the Foreign Minister of the GDR on the issue of East German refugees. Since September 23, thousands of East German citizens have left for West Germany via Hungary.

- The Hungarian October Party nominates Sándor Rácz, chairman of the Workers' Council of Greater Budapest in 1956 for president.
- September 29–October 2.** FIDESZ organizes nationwide strikes against the Workers' Militia.
- September 30.** Pál Schiffer's documentary film entitled "Conciliation 1956 – 1989," which talks about two commanders of the armed guard of the steel factory in Salgótarján, their tragic execution and the fate of their families afterwards is finished.
- MDF, the National Alliance of Political Prisoners, the Budapest City Council and representatives of the Kerepesi Cemetery announce at a press briefing that since tidying up the graveyard has been completed, section 21 of the cemetery is now to be regarded as the resting-place for the heroes of the 1956 revolution and the fight for freedom. The cornerstone of the monument in honor of those killed in the fights will be laid on October 22.
- October 1.** Miklós Németh, Prime Minister and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state also sign the call for demanding political and economic self-government for the cities and villages of the country.
- The leaders of the secretariat responsible for church affairs of the Council of Ministers confirms that the state is ready to return the former immovable church properties to their original owners.
- October 2.** A new Marxist left-wing concentration is established by 15 left-wing organizations and the MSZMP platform because in their view "the restoration of capitalism in Hungary is a real danger."
- October 3.** The ministers' council of the European Community decides that it will grant an aid of 220 million USD to Hungary and Poland next year.
- October 4.** It is announced that the Council of Ministers does not intend to declare October 23 a national holiday; rather, it would prefer to see the memorial ceremonies to serve national reconciliation. The Council of Ministers – without a successor – retires the commander-in-chief of the Workers' Militia.
- The foreign ministry protests that Romania does not allow Hungarian politicians to travel to Arad on the anniversary of the execution of the martyrs.
- October 5.** According to the communiqué issued by the National Coordination Council of the Reform Circles and Basic Organizations of MSZMP October 23 must be declared a national holiday and rest-day.
- The Marxist united platform of MSZMP holds a meeting. Róbert Ribánszky, leader of the platform says "if the country continues its course in the spirit of Imre Nagy, then people's power will be overthrown."
- Tibor Soós, leader of the office of the Parliament makes an offer to the October 23 Committee saying that if requested, the illumination of the red star on top of the house of Parliament will be turned off, and it will not be turned on any more in the future.
- October 6.** The Budapest organization of the Independent Smallholders' Party starts a signature-collecting campaign for nominating Otto von Habsburg to the office of president.

- October 6-10.** The 14<sup>th</sup>, extraordinary congress of MSZMP is convened. The session is opened by Mária Ormos's speech commemorating the martyrs of Hungarian history: "Let us bow our head before Batthyány, Damjanich, Rajk, Imre Nagy, and Imre Mező, and all people like them." On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October the party dissolves itself, and a new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) is established. The new party starts its first congress right away. As a legal successor to MSZMP MSZP inherits the assets of the former party. In a statement it is suggested to the parliamentary group of the party that it should initiate the declaration of October 23 a national memorial day. On the 9<sup>th</sup> MSZP elects its new leadership: Rezső Nyers becomes chairman, and two-thirds of the leaders are members who have never filled any leading office in the former party. The Marxist United Platform of MSZMP announces in a communiqué that MSZMP has not ceased to exist.
- October 9.** The Independent Lawyers' Forum proposes to the opposition parties that the former roundtable should continue its activities in a new form under the name "Opposition Political Conciliatory Forum".
- October 10.** Deputy foreign minister Béla Havas says any one can freely enter Hungary, and the 1956 rebels forced to live in exile can come home any time they wish to.
- October 11.** No progress is made in reconciling to positions of the two parties on the issue of the Bős-Nagymaros dam at the meeting of the prime ministers of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Miklós Németh asks the Czechoslovakian party to study the Hungarian proposal according to which only the Bős dam would be run, and only at a basic level of power.  
The Hungarian Television signs an agreement with the opposition parties on covering their respective congresses.  
Several hundred photos, posters, flyers, newspapers and various objects relating to the period between October 23 and November 4, 1956 are put on display at the exhibition in the Museum of Labor Movements.
- October 12.** At the meeting of the Austrian and Hungarian prime ministers in Sopron chancellor Vranitzky says: they will doubtless take into consideration the future decision of Hungary on Bős-Nagymaros, but they lay a claim to the compensation of the Austrian companies involved under any circumstances.  
MSZP criticizes the signature-collecting campaign run by SZDSZ in the case of the presidential elections.  
As for the future of the Workers' Militia the inter-ministerial committee of the Council of Ministers proposes that the militia should be integrated into the regular armed forces as a voluntary body guarding the territory of the country.
- October 13.** SZDSZ submits 67 thousand signatures to the Parliament, supporting the referendum in the case of, among other things, electing the president of Hungary.  
Czechoslovakia believes it is feasible to modify the interstate contract made in 1977 on the Bős-Nagymaros dam, but its precondition is that Prague and Budapest should agree on the degree of compensation.  
According to the legal committee of the Parliament it should be banned



- for political parties to establish and maintain organizations at work places.
- October 14.** It is decided at the 2<sup>nd</sup> national congress of FIDESZ that for the time being the organization will not be transformed into a political party and they will not elect a presidential candidate of their own.  
The trial issue of *Magyar Narancs* is published.
- October 15.** Minister of justice Kálmán Kulcsár is elected chairman of the movement and its presidential candidate at the congress of the Patriotic People's Front.  
The chairmanship of MDF nominates Lajos Für for its presidential candidate.
- October 16.** The Council of Ministers proposes to the Parliament that a referendum should be called in two further issues in addition to the question concerning the election of the president: which of the three days, March 15, August 20, or October 23 should be national holidays, and what should be the official coat-of-arms of Hungary. With respect to the People's Militia the proposal is that either it should be dissolved without any legal successor, or it should be integrated into the regular armed forces as a voluntary force guarding the territory of the country.  
A communist meeting is held in Budapest, organized chiefly by Róbert Ribánszky, in which a call is made to preserve and renew MSZMP.
- October 17-20.** The Parliament passes several acts on modifying the constitution: on the operation and management of parties, on electing members of the House, on dissolving the Presidential Council, on electing the president of the country, and on rectifying "the sentences passed by courts in connection the 1956 national uprising." It is announced that Hungary is a parliamentary republic, a sovereign, democratic constitutional state. It is decided that in the future parties should not be present at the workplace. Speaker of the House Mátyás Szűrös is elected interim president. The Workers' Militia is dissolved without any legal successor. The Parliament does not declare October 23 a national holiday.
- October 18.** An article written by army general Lastchenko, the commander of the special army corps in Székesfehérvár in 1956, is published in the journal of military history, *Zhurnal*, in which he states that 1956 was a counter-revolution, Imre Nagy a traitor, and the events were arranged by forces in the West.
- October 19.** The Budapest Main Police Office investigates the case of the Hungarian Nazi leaflets which appeared a few days ago in the streets of Budapest. The leaflets contained the telephone numbers of well-known opposition figures. According to the information given by the Ministry of the Interior, it will soon be tracked down who made the posters advertising the reestablishment of the Hungarian Arrow-Cross Party.  
Eight years after its first issue, the first issue of *Beszélő* as a legal journal is for sale.  
The journal *Kis Újság* gives a picture of October 1956 through the eyes of the former participants of the events.
- October 20.** The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) distances itself from the 1956 Soviet military intervention.

- According to a statement by the Ministry of the Interior, the police will help in organizing and holding the memorial ceremonies commemorating the anniversary of the national uprising if they are in accord with the existing laws and regulations of the country.
- October 20-22.** Lajos Für is elected presidential candidate and József Antall chairman of MDF at the party's second national meeting. The modified constitution of the party is approved, which emphasizes that MDF is a social organization functioning as a party.
- October 21.** It is announced in Parliament that on October 23, Interim President Mátyás Szűrös will declare the Hungarian Republic from the balcony of the House of Parliament.  
The daily papers *Népszabadság* and *Magyar Nemzet* publish photos and essays in connection with 1956.  
On behalf of the Committee for Historical Justice, Alajos Dornbach and András Hegedűs B. give an interview to the radio program *168 Hours* on issues of the administration of justice; György Konrád talks about October 23, Sándor M. Kiss about the history of the State Security Authorities, and Mária Wittner, an armed rebel sentenced to death, about her own fate.  
Gyula Obersovszky holds an author's night entitled "A Prelude After Death" at the Jurta theater.
- October 22.** On the eve of the October 23 ceremonies, Miklós Németh turns to all citizens of the country and, in a statement, calls everyone to show maturity and restraint and to concentrate on the tasks the country has to face after having come to an end of a long historical period.  
The 1956 Reverence Committee hold a commemoration service in section 21 of the Kerepesi Cemetery. They lay the corner-stone of the Memorial of the Heroic Victims of the War and place a provisional wooden headstone to mark the place of the future memorial.  
Plans submitted to a competition announced by the Committee for Historical Justice for the memorial to be erected in section 301 in memory of the 1956 martyrs are exhibited in the National Gallery.
- October 23.** Nationwide memorial services are held to commemorate the 33<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the 1956 revolution. In Budapest a memorial mass is celebrated to honor the martyrs of the revolution at 10 am in the Basilica. At noon, Interim President Mátyás Szűrös and the Speaker of the House declare the Hungarian Republic from the balcony of the House of Parliament. In the course of the day, several ceremonies and wreathing services are held in section 301, section 21 of the Kerepesi Cemetery, on Hősök tere, in Corvin köz, at the Kilián Barracks, at the Hungarian Radio, and in front of the central building of the Technical University. In the evening a mass meeting is held on Kossuth tér (some 100-150,000 people come together) where Imre Fónay, Gyula Obersovszky, György Krassó, Mária Wittner and Sándor Rácz gives a speech.  
Early in the evening, a torch-lit procession is held in Debrecen and Pécs. In Jászberény a memorial tablet is inaugurated in honor of the martyrs of the revolution.  
In Pápa, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza, Eger and Veszprém, the opposition

- parties hold joint memorial ceremonies, wreathing services and other programs.  
Representatives of the Council of Ministers say that as of January all subsidies will be frozen except those for health care and education.  
It is established that the Hungarian nazi leaflets were provocative papers made by Roland Antoniewicz.
- October 24.** The Council of Ministers issues a communiqué in which it “evaluates the ceremonial programs commemorating the anniversary of the 1956 national uprising.” They find it regrettable that “the events commemorating the fight against Stalinism were used by some to raise anti-Soviet sentiments.”  
SZDSZ presents further signatures to the Parliament; thus, now more than 200,000 people demand a referendum.  
The Supreme Prosecution makes a motion for a retrial in the case of the murder of a policeman in Pócspetri 41 years ago.
- October 26.** US President George Bush signs the decision on the basis of which Hungary is granted the status of a most favored nation for a longer period of time.  
Following another unsuccessful round of talks between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Miklós Németh announces that the Council of Ministers will propose to the Parliament that the building of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam should be terminated for good.  
A film by Pál Závada and András Sipos entitled “Martial Law” has its first night show, which portrays the kulak trials of the 50s.
- October 27.** Gyula Horn announces at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Organization that Hungary will make even more efforts in the future to follow its own course of foreign policy independent of its membership in the organization.  
Géza Böszörményi and Lívia Gyarmaty’s film entitled “Reck” is awarded the Felix Prize as the best European documentary.  
SZDSZ hold its conference of delegates. In their statement issued the next day, they urge the Council of Ministers to renew talks with the parties.
- October 28.** Béla Király, former commander of the Militia in 1956, is rehabilitated. A memorial tablet is placed on the wall of the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest in memory of the students died in action in the 1956 revolution.
- October 29.** The conference of the delegates of SZDSZ believes the best time for the general elections is the period around March 15.
- October 30.** The Czechoslovakian government confirms in a statement that it will demand compensation if Hungary does not build the dam at Nagymaros. The Budapest Committee of MSZP holds a wreathing ceremony in honor of the fallen defenders the party building on Köztársaság tér. The memorial is followed by an incident between the organizers and some – mostly elderly – representatives of the former MSZMP.
- October 30-31.** István Fodor is elected interim speaker of the Parliament. The House decides on the final termination of the Bős-Nagymaros Dam project, calls a referendum for November 26 (on the basis of the signatures

- collected by SZDSZ and FIDESZ), passes a law on general amnesty, on establishing the Public Board of Audit and the Constitutional Court. The representatives decide that the presidential elections should be called for the day of the referendum on the state coat-of-arms, January 7.
- November 1.** The opposition parties make an agreement that they will receive financial support from the 100 million forints put aside by the Council of Ministers in proportion to the number of their members. MSZP announces that it is planning on joining the Socialist International.
- November 2.** The Council of Ministers suspends the financial provisions for tourists for the period between November 2 and November 20, after which it will introduce a new, much stricter system of providing hard currency for private citizens. As a result of the increasing deficit of the convertible balance of payments the hard currency quota for private citizens will be 300 USD for four years at the maximum. Following the announcement of the new regulation, thousands of Hungarians leave for Austria to do their shopping. The minimum amount of unemployment benefits is set at 80% of the current minimum wages. US President George Bush receives Minister of State Imre Pozsgay in Washington, DC. After the news of raising custom duties, over 300 cars are imported by Hungarian tourists from Western countries every month. The company council of the Zsolnay Porcelain Factory in Pécs decides to sell the firm to the American Riverside Company (spontaneous privatization).
- November 3.** The Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) pronounces the 1948 party congress, which declared the merger of the social democratic party and the communist party, null and void. MSZP calls on the people to celebrate the anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.
- November 4.** Miklós Németh hopes MSZP and MDF, supported by a few other parties, will have a chance to form a coalition government after the elections. The Hungarian October Party and the Hungarian Radical Party demonstrate in front of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, demanding the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Council of Ministers distances itself from the demonstration.
- November 5.** It is stated in a resolution at the congress of the MSZDP that the party intends to join the Socialist Internationale as the sole representative of social democratic values. Anna Petrasovics is elected chairman of the party. It is said at the meeting of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) that a way must be found for Hungarian peasants to regain their land owned in 1947.
- November 6.** The foreign ministers of member states of EEC decide that as of January, the Common Market will open up its borders for Hungarian and Polish goods.
- November 7.** The temporary national body of deputies of MSZMP holds a political

- meeting on the occasion of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The meeting is attended by János Berecz, Károly Grósz, Frigyes Puja and Róbert Ribánszky.
- The Chairman of the Suzuki Car Company conducts negotiations in Hungary on establishing an assembly plant in the country.
- November 8.** SZDSZ, FIDESZ, the FKGP, and the MSZDP jointly turn to the people of Hungary asking them to participate in the referendum called for November 26, and vote yes for all the four questions.
- The foreign ministry protests at the Romanian embassy to Budapest on the case of Minister in Temesvár László Tőkés.
- November 9.** Gyula Horn says that the aim of the government is to speed up the withdrawal of Soviet troops significantly next year so that all the Soviet units still in the country leave as soon as possible.
- The presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) resigns as a body. A National Coordination Committee is set up, headed by Sándor Nagy, whose task is to pave the way for the establishment of the National Association of Trade Unions.
- November 10.** Miklós Németh announces that the Council of Ministers has started negotiations with various parties concerning the date of the general elections.
- The Supreme Prosecution orders investigations for a retrial in the case of József Mindszenty and his associates, because it finds the charges of the people's court of 1949 unlawful.
- November 11.** Italian, the Yugoslav, the Austrian and the Hungarian foreign ministers negotiate in Budapest over the possibility of more intensive cooperation in the Alps-Adriatic-Danube region.
- November 12.** The Independent Smallholders' Party holds a canvassing meeting in Kunszentmiklós, where chairman Vince Vörös points out that land must be returned to its former owners in accordance with the ownership structure that existed in 1947.
- November 13.** The Secretary of the National Planning Office that the country is in a critical financial situation.
- Minister of Culture Ferenc Glatz announces that the ministry is planning to reintroduce the four year elementary and eight year secondary schooling system in the '90s, and tuition will gradually be introduced.
- MDF calls for the boycott of the November 26 referendum.
- November 15.** SZDSZ, FIDESZ, the FKGP, and the MSZDP sharply criticize MDF for calling for the boycott of the November 26 referendum.
- November 16.** At the meeting of the European Council, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn hands over the application of Hungary for admission into the organization.
- November 17.** Gyula Horn states that there is a real danger in Hungary that extremist left and -right-wing forces may exploit the social tension deriving from economic transformation for their own good.
- The restoration of the original bed of the river begins in the Danube bend.
- November 19.** Hungary receives a short-term loan of 1 billion USD from the Common Market.

- November 20.** The Council of Ministers gives up the right to control and supervise Hungarian Radio and Television; a committee of 15 members is commissioned to perform the task.
- November 21.** Miklós Németh Announces in Parliament that the gross foreign debt of Hungary will amount to 20 billion USD by the end of the year, the net debt will be 14 billion. At the same time he acknowledges that the leadership of the country published false data on the outstanding total debt in the mid-'80s, fearing that it would discourage foreign creditors. The Prime Minister also announces that Lajos Czinege resigned from his military rank of army general. Minister of Environmental Protection and Management of Water Supplies László Maróthy also resigns. The presidency of MDF urges the parliament to dissolve itself on December 11 and to proclaim presidential elections and general elections for March 11, 1990. The American General Electric Concern buys up 50% of the shares of Tunsgam.
- November 22.** The Parliament votes down the three year economic policy program of the Council of Ministers.
- November 23.** The Parliament elects 5 members of the Constitutional Court and the vice president of the Public Board of Audit. The chairmanship of MSZP decides that the resort places, the Political College and the Institute for Social Studies managed by the party will be handed over to the state, and furthermore, the NEXT 2000 limited liability company will be closed down.
- November 24.** After supplies have run short in the counties by the borders due to a large number of tourist shoppers, the Council of Ministers extends the range of food products which may not be exported. The Socialist Internationale restores full membership of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.
- November 25-26.** Miklós Németh states at a meeting of the Association of Writers that "the government renounces its right to control literature and the arts for good."
- November 26.** The first national referendum is held in Hungary – the so-called "referendum of four yes votes". Of the four question put up for voting, only the one on electing the president is still relevant. The turnout of voters is 58%, and a little over 50% votes for electing the president of the country after the general elections. The decision in effect rules out the presidency of politician and Socialist candidate Imre Pozsgay.
- November 27.** The Chairman of Hungarian television resigns. Gyula Bereczky justifies his decision by suggesting that the committee commissioned to supervise the radio and the television has turned the editorial offices into an arena of merciless political fights, thus making real professional work impossible. 217 employees of the radio responsible for making programs sign the letter addressed to the Prime Minister in which they call for the dissolution of the supervisory committee of the radio and the television, because in their view by setting up the committee the authenticity and objectivity of information have been jeopardized.

- November 28.** The Executive Speaker of the House, the SZDSZ, the Hungarian People's Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party believe the most suitable date for general elections is March 18. The Social Democratic Party of Hungary considers this date premature.
- November 29.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh assures the defense ministers of the Warsaw treaty Organization in Budapest that Hungary will continue to be a member of the Eastern European military alliance, but he also stresses that the alliance needs to be modernized. MSZP urges the Parliament to make it possible that the president of the country be elected directly by the people.
- November 30.** The International Monetary Fund accuses Hungary of delaying in taking the necessary unpopular measures. The Opposition Roundtable holds a meeting. In a joint communiqué 14 parties and organizations demand that negotiations on the modification of the interstate contract on the Bős-Nagymaros Dam should be conducted only by the newly elected government. In the meantime, any construction or restoration work must be suspended. They also demand that the present Parliament should dissolve itself and the parliamentary elections should be proclaimed for next March.
- December 1.** The last issue of *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Journal) appears in Paris. Miklós Németh announces that from 1991, mandatory military service will be twelve months. The Council of Ministers' position is that Hungary should maintain its military defense within the Warsaw Treaty Organization, although in the long run it would like to see a Europe without any military blocks. The Council of Ministers confirms its decision on the establishment of the supervisory committee of the Hungarian Radio and Television and commissions Imre Pozsgay to start negotiations on setting up expert committees which can ensure the proper operation of these institutions. Temporary accommodation is provided in Budapest for the homeless, whose situation is also discussed by the Council of Ministers.
- December 4.** The Secretary of the Ministry of Finance states in the presence of members of the Parliament that the reserves of the country have reached a minimum, which would result in declaring insolvency of the country if the Parliament does not pass the act on the budget. The International Monetary Fund expects Hungary to radically reduce its deficit the balance of trade in 1990, otherwise it will not grant further credits to the country.
- December 6.** According to sources in Washington, it is quite possible that as a result of serious disagreement, negotiations are suspended between experts of the International Monetary Fund and Hungary. The European Community is willing to give a loan of 1 billion ECU to Hungary if it can reach an agreement with the International Monetary Fund. The Mosonmagyaróvár plant of the Rába Works holds an eight hour long strike in order to put pressure on the leadership to let them break away from the company and become independent.
- December 7.** The Council of Ministers obliges the organization responsible for reorganizing companies which have gone bankrupt to indicate within 48

hours if they are willing to give financial support to the bankrupt company.

Károly Grósz proposes at a meeting in Miskolc that the MSZMP should organize its own guard of activists because in his view the dissolution of the Workers' Militia was a political mistake.

- December 8-10.** A three-day summit meeting is held by the Parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the various political parties and conciliatory organizations. The majority of the participating 16 parties believe that after the Parliament dissolves itself, it should only legislate laws serving the stability of the country. The participants of the summit meeting agree that the parliamentary elections should take place in the second half of March.
- December 10.** A sharp dispute develops between representatives of the Council of Ministers and the members of Parliament. The legislators do not agree that the 1990 budget plan should be discussed as early as December, while the Council of Ministers urges the debate because the approval of the budget is a precondition of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund.  
The jury of the application committee selects the Lágymányos area of Budapest for the site of the 1995 World's Fair.
- December 11.** As of January next year, the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation (DEMISZ) renounces all its assets in favor of the government.
- December 12.** János Sebők, a member of the House, proposes at the meeting of the Defense Committee of the Parliament that Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary by the end of 1990 and that the government should start negotiations to this effect.
- December 13.** Miklós Németh says in his talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that the West should not withhold financial support until the general elections because in this case the country might get into a very serious situation.  
Gyula Horn states in Brussels that the Hungarian government is determined to implement its economic program even if at the beginning it may give rise to social conflicts.
- December 14.** The planning and budgetary committee of the Parliament approves of the plan for the 1990 budget, but it rejects the housing program, which envisages raising the interest rates for housing loans and the rental rates for state-owned apartments.  
Budapest and Vienna are granted the right to organize the 1995 World's Fair.
- December 15.** The chairman of the National Planning Office says the Council of Ministers would like to hand in its application for admission to the European Association of Free Trading in 1990.  
The Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Independence Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and the National Alliance of Political Prisoners form an electoral alliance for the upcoming general elections.
- December 16.** The General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions anticipates even more radical steps than a warning strike if the Council



- of Ministers does not manage to ease the tensions due to unemployment and if it does not implement the liberalization of wages and the reform of proprietary rights.
- December 17.** The Council of Ministers decides on reorganizing the Ministry of the Interior and the Defense Ministry. Inside the Ministry of the Interior, functions of state security and those of public security are separated. The 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of MSZMP begins. The organizers do not recognize the resolutions made by the October congress.
- December 18.** The Parliament calls for the Romanian government to respect its commitments accepted in international agreements. The Parliament expresses its support for László Tőkés. The Romanian authorities seal off the Hungarian border, because of an anti-government demonstration in Temesvár the day before.  
Several thousand people demonstrate in Budapest on Hősök tere in support of László Tőkés.  
The left-wing fraction of the former MSZMP reestablishes the party under the same name and elects Gyula Thürmer its chairman.
- December 19.** The Parliament approves of the 1990 economic policy program of the Council of Ministers.  
The Association of Hungarian Independents denounces those parties which "conduct roundtable talks without listening to the people."  
Miklós Németh resigns from his membership in the presidency of MSZP.  
Árpád Göncz is elected president of the Association of Writers.
- December 20.** The Parliament approves of the slightly modified housing program of the Council of Ministers. According to it, rental rates will rise by 35% as of February 1, and a tax will be levied on state housing loans.  
The Council of Ministers submits an official protest to the ambassador of Romania for the denigration of László Tőkés and the crackdown on the demonstration in Temesvár.
- December 21.** The Parliament pronounces its dissolution effective as of January 16, 1990. The representatives pass the 1990 budget act.  
Hungarian financial leaders and the International Monetary Fund agree in Washington that they will resume talks in Budapest in the first half of January.  
Defense Minister Ferenc Kárpáti announces the further withdrawal of Soviet troops.
- December 22.** Interim President Mátyás Szűrös sets the date of the first round of parliamentary elections for March 25, 1990.  
Several Hungarian organizations and institutions send food and medicine supplies to Romania.
- December 23.** Foreign Minister Gyula Horn announces that Hungary recognizes the Council for Saving the Nation as the official representative of Romania.
- December 24.** An ecumenical midnight mass is held in Budapest where several thousand people pay tribute to the memory of the victims in Tmesvár.
- December 26.** Mátyás Szűrös and Miklós Németh send a telegram to welcome the new Romanian leaders who repeatedly thank Hungary for its assistance and solidarity.

**December 29.** The Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian National Bank says that there are signs of insolvency right before the December session of the Parliament. Gyula Horn negotiates in Budapest.  
An aid concert is held in the Budapest Sports Stadium to support those in need in Romania.  
The Independent Smallholders' Party is split into two; the National Smallholders' Party (Nemzeti Kisgazdapárt, NKG) is established in Szeged.

- January 2.** Mátyás Szűrös states that the greatest political danger is that instability and chaos might dominate the life of the country. Therefore he believes that during the period of the general elections, the local council should ensure peaceful and undisturbed circumstances.
- January 3.** Representatives Zoltán Király and Ernő Raffay propose that in the future the president of the country should always be elected directly by the people.  
The Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) distances itself from the (Szeged-based) National Smallholders' Party (NKGK) and emphasizes that there is no split in the party.
- January 4.** The Council of Ministers appoints István Nemeskürty chairman of Hungarian Television. The members of the chairmanship are: Alajos Chrudinák, György Cigány, János Dömölki, János Gombár, Ádám Horváth, István Pálffy G. and Tamás Vitray.  
The Council of Ministers sets up a committee to coordinate the use of the financial support promised by Western countries.  
The MSZP distances itself from the activities of the former leaders of MSZMP and the mistaken economic policy of the Lázár government. It dissociates itself from any of the figures like Béla Biszku, Sándor Gáspár, Mihály Korom or Károly Németh. The party leadership urges the set-up of an ad hoc parliamentary committee to investigate the role and responsibility of the former leaders.  
Seven gypsy organizations demand independent parliamentary representation for themselves.
- January 5.** The outbreak of the "Danubegate" scandal: SZDSZ announces that Main Division No. 3 of the ministry of the interior keeps opposition politicians under surveillance, collects data and information on the opposition parties and movements even after the new constitution has come into effect. SZDSZ and FIDESZ file a report with the police in the case and call for Prime Minister Miklós Németh to distance the government from the unlawful activities of the state security service and to relieve the head of the Department of the Ministry of Interior József Horváth and Deputy Minister Ferenc Pallagi and to initiate the resignation of Minister of the Interior István Horváth. Miklós Németh dissociates himself from the wire-tapping activities and calls for the Supreme Prosecutor to conduct prompt investigations in the case.  
The Foreign Committee and the National Defense Committee of the Parliament propose to the House in a resolution to empower the Council of Ministers to urge the speedy withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, if possible, by the end of the year.  
The National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) protests the price

- increases coming to force this month. SZOT General Secretary Sándor Nagy says that the danger is greater than ever that the country will be threatened by a small economic elite.
- January 7.** The Minister of the Interior appoints a committee to investigate the "Danubegate" case and sequesters the documents of Main Division 3 of the ministry.  
Gyula Horn is the first foreign minister since 1967 to conduct negotiations in Israel.
- January 8.** The military Supreme Prosecution orders investigations in the Danubegate case.  
The Soviet Deputy Chief-of-Staff announces that further troops will be withdrawn from Hungary in 1990.  
In Israel Gyula Horn says that Hungary will revise its current position on Zionism.
- January 9.** Prime Minister Miklós Németh states at the summit meeting of Comecon in Sofia that either the organization changes fundamentally or it will cease to exist.  
The presidency of Hungarian Television relieves Endre Aczél from his double position of editor-in-chief of the daily news program and the weekly news program called *The Week*. The new editor-in-chief of the two most popular news programs in this period will be István Pálffy G.
- January 10.** SZOT envisages demonstrations and strikes if no agreement can be achieved with the government on an anti-inflation economic package.  
The Publicity Club believes it is unacceptable that the leader of the election campaign of MSZP, State Minister Imre Pozsgay, supervises the media.
- January 11.** The Ministry of the Interior regulates by decree the administration of the March 26 general elections.
- January 12.** The cabinet of the Council of Ministers bans the use of secret means by the internal security service.  
FIDESZ and SZDSZ repeatedly demand the resignation of minister of the interior István Horváth.
- January 13.** In the second round of the by-elections in electoral district 14 of Budapest Miklós Tamás Gáspár, candidate of SZDSZ, wins the seat.  
Miklós Németh states that Hungary and the Soviet Union believe that there is no need for stationing soviet troops on Hungarian soil; therefore, they agree on the speedy withdrawal of all units.  
After five years of intensive negotiations, a Japanese-Hungarian contract is signed in Budapest on establishing an assembly plant by the Suzuki Car Company in Hungary.  
General Motors and Rába Works sign an agreement on founding a joint venture company.
- January 14.** The radio broadcasts István Csurka's – one of the leaders of MDF – commentary which is, in the opinion of many, not exempt from anti-Semitism.
- January 16.** An inter-party conciliatory committee is set up by MSZP, the Opposition Roundtable and the organizations of the third party which have already constituted themselves a political party with an aim to regulate the

- publicity of the elections in the media.  
Imre Pozsgay renounces his job to oversee the committee responsible for the supervision of the radio and the television.
- January 17.** József Horváth, head of the Internal Security Service of the Ministry of the Interior, hands in his resignation.  
The Minister of Trade suspends all export accounted in rubles.  
The Supreme Court acquits all those convicted in the Pócspetri trial in 1948.
- January 18.** József Végyvári, major of the Internal Security Service, announces that it was he who had the documents involved in the Danubegate scandal transferred to FIDESZ and SZDSZ. On the same day, he is suspended from his post.  
Miklós Németh says he himself requested documents on parties only when he was informed about incidents threatening the peaceful transition, for instance before the funeral of Imre Nagy, or before October 23.
- January 20.** Two thousand people demonstrate in front of the ministry of the interior against the slow investigation of the Danubegate scandal.  
The ticket offices are closed at the Déli railway station in Budapest because crowds of homeless people overrun the big waiting hall.  
Rupert Murdoch, the British media czar, buys up 50% of the shares of the newspapers *Mai Nap* and *Reform*.
- January 21.** The Council of Ministers dissolves main division 3, the state security office responsible for the illegal surveillance, of the ministry of the interior, effective immediately, and bans the use of any secret means and stops the destruction of documents.
- January 23.** Minister of the Interior István Horváth hands in his resignation. Miklós Németh calls for restraint on the part of political parties and asks them not to instigate hysteria in the future. The Prime Minister announces that negotiations will start soon on the full withdrawal of Soviet troops.
- January 25.** The Council of Ministers appoints present Deputy Minister Zoltán Gál Minister of the Interior.  
MSZP reports József Torgyán to the police because in one of his interviews he slandered the party by calling it fascist.  
The court sentences Roland Antoniewicz to a one year suspended imprisonment for disseminating Arrow-Cross posters.
- January 26.** The Parliament passes the modification of the Land Act, a law on the establishment of the State Property Agency, and another one on private enterprises.
- January 27.** Chairman Anna Petrasovics says at a meeting of the National Committee of the MSZDP that the relations of the party with SZDSZ and FIDESZ broke off because they have different views on privatization.
- January 29.** 30,000 people demonstrate at the initiation of the trade unions in front of the House of Parliament because of the worsening living conditions and unemployment.  
The presidency of MDF distances itself from any anti-Semitic manifestation, but it considers it unjustified to carry on the dispute in the media on the commentary made by István Csurka.

- February 1.** Negotiations start on the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
- February 2.** The Hungarian foreign minister calls the Rumanian leadership to suppress reviving nationalism.
- February 3.** Csaba Vass, member of the presidency of MSZP justifies the existence of the committee supervising the national media by stating that the political parties could not tolerate any more the autocracy of the MSZMP, and then later that of SZDSZ, in television.
- February 6.** The Council of Ministers and the Catholic episcopacy cancel the agreement made in 1950 after the Parliament legislated a law on freedom of religion and conscience and the churches.
- February 7.** An agreement is reached at the National Roundtable that the Parliament will deal only with the most important laws in the rest of its term.
- February 9.** The diplomatic relations broken off in 1945 between Hungary and the Vatican are restored.  
The liquidation of the Nógrád Coal Mines begins.
- February 10.** 15,000 people demonstrate in front of the House of Parliament demanding the freezing of selling and buying property.  
Imre Pozsgay states that if MSZP and the left are elbowed out of the political arena, then Hungary will not be heading towards Europe but in the direction of the Balkans.
- February 14.** Károly Grósz is met by furious demonstrators in Leninváros who start pushing him as he was on his way to participate in a local television discussion.
- February 16.** The Council of Ministers makes an apology to the Hungarian nation for the violations of law between 1945 and 1963. The codification of this apology will be submitted to the Parliament.  
MDF dissociates itself from those parties which hope an economic boom of the country will result from the immediate flow of foreign capital into the country and from the restoration of the ownership system of 1947. According to FIDESZ, the only way of economic development is the coalition of MDF and SZDSZ.
- February 19.** The Public Board of Audit maintains that the asset and liability statement submitted by MSZP in November is not suitable to reflect the real situation in September.
- February 20.** Gyula Horn thinks it is feasible that Hungary may become member of NATO in a few years.
- February 23.** The Chairman of the Hungarian National Bank says there is some uncertainty in foreign financial markets on the evaluation of Hungary; moreover, it is also said that the new government intends to declare insolvency.  
SZDSZ elects János Kis chairman of the party.
- February 25.** The Attorney General of the Independent Smallholders' Party, József Torgyán, states that his party will propose in the new coalition government that Hungary should quit the Warsaw Treaty Organization.
- February 26.** The ministerial officials involved in the Danubegate case are reprimanded, among them the former Minister of the Interior.
- February 27.** The National Election Committee draws the order of the 12 parties which have a national list of candidates: MDF, Hungarian People's

- Party, MSZMP, FKGP, FIDESZ, SZDSZ, Entrepreneurs' Party, MSZP, Agrarian Alliance, Patriotic Electoral Coalition, KDNP, MSZDP.
- February 28.** The Parliament approves of the asset and liability statement of MSZP, though it considers it incomplete.
- March 1.** The Parliament decides that the president of the country should be elected by the people and not by the newly elected Parliament. It turns out in the second round of expert negotiations that the positions of the Soviet and the Hungarian parties differ significantly on the final date of the withdrawal of troops.
- March 2.** Miklós Németh says in a debate on the wire-tapping case that certain former county leaders of MSZMP were preparing an armed coup d'état.
- March 4.** The National Association of Hungarian Trade Unions elects the former General Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions its chairman.
- March 5.** Representatives of the 12 parties having a national list of candidates form a committee to supervise the publicity of the election campaign.
- March 8.** MSZP announces that after the elections the party will move out of the building on Jászai Mari Square and will return it to the government.
- March 9.** The delegations agree in Moscow that Soviet troops will start withdrawing from Hungary on March 12 in Hajmáskér. Full withdrawal will be completed by June 30.
- March 10.** The leaders of MSZMP report Miklós Németh to the police for slander. In Moscow Shevardnadze and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn sign the interstate agreement on the full withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.
- March 14.** In its last solemn session, the Parliament elected in 1985 pronounces the unlawful trials between 1945 and 1963 null and void. The report on the wire-tapping scandal made by the ad hoc committee of the ministry of the interior is made public. The report says that the main aim of the security service was to explore the activities and plans of the political parties. The board of directors of the International Monetary Fund approves of the stand-by loan of 206 million USD to be granted to Hungary, which indicates that Hungary has managed to preserve its credit standing. It is announced that live television coverage of the March 15 celebrations is canceled.
- March 15.** In addition to nationwide memorial ceremonies, MDF, SZDSZ, and FIDESZ organize a torch-lit procession in the Castle area attended by tens of thousands.
- March 18.** According to the Publicity Club, the presidency of Hungarian Television and the supervisory committee aggressively interfere with the election campaign by canceling live coverage of the March 15 ceremonies.
- March 19.** The Council of Ministers pronounces April 4 a workday and October 23, the day of the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic, a national holiday.
- March 20.** Miklós Németh sends a message of protest to the Rumanian Prime Minister because the seat of the Hungarian organization in Marosvásárhely was devastated and several Hungarians were seriously assaulted, among them writer András Sütő. A mass demonstration is

- organized in Budapest on this occasion.  
MSZP reports József Torgyán to the police for agitation against the public.
- March 21.** A "Farewell to the Regime" party is thrown by FIDESZ in the Népstadion.
- March 25.** The day of the first free general elections since 1947. 65% of those having the right to vote participate in the elections. Voting brings final results in five electorates, in the other 171 a second round is needed. 152 representatives receive a mandate on the territorial party lists, another 58 on the national party lists. MDF receives 24.7% of the votes on the territorial lists, SZDSZ has 21.3%, the FKGP 11.7%, MSZP 10.8%.
- April 2.** The Axel Springer Budapest Publishing Company manages to buy several county newspapers owned by MSZMP.
- April 6.** The presidency of Hungarian Television resigns.
- April 8.** After the second round of the parliamentary elections the mandates are shared as follows: MDF 42.5%, SZDSZ 21.3%, the Independent Smallholders' Party 11.4%, MSZP 8.5%, FIDESZ 5.7%, the Christian Democratic People's Party 5.4%, the Agrarian Alliance 0.5%, independent candidates 1.5%.
- April 10.** The committee of MDF empowers the presidency of the party to start coalition negotiations in the first place with the FKGP and the KDNP. The German company GSB denies that it wanted to buy the Gerbaud Building in Budapest at a sacrifice price. SZDSZ has previously brought a legal action in the case.
- April 13.** On the basis of the agreement made by the parliamentary parties, Interim President Mátyás Szűrös convenes a statutory session of the House for May 2.
- April 14.** József Antall states that Hungary will presumably become a member of the Common Market between 1992 and 1995, and it will catch up with the average level of European economic development in about 10 years. In addition he brings up the idea that the possibility of quitting the Warsaw Treaty Organization should be investigated.
- April 15.** The Independent Smallholders' Party is planning to return 30% of usable land to its former owners.
- April 16.** For the first time in many decades, the Hungarian Prime Minister attends Easter mass in the Esztergom Basilica.
- April 17.** Imre Pozsgay is elected leader of the parliamentary caucus of MSZP.
- April 18.** FIDESZ is at a loss on learning about the proposal of MDF that the future government will give important expert posts to the young democrats.
- April 21.** At the Conference of Deputies of SZDSZ, Executive Chairman János Kis announces that SZDSZ will support the government only if it can submit a workable program to overcome the crisis instead of retreating into cheap demagoguery.
- April 23.** The spokesman of SZDSZ says that the party lays claim to the leading posts of the most important parliamentary committees.
- April 26.** The parliamentary parties agree that MDF can nominate four candidates, SZDSZ two, and the rest of the parties one candidate each to head the



permanent committees.

The foreign policy expert of MDF, Géza Jeszenszky, says that Hungary does not intend to repudiate its membership unilaterally in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, but it will start negotiations on the issue.

**April 27.**

Deputy Chairman of MDF Ferenc Kulin says that in most cases his party will not nominate its own representatives to head the ministries but rather internationally renowned experts who are not members of any party.

**April 29.**

MDF and SZDSZ sign an inter-party agreement.

**May 1.**

The first details of the MDF-SZDSZ pact are made public according to which the two parties have agreed that Árpád Göncz is elected Speaker of the House and György Szabad First Deputy Speaker. MDF and SZDSZ propose that both politicians should be nominated for the posts of president of the republic and speaker of the House respectively. The two parties jointly initiate that by modifying the constitution, the range of laws which require a majority of two-thirds should be narrowed.

According to the agreement, the Parliament only elects the Prime Minister of the government, the ministers are appointed by the President of the Republic at the nomination of the head of the government. The President also has the right to nominate the leaders of Hungarian Television, Hungarian Radio and the National News Agency.

At its statutory session, the new Parliament legislates a law commemorating the 1956 revolution and fight for freedom and declares October 23 a national holiday.

**May 3.**

Interim President of the Republic Árpád Göncz commissions József Antall to form a government.



POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY  
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Biographies



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## Biographies

### **Antall, József**

(b. April 8, 1932, Budapest – December 12, 1993, Budapest)

Antall earned degrees in history, Hungarian language and literature, as well as in archival, librarian, and museological studies at the Eötvös Loránd University in 1962. He was research fellow at the National Archives (Országos Levéltár) and in the Institute of Pedagogical Sciences, then teacher in Eötvös József High School.

In 1956, Antall participated in the reorganization of the Independent Smallholders' Party (Független Kisgazdapárt, FKgP), and was one of the founders of the Association of the Christian Youth (Keresztény Ifjúsági Szövetség). Because of his activity in the 1956 uprising, he was temporarily arrested and later dismissed from his job. Between 1957 and 1959 he taught at the Toldy Ferenc High School, and between 1960 and 1962 he was librarian at the Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár (Szabó Ervin Municipal Library). After 1964 senior research fellow, then deputy director, deputy director general, acting director general, and between 1984 and 1990, director general at the Semmelweis Museum of Medical History (Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum). He was the author of several books and hundreds of articles on political and medical history.

Antall was among the founding fathers of Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF), in 1989 member of the central board, then member of the presidency, since October 1989 party president. Participant in Opposition Roundtable (Ellenzéki Kerekasztal) and in the three sided political negotiations. On May 23, 1990, he was appointed Prime Minister of the Hungarian Republic, and he remained in this position until his death.

### **Áder, János**

(b. March 9, 1959, Csorna)

Áder graduated in law from Eötvös Lóránd University in 1983. Between 1985 and 1990, he was junior research fellow at the MTA Institute for Sociological Research (Szociológiai Kutató Intézet). Since its foundation in 1988, he has been member of the Federation of Young Democrats (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége, Fidesz), and in April 1993, he was elected vice president of the party. In the parliamentary elections of 1990 and 1994, he was chief organizer of the campaign. He has been member of parliament since 1990. He was elected vice president in 1997, and speaker of the Hungarian Parliament in June 1998.

**Baranyai, Tibor**

(b. August 26, 1925, Apagy)

Between 1945 and 1948, Baranyai pursued studies at the College of Social Sciences of the Social Democratic Party. In 1945, he was one of the leaders of Social Democratic Youth Movement (Szociáldemokrata Ifjúsági Mozgalom, SZIM). Between 1945 and 1947, he worked for the National Council of Trade Unions (Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa, SZOT), and the periodicals *Ifjúmunkás* and *Fiatalok*. During the same period, he was supplementary MP.

In 1948, he emigrated to Austria, then moved to Switzerland. Between 1949 and 1951, he worked as a tailor in Sweden, then as a printer and correspondent at the Hungarian journal *Az Ember* in New York. In 1950, he was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in exile. In 1951 he settled in Canada, worked as tailor, store keeper, dry cleaner, shop manager, editor, and insurance agent. In 1956 his writings were published in *Irodalmi Újság* in Paris and in *Népszava* in London. In 1964, Baranyai returned to Hungary, and until 1969, he was electric ironer at the Cloth Cleaning Cooperative (Ruhatisztító Szövetkezet), then until his retirement in 1985 he worked for the State Insurance Company (Állami Biztosító).

In 1989, Baranyai was elected vice-president of Social Democratic Party of Hungary (Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt, MSZDP), later member of the party presidency. He was editor of the social-democrat *Népszava* and was delegated by his party to the negotiations of the Opposition Roundtable (Ellenzéki Kerekasztal) and the National Roundtable (Nemzeti Kerekasztal).

**Boross, Imre**

(b. April 14, 1926, Szombathely)

Boross has a law degree from the University of Pécs. Between 1946 and 1948, he was a journalist of *Nyugati Kis Újság* in Szombathely. In 1951 was expelled from the National Association of Hungarian Journalists (Magyar Újságírók Szövetsége, MUOSZ). Until 1958, when was expelled from the Chamber of Lawyers, worked as a company lawyer. Later, he was clerk, legal adviser and freelance lawyer. His writings were published in the dailies *Magyar Nemzet* and *Magyar Hírlap*.

Between 1945 and 1948, the year of his expulsion, Boross was member of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKgP). In 1988, he took part in the re-organization of the the party, in 1989 became prosecutor and was elected member of the political committee. He was delegated by his party to the negotiations of the Opposition Roundtable and the National Roundtable. In 1990 he resigned from the Independent Smallholders' Party, and was one of the founders of Nemzeti Kisgazdapárt (National Smallholders' Party), member of the leadership, secretary-general. He resigned from the latter party in 1993. In the elections of 1990 he was the candidate of the National Smallholders' Party, and in 1994 he was the candidate of Agrárszövetség (Agrarian Association).

**Bruszt, László**

(b. April 6, 1953, Budapest)

Bruszt earned degrees from in business management (1974), in journalism (1978) and in sociology (1981). He attended the University of Columbia, USA, in 1984, and the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, in the year of 1987-1988.

Between 1974 and 1978 Bruszt worked as a manufacturing manager at Elektroakusztikai Gyár (Electronic Acoustics Co.), then until 1982 he was a journalist of foreign affairs in the editorial staff of MTI (Hungarian News Agency). Since 1982, he has been a researcher at the MTA Szociológiai Intézet (Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences). He is currently professor at the Department of Political Sciences of the Central European University, Budapest.

In 1988, he played an active role in the organization of the alliance of the independent trade unions. Since 1989 he has been representative of Független Szakszervezetek Demokratikus Szövetsége (Democratic League of the Independent Trade Unions), and in 1989 he was delegated by the League to the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

**Csurka, István**

(b. March 27, 1934, Budapest)

Csurka earned a degree in drama at Színház és Filmművészeti Főiskola (College of Theater and Film Art) in Budapest. During the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was leader of the college's armed forces, therefore later was under surveillance and interned to Kistarcsa.

Csurka earned his living by writing dramas and short stories, wrote approximately 20 books and 20 dramas, and regularly published newspaper articles. In 1972 he started to work for the daily *Magyar Nemzet*, and was feuilletonist until 1986. In 1985 he participated in the organization of the Monor meeting of the opposition, where he gave a lecture. Between 1989 and 1990, he was editor-in-chief of *Magyar Fórum*, and since 1991 he has been president of the editorial board and manager director of Magyar Fórum Kft (Magyar Forum Ltd.).

Csurka was one of the initiators and founding fathers of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum). Between 1988 and 1993, he was member of the party presidency. In 1991, he was elected member of the managing board of the presidency, later vice president of the party. In 1993 was expelled from MDF. Founded Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja (MIÉP, Hungarian Truth and Life Party), where was elected member of the presidency, then co-president, since 1994 president of the party. He was MP between 1990 and 1994, and he is currently the head of the MIÉP caucus in Parliament.

**Fejti, György**

(b. March 10, 1946, Sátoraljaújhely)

Fejti graduated from Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem (BME, Technical University of Budapest). Between 1969 and 1972 he was assistant lecturer at BME.

Between 1972 and 1976, he worked for the Central Committee of KISZ (Communist Youth Federation), and then for three years he was secretary of the Central Committee. Between 1979 and 1980 he was deputy head of department in the Central Committee of Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt (MSZMP, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, HSWP), then between 1980 and 1984 first secretary of the CC of KISZ. During the next four years, he was first secretary of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Committee of the party. He was member of the MSZMP CC between 1980 and 1989, and secretary of the CC between 1987 and 1989.

In 1989 he was member of MSZMP's delegation in the negotiations of Nemzeti Kerekasztal (National Roundtable).

### **Fodor, Gábor**

(b. September 27, 1962, Gyöngyös)

Fodor graduated in law from Eötvös Loránd University in 1987. Between 1988 and 1989, he was tutor at Bibó István Szakkolégium (Bibó István College), Budapest. Since 1990, he has been assistant lecturer at the Department of Philosophy at the Law Faculty of Eötvös Loránd University.

Fodor was one of the founders of Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége (Fidesz, Federation of Young Democrats). Between March and October 1988 he was member of the central board. In the summer of 1989, he was delegated by his party to the negotiations of the roundtable talks. In November 1993 he resigned from Fidesz and gave back his mandate as MP which he had won on the party list.

Since 1994 MP of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). Since October 1994, he has been member of SZDSZ, and since November 1996, executive of the party.

He was Minister of Education and Culture in the Horn government, between July 1994 and December 1995.

### **Füzessy Tibor**

(b. September 14, 1928, Sashalom)

Between 1946 and 1947, Füzessy studied student of Hittudományi Főiskola (Theological College) in Szeged. Graduated in law from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, in 1951. In 1953 he became an assistant clerk at the county court in Székesfehérvár, then worked as legal advisor at the Coal Mines of Komló, later at the financial department, as chief accountant. Between 1962 and 1968, he was public prosecutor at Fővárosi Főügyészség (Budapest Prosecutor's Office), then until his retirement in 1989, at the Supreme Prosecutor's Office.

Füzessy was one of the founding fathers of Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP, Christian Democratic People's Party). Between 1989 and 1990, he was the vice president of the party. He was delegated by his party to the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable) and Nemzeti Kerekasztal (National Roundtable). In 1995 he was elected managing vice president, in 1996 vice president of KDNP. His membership in the party was canceled in 1998 when inner party conflicts reemerged after the failure of the KDNP in the general elections.



Füzessy was member of parliament between 1990 and 1998, head of the KDNP caucus between 1990 and 1992, and later between 1994 and 1995, and vice president of the Parliament between April 1996 and July 1997 when KDNP fraction broke up. He was minister without portfolio supervising the civil secret agencies in the Antall and Boross governments.

### **Gaskó István**

(b. July 21, 1954, Sajószentpéter)

Between 1972 and 1975 Gaskó studied at Távközlési és Műszaki Főiskola (Telecommunications and Technical College), and graduated from Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences) in 1986. Between 1975 and 1990 Gaskó worked as civil servant at MÁV (Hungarian Railway Company).

In 1989 he became member of the Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt (MSZDP, Social Democratic Party of Hungary), and between 1989 and 1990, was vice president of the party. He was head of the MSZDP delegation in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable) and Nemzeti Kerekasztal (National Roundtable). In 1990 he was expelled from the party.

Gaskó was one of the founders of Vasúti Dolgozók Szabad Szakszervezete (Free Trade Union of Railway Workers), established in 1989, and he has been president since 1991. Between 1993 and 1994, he was vice president of Független Szakszervezetek Demokratikus Ligája (Democratic League of the Independent Trade Unions), since 1996, he has been president.

### **Grósz, Károly**

(b. August 1, 1930, Miskolc)

Grósz started attending the College of the Socialist Party in 1959 and graduated in 1961. Then he received his degree in scientific socialism at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Eötvös Loránd University in 1967. He works as a typographer between 1946–48. In 1950 he was a political fellow of the central committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party. He works as a professional army officer between 1950–54. He was assigned as a head of the propaganda office of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the Borsod County Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party between 1954–58. Between 1958–59 he is the managing editor of the *Észak-Magyarország*. He was a political fellow of the propaganda office of the Central Committee of the MSZMP in 1961. He was the secretary of the MSZMP Committee of the Hungarian Radio and Television between 1962–68. He was the vice departmental head of the propaganda office of the Central Committee between 1968–73. In 1973 he is the general secretary of Fejér County, between 1974–79 he was the departmental head of the propaganda office of the Central Committee. Between 1979–84 he was the general secretary of Borsod County, between 1984–87 he is the general secretary of Budapest County. Between 1987–88 he is the president of the Council of Ministers, between 1988–89 he is the general secretary of the MSZMP. Between 1980–89 he is a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, between 1985–89 he was a member of the Political Executive Committee. Between 1988–90 he is a parliamentary representative.

In October, 1989 he did not switch his MSZMP membership into a membership to the Hungarian Socialist Party. He became a member of the Central Committee of the reorganized MSZMP, then he withdrew from public activities. He died on the 7th of January, 1996.

### **Hack Péter**

(b. August 15, 1959, Budapest)

Hack graduated in law from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest in 1983. Since 1983 he has been lecturer, and since 1989, assistant professor at the Faculty of Law, Eötvös Loránd University.

In 1988 he joined the Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Alliance of Free Initiations), and was one of the founders of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). Since 1992 member of the executive board of the party.

Since 1990 he has been member of parliament representing the SZDSZ.

### **Haraszti Miklós**

(b. January 2, 1945, Jerusalem)

Haraszti graduated in history and philosophy from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. In the 1960's he published poems, songs, and articles in literary journals. In 1969-70 he took part in a student conspiracy, therefore was put under surveillance.

Between 1970 and 1971 he worked as miller in Ganz Mávag and Vörös Csillag factories. In 1973 the manuscript of his book *Darabbér* (Piece wage) was confiscated by the police on the pretext of seditious agitation. He was sentenced to 8 months of suspended imprisonment. In 1981 he was founding editor of the illegal periodical *Beszélő*.

In 1988 he was one of the founders and executives of Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of Free Initiations) and Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats).

In 1988-1989 he was visiting professor in Bard College, USA and in 1994 in Chicago.

Between 1990 and 1994 he was member of parliament representing the SZDSZ.

### **Hegedűs, András B.**

(b. 1930, Budapest)

He started his studies at the Marx Károly University of Economics in 1949 and earned a degree in economics and teaching in 1953.

Between 1953 and 1957 he was assistant professor at the Eötvös Loránd University. He was a member of MADISZ since 1945, entered the Hungarian Communist Party in 1946, participated in the youth movement and was a secretary of the student association of the Eötvös József High School. From 1953 he supported Nagy Imre's politics. In 1956 he was one of the secretaries of the Petőfi Circle and was involved in organizing the discussions of the Petőfi Circle. He coordinated many discussions. On the 23rd of October, 1956 he represented the Petőfi Circle in the negotiations that were held in the center of the Party and were aimed at getting a permission for holding a demonstration. During the uprising he was involved in the activities of the MÉFB and he was present when the re-

establishment of the Petőfi Circle was attempted. After the 4th of November he turned against the Soviet occupation and the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. In 1957 he was removed from the university after a disciplinary procedure. He worked in the Central Statistical Office for one year. He was arrested in October, 1958. On the 1st of April, 1959 the Supreme Court sentenced him to a 2 year long imprisonment in the Ferenc Mérei and fellows trial. He was released in 1960.

He was unemployed for a while, then he took translation jobs. Between 1963 and 1978 he worked as an economist in various industrial research institutes. In 1978 he was a fellow of the Center for Higher Education (Felsőoktatási Pedagógiai Központ) and in the eighties he was affiliated as a research fellow with the Central and Eastern European Academic Research Center (Közép-kelet-európai Akadémiai Kutatási Központ). In 1979 he signed the Charta '77 statement that meant to express solidarity with the imprisoned members of the Czechoslovakian civil rights movement. Due to that he was removed from his status. In 1981 there was a meeting of 12 participants of the 1956 uprising, where the participants retold their memories about the 1956 uprising for the first time. He established (with Gyula Kozák) the Oral History Archive in 1985. He was one of the organizers and speakers of the illegal conference on the 1956 uprising that was held in December, 1986 in the apartment of István Eörsi. The Committee for Historical Justice (TIB) was established under illegal circumstances in his apartment in 1988 and he became the first secretary of it, later becoming its managing vice president. He resigned from his position in TIB in 1992. He was one of the organizers of the reburial of Imre Nagy and his martyr fellows that was held on the 16th of June, 1989. He was one of the founders of the 1956 Institute in 1990 and he became a managing director of the institute. He was rehabilitated after the political transition and taught as an assistant professor at the Department of Economic and Social History of Eötvös Loránd University.

### **Horn, Gyula**

(b.1932, Budapest)

He earned his degree at the College of Economics and Finance in Rostov in 1954. He graduated from the College of Politics of the MSZMP in 1970. Since 1977 he has been a professor of economics.

He was an office boy between 1943–46, then he was an apprentice in mechanics. Between 1954 and 59 he was a rapporteur in chief in the Ministry of Finance. Between the end of October and the beginning of November of 1956 he was a member of the National Guard, from December, 1956 until June, 1957 he served at the Armed Guard (karhatalmi őrszolgálat). In 1959 he became an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1961 and 63 he served as an attache in Sophia, between 1963 and 69 in Belgrade. While serving abroad he was appointed as the secretary of the embassy, then councilor. Between 1969 and 85 he was employed as a fellow, then vice section-chief, then section chief at the Office of Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. Between 1985 and he was an under-secretary of the state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989 and he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1989–90.

He has been a member of the Hungarian Workers' Party (Magyar Dolgozók Pártja) since 1954, and became a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party since 1956. He was a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP between 1985 and 89. He has been a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party since October of 1989. He was the

president of the party between May, 1990 and September, 1998. Between 1994 and 1998 he was the Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary.

### **Keresztes Sándor**

(b. March 9, 1919, Magyarókerék)

Keresztes earned university degrees at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1943 and the University of Pécs in 1962. Between 1945 and 1947 he worked as civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior.

In November 1944 Keresztes joined the Demokrata Néppárt (Democratic People's Party), between 1946 and 1947 he was member of the executive committee, and between 1947 and 1948 member of parliament.

Between 1949 and 1950, he earned his living by sock-knitting. After 1950 he was collector at the publishing house of the literary journal *Új Ember*, stoker, later became the head of the publishing office. In 1953 organized Solidaritas Háziipari Szövetkezet („Solidaritas” home-craft corporation) which offered job for the former friars. He was also legal advisor to Szent István Társulat. In 1956 Keresztes was one of the re-organizers of his party, and in 1957 was interned for four months.

In March 1989, he joined the Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP, Christian Democratic People's Party). He was head of the organization committee, between 1989 and 1990 president of the party, between 1990 and 1997 honorary president. Between 1990 and 1994, he was ambassador of the Hungarian Republic in the Vatican and at the Malta Order of Knights. Between 1994 and 1997 he was member of parliament representing the KDNP. Because of the inner conflicts within the KDNP, he suspended his membership in the party in October 1997.

### **Kende, Péter**

(b. 1927, Budapest)

He was a law-student from 1945, then studied at the Department of History and Sociology at the Eötvös Lóránd University. He became a member of the Hungarian Communist Party and between 1945 and in 1946 he was the editor of the youth edition of the party's newspaper. From March, 1947 he was a journalist of the *Szabad Nép*, later the editor in foreign affairs. He supported Imre Nagy's politics from 1953. In October, 1954 in a party meeting of the *Szabad Nép* that had a revolutionary atmosphere he attacked the politics of the editors and of the party. As a result he was removed from his position in 1955 and was transferred to Szeged. After the outbreak of the uprising he became an editor to the *Magyar Szabadság* that was issued first on the 30th of October. In November and December together with Miklós Gimes he was a journalist and editor to the illegal, opposition newspaper titled *Október 23*. Trying to escape from the wave of arrests he left Hungary in January, 1957.

After the uprising he settled in Paris and earned a Ph.D. in sociology. He published numerous papers and books in French on Eastern-European socialism. He was one of the editors of the collection of documents entitled “The Truth in the Imre Nagy Case” that was published in 1958 and translated into many languages. Between 1959 and 1964 he was a member of the workshop of the Imre Nagy Institute in Brussels. In 1978 he established the Hungarian Notes (*Magyar Füzetek*) in Paris that he edited until 1989. Between 1962 and

1989 he was a political publicist of the Literary Journal (*Irodalmi Újság*) published in Paris . From 1983 he was the vice president of the Hungarian League of Civil Rights. Until 1993 he worked as a researcher, political publicist and professor until 1993, when he retired from the French State Scientific Center (CNRS). Since 1993 he has been teaching at the Faculty of Humanities at Eötvös Lóránd University and at the Political School of the End of the Century (Századvég Politikai Iskola). He is an honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the President of the council of the 1956 Institute.

### **Király, Béla**

(b.1912, Kaposvár)

After graduating from high school he was granted a scholarship to the Ludovika Cadet School in 1940. In 1942 he graduated from the Military Academy with honor. He worked for the Ministry of Defence as a captain. In the summer of 1942 he was ordered to service in the field to 2nd Hungarian Army. In 1944 he was temporarily ordered to serve in the 8th field reserve army as a staff-officer. From here he was transferred in October, 1944 to the 1st Hungarian Army that was fighting in Kárpátalja, then to his own request he was transferred back to his original post. In March, 1945 he volunteered to be the commanding officer to the defense group that was defending Kőszeg. In the end of March he went over to the Soviet's side and he became a prisoner of war, but when he was being deported to the Soviet Union, he escaped. After returning he became a member of the MKP in the summer of 1945. In the beginning of 1946 he became lieutenant-colonel of the democratic army. From 1947 he was the head of the Training Section of the HM, then from 1948 he was the deputy commanding officer of the Infantry of the Hungarian Army, from 1949 he was appointed as the commanding officer. From April 1950 he was the head of the training of higher officers, from September he was a commanding officer of the Military Academy in the rank of brigadier-general. He was arrested in the summer of 1951 with trumped charges of seditious acts and being a war-criminal. The Military Court of Budapest sentenced him to death-penalty in January. After appealing the sentence was changed and he was sentenced for life and his military rank was confiscated. He was released on the 2nd of September, 1956. He was given back his military rank on the 30th of October and a day later he was rehabilitated by the Supreme Court. On the 30th of October he was the president of the Preparational Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Armed Forces. Then he became the president of the Revolutionary Committee of the Armed Forces. On the 31st of October he was appointed the chief commanding officer of the National Guard and the chief military officer of Budapest. On the 4th of November following the order of Imre Nagy he ordered the Hungarian Armed Forces not to resist against the Soviet Army. After the battle of nagykovácsi he escaped to Austria. In January, 1957 he was appointed to be the vice president of the Hungarian Revolutionary Council in Strasbourg.

He emigrated to the United States. He established the Hungarian Committee and in April, 1957 The Alliance for the War of Independence (National Guard). In September, 1957 he started his studies at Columbia University and earned a degree there. He earned a Ph.D. in history in 1962 and taught at Brooklyn College. From 1966 he resigned from the circle of Hungarian emigrants and became involved in scholarly research and teaching. He became a professor of military history in the graduate programs of Brooklyn College and the City University of New York. He was appointed as a professor emeritus in 1994, colonel of Kentucky State and honorary freeman of Baton Rouge and Maryland. He made a speech at

the reburial ceremony of Imre Nagy and his fellows on the 16th of June, 1989. His Hungarian citizenship was returned and was appointed colonel-general. Between 1990 and 1994 he was an independent parliamentary representative.

**Kis, János**

(b. 1943, Budapest)

Kis graduated in philosophy from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest in 1967. Between 1967 and 1973 he was research fellow at MTA Filozófiai Intézet (Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). In 1973 he was expelled from the MSzMP, laid off and put on prohibition list in course of a political „purification” among philosophers and social scientists. Kis was an active participant of the democratic opposition. During the 1980's he was editor of the illegal periodical *Beszélő*. In the year of 1988-1989 he was visiting professor at the New School for Social Research in New York. He is currently professor at the Department of Political Sciences of CEU, Budapest.

In 1988 he was an executive of Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of Free Initiations) and was one of the founders of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). Between 1990 and 1991, he was president of SZDSZ.

**Kónya, Imre**

(b. May 3, 1947, Budapest)

Kónya graduated in law from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1971. Between 1971 and 1973 he worked as assistant lawyer, between 1973 and 1990 as lawyer. He was one of the initiators of Független Jogász Fórum (Independent Lawyers' Forum), which was established in November 1988, and later he became the leader of the Forum. In March 1989 it was following the proposal of the Forum that Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (EKA, Opposition Roundtable) came into existence. Until July 1989 Kónya lead the sessions of the negotiations. He was delegated by EKA to the committee, established by the three sided political negotiations, in charge of the elaboration of the proposals regarding the modification of the Constitution.

Between 1988 and 1996, he was member of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum). In 1990 he was elected into the presidency, and between 1993 and 1994 he was vice president of MDF.

He was member of parliament between 1990 and 1998. Between 1990 and 1993 he was head of the MDF caucus. In December 1993 he was appointed Minister of the Interior in the Boross government. In March 1996 he joined Magyar Demokrata Néppárt (MDNP, Hungarian Democratic People's Party), a new party which separated from the MDF.

**Mrs. Kósa, Kovács Magda**

(b. 1940, Budapest)

She started her university studies at the Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen in 1959. She earned her degree at the Department of Hungarian and French Linguistics and Literature of the Eötvös Lóránd University in 1964.

Between 1964 and 72 she taught in the Leövey Klára High School and worked as a research fellow for the Institute of Literary Studies. Between 1972 and 74 she was the deputy-director of the High school for Budapest Workers.

Between 1967 and 89 she was a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Between 1974 and 77 she worked for the MSZMP Committee of the 9th district. Between 1977 and 85 she was the secretary of the Council of Higher Education of the Trade Union of the Teachers. Later she was appointed as a secretary of the central committee of the same organization. She was a member of the Hungarian and Soviet Circle of Friends and the Presidential Council of the Patriotic People's Front. From September, 1985 and March, 1990 she was one of the leaders of the National Council of the Trade Unions. In the summer of 1989 she participated the Opposition Roundtable as a representative of the SZOT within the delegation of the Third Side.

Since the October, 1989 she has been a member of the Hungarian Socialist Part, and between 1996 and 98 she was the managing director of the party. Since 1990 she has been a parliamentary representative. Between 1994 and 95 she was the Minister of Labor of the Horn-Government.

### **Kövér, László**

(b. December 29, 1959, Pápa)

Kövér graduated in law from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1986. Between 1984 and 1988 he was tutor at Bibó István Szakkollégium (Bibó István College). In 1988 was one of the founders of Fialat Demokraták Szövetsége (FIDESZ, Alliance of Young Democrats). Participant in Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

Since 1990 he has been member of parliament representing the FIDESZ, and since 1997 managing vice president of the party (renamed Magyar Polgári Párt or Hungarian Civic Party in 1995). Since June 1998 he has been Minister of the Supervision of the Secret Agencies in the Orbán government.

### **Litván, György**

(b. 1929, Budapest)

He was born in a middle class intellectual family. His father, József Litván participated in the 1918–19 revolution. He joined the circle of the bourgeois radicals. Between 1946 and 1950 he studied history and political economics at the Eötvös Lóránd University. He served in the army between 1950 and 1952. He taught as a high school teacher until 1957, and he was the deputy director of the High school of Hotel and Catering Trade. Between 1947 and 1956 he was a member of the MKP, then the MDP, he was active in the youth and university student movement, and later in the party education. In 1954 he joined Imre Nagy's party opposition. On the 23rd of March, 1956 in the party meeting of the 13th district he was the first to demand the dismissal of Mátyás Rákosi who was present in the meeting from his position. He made a speech in the Petőfi Circle within the discussion on historians and teachers.

After the uprising he joined the MÉFB and became a member of the national committee of the 12th district. After the 4th of November he became active in opposition movement of revisionist and social-democratic intellectuals such as György Ádám, Sándor Fekete, Pál Justus, Miklós Gimes, Péter Kende, Jenő Széll, Zoltán Zsámboky, etc. He participated in

establishing the Hungarian Democratic Independence Movement and was active in it. Because of this on the 1st of April, 1959 he was sentenced by the Supreme Court into 6 years in prison in the trial of Ferenc Mérei and associates. He was released in 1962. Between 1963 and 1971 he works as a librarian of the Árpád High School, then became a teacher there and also worked for the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1981 he participated in an illegal roundtable discussion about the history of the uprising, which lasted for months. He was one of the organizers and speakers of the illegal conference on the 1956 uprising that was held in December, 1986 in the apartment of István Eörsi. In 1988 he was one of the founders of the TIB. Since 1991 he has been the director of the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Since 1995 he has been a professor at the Sociological Institute of the Eötvös Lóránd University. His research field is the Hungarian society and political thinking at the beginning of the century, the political and diplomatic processes that led to Trianon and the history of the 1956 Revolution and the last 50 years.

### **Magyar, Bálint**

(b. November 15, 1952, Budapest)

Magyar earned degrees in sociology, history, and English from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1977.

Magyar worked as researcher at the Eastern European Department of MTA Világgazdasági Kutatóintézete (Institute of the World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). Between 1982 and 1987 he was research fellow at Szövetkezeti Kutatóintézet (Research Institute of the Cooperatives), where his field of interest was the social history of the Hungarian villages. Between 1982 and 1988 he was editor of *Medvetánc*, a social science journal. Between 1988 and 1990 he worked at Pénzügykutató Rt. (Financial Research Institute Ltd.)

Magyar joined the democratic opposition in 1979.

In 1988 he was one of the founding fathers of Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of the Free Initiatives) and the Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). In 1989 he participated in the political negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable) and Nemzeti Kerekasztal (National Roundtable). In the parliamentary elections of 1990 and 1994, he was chief organizer of the campaign.

Since 1990 he has been member of parliament representing the SZDSZ.

Between 1996 and 1998 he was Minister of Education and Culture in the Horn government.

In June 1998 he was elected president of SZDSZ.

### **Mécs, Imre**

(b. September 4, 1933, Budapest)

Mécs graduated in electric engineering from Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem (Technical University of Budapest) in 1957.

In 1956 took an active part in the Revolution, and after the collapse, in the intellectual underground. In 1957 was arrested and in 1958 was sentenced to death. The sentence was



changed into lifetime imprisonment in 1959. In 1963 was released with amnesty. After his release, Mécs worked as an engineer.

In 1970 Mécs joined the democratic opposition. In 1983 he was laid off because he held a speech at the burial of his comrade who had also been sentenced to death. Between 1984 and 1989 he participated in the Duna Kör Movement. In 1988 he was one of the founders of Történelmi Igazságtétel Bizottsága (Committee for Historical Justice) and Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of Independent Initiations). He was also one of the founding fathers of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats).

Since 1990 he has been member of parliament representing the SZDSZ.

### **Németh, Miklós**

(b. January 24, 1948, Monok)

Németh graduated from Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (MKKE, Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences) in 1971. Between 1971 and 1977 assistant lecturer, then lecturer at MKKE. Between 1974 and 1975 he studied at Harvard University, USA as an IREX scholar.

Between 1977 and 1981 Németh was deputy head of department at Országos Tervhivatal (National Planning Institute), then he worked for the department of economic policy of MSZMP CC. In 1986 he became deputy head and head of department. Between 1987 and 1988 he was secretary in charge of economic policy of MSZMP CC. Between 1989 and 1990 he was president of the Council of Ministers.

Between 1987 and 1989 Németh was member of MSZMP CC, and between 1988 and 1989 member of MSZMP PC. In October 1989, in the founding congress of Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP), he was elected to the presidency. Resigned from this function in December.

Between 1988 and 1991 he was member of parliament representing the MSZMP and MSZP.

Since 1991 he has been working as vice president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

### **Nyers, Rezső**

(b. March 21, 1923, Budapest)

Nyers graduated from the Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences).

Between 1938 and 1942 he was type setter and printer, and between 1946 and 1947 he worked for the publishing house of *Népszava*.

In 1940 Nyers joined the Szociáldemokrata Párt (SZDP, Social Democratic Party).

Between 1947 and 1948 he was deputy secretary, later secretary of the Pest county branch of SZDP. Between 1948 and 1954 he was supplementary member of Magyar Dolgozók Pártja KV (MDP KV, CC of the Hungarian Workers' Party). Between 1951 and 1954 he was chief head of department in Belkereskedelmi Minisztérium (Ministry of Domestic Trade). In 1954 he was appointed vice president of SZÖVOSZ (National Alliance of Cooperatives), then in 1957 president.

Between July and October in 1956 he was Minister of Food Industry, after November Commissioner of Provision in the Kádár government. Between 1960 and 1962 he was Minister of Finance.

He was member of MSZMP CC between 1957 and 1989. Between 1962 and 1974 he was secretary of the MSZMP CC, and in the years of 1962-1966, supplementary member of MSZMP PC, in 1966-1974 member of MSZMP PC.

He elaborated the so-called New Economic Mechanism.

Between 1974 and 1981 he was head of MTA Közgazdaságtudományi Intézete (Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Science).

In 1988 he was one of the founders of Új Márciusi Front (New March Front).

Between 1988 and 1989 he was state minister and member of the MSZMP PC. Between October 1989 and May 1990 he was president of Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party).

He was member of parliament between 1948 and 1953, and between 1958 and 1998.

### **Orbán, Viktor**

(b. May. 31, 1963, Székesfehérvár)

Orbán graduated in law from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1987. He was one of the founders of Bibó István Szakkollégium (Bibó István Special College) and the journal *Századvég*.

In March 1988 he was one of the founders of Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége (Fidesz, Federation of Young Democrats), and became one of its spokesman. He represented his party in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

Since 1993, he has been president of Fidesz (since April 1995 under the name Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Párt - Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party), and since 1992, one of the vice presidents of the Liberal International. Since 1990 he has been member of parliament representing the Fidesz.

In July 1998 he was appointed Prime Minister of the Hungarian Republic.

### **Pető, Iván**

(b. August 29, 1946, Budapest)

Pető earned degrees in Hungarian language and literature, as well as in history at the Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1970.

Pető worked as researcher at the Új Magyar Központi Levéltár (New Hungarian Central Archives), and in 1986 he became senior fellow. Between 1980 and 1989 lecturer at Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences). His field of interest is postwar Hungarian history, especially economic history.

In the 1970s, Pető joined the democratic opposition. He was one of the founding fathers of Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of Free Initiatives) and of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). In 1989, he represented SZDSZ in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable). Between Autumn 1992 and Spring 1997, he was president of SZDSZ. In 1994, he was elected one of the vice presidents of the Liberal International. Since 1990, he has been MP of SZDSZ.

**Petrasovics, Anna**

(b. 1954, Budapest)

Petrasovics graduated from Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences). Since 1979 she has been lecturer at Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem (Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences), her field of interest is the developing countries.

In 1989, Petrasovics joined the Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt (MSZDP, Hungarian Social Democratic Party). In a short time, she became an executive, then the president of the party. In 1992 the national committee of the party deprived her of all her duties, and was expelled from the party.

**Pozsgay, Imre**

(b. November 26, 1933, Kóny)

Pozsgay studied in the Lenin Institute in Moscow.

Between 1957 and 1965 he worked for the Bács-Kiskun County Committee of MSZMP. Between 1969 and 1971 he was head of the MSZMP press department. Between 1971 and 1975 he was deputy editor of *Társadalmi Szemle*. In 1975 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Culture, and in 1980 Minister of Culture. Between 1982 and 1988 he was secretary general of the National Council of Hazafias Népfront (Patriotic Peoples' Front). Between 1980 and 1989 he was member of MSZMP CC, and between 1988 and 1989 member of MSZMP PC. He headed the MSZMP delegation in the National Roundtable negotiations.

Between 1989 and 1990 he was member of the presidency of Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party), and between May and November 1990 he was vice president. At the end of 1990 he left MSZP.

In 1991 he established the Nemzeti Demokrata Szövetség (NDSZ; National Democratic Alliance). He was one of the executives, and later the president of the Alliance, until 1996. Since 1997 he has been a political expert of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum).

He was member of parliament between 1983 and 1994, representing the MSZMP, the MSZP, and the NDSZ.

Since 1991 professor at Kossuth Lajos University, Debrecen.

**Prepeliczay, István**

(b. February 16, 1936, Miskolc)

Prepeliczay graduated from Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem (Technical University of Budapest) in 1970. He worked as technician at Borsodi Szénbányászati Tröszt (Coal Mining Co., Borsod) between 1954 and 1955. In 1955, he was arrested and sentenced to two years imprisonment because of subversive activity. After his release, he worked as electrician, farmer, quality controller, and designer.

In 1988 he was one of the re-organizers of Független Kisgazdapárt (FKgP, Independent Smallholders' Party). He represented his party in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable). Between 1989 and 1990, he was secretary general of FKgP, and between 1990 and 1994 MP of FKgP.

**Salamon, László**

(b. December 25, 1947, Budapest)

Salamon earned a law degree at Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1972. Between 1972 and 1974, he was assistant lawyer, then freelance lawyer.

In 1989, Salamon joined Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum), and was a legal expert of the Forum in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

He has been member of parliament since 1990. He represented the MDF until 1996, between 1994 and 1996 as vice president of the Parliament. Since December 1996, he has been MP of Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Párt (Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party).

**Sólyom, László**

(b. January 3, 1942, Pécs)

Sólyom graduated in law from the Janus Pannonius University in Pécs in 1964. Between 1965 and 1966, he worked at the court of Kispest. Between 1966 and 1969 he was assistant lecturer at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, then between 1969 and 1983 research fellow at MTA Állam és Jogtudományi Intézete (Institute of Legal and Juridical Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). Since 1983 he has been professor at the Department of Civil Rights of the Faculty of Law, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest. During the 1980s Sólyom was legal advisor to various non-official environmental movements, and was participant of *Duna Kör* (Danube Circle). He was one of the founding fathers of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum), and represented his party in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable). Between 1989 and 1990, he was vice president, and between 1990 and 1998 president of the Constitutional Court.

**Szabad, György**

(b. August 4, 1924, Arad (Oradea), Romania)

Szabad graduated in history and archival studies from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1950. Between 1949 and 1951 he was assistant archivist at Országos Levéltár (National Archives), between 1951 and 1954 researcher at the Faculty of Arts, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, then lecturer at the Department of Modern History. Since 1970, he has been university professor, and DPhil. His field of interest is the transformation of Hungarian civil society in the 19th century.

Szabad was one of the founding fathers of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum), and between 1989 and 1994, he was member of the presidency. He represented MDF in the negotiations of the three sided political negotiation and of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

Between 1990 and 1996 he was member of parliament representing the MDF, and between 1990 and 1994, president of the Parliament. In March 1996 he joined Magyar Demokrata Néppárt (MDNP, Hungarian Democratic People's Party), a new party which separated from the MDF. Between 1996 and 1998, he was MP of MDNP.

**Szűrös, Mátyás**

(b. September 11, 1933, Püspökladány)

Szűrös was a student at the Institute of International Affairs, Moscow between 1953 and 1959. Between 1959 and 1962 he was officer, later senior officer in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1962 and 1965 he was third secretary of the Hungarian embassy in Berlin. During the next ten years, he worked for the department of foreign affairs of MSZMP CC, in 1974-75 as deputy head of department.

Between 1975 and 1978 he was Hungarian ambassador in Berlin, and between 1978 and 1982 ambassador in Moscow. After his return, he was head of the department of foreign affairs of the MSZMP CC. Between 1978 and 1989 he was member of the MSZMP CC, and in 1983 he was appointed secretary of the MSZMP CC. In 1989 he joined Magyar Szocialista Párt (Hungarian Socialist Party).

He has been member of parliament since 1985. In 1989 he was elected president of the Parliament, and until May 1990 he acted as temporary president of the Hungarian Republic. Between 1990 and 1994 he was vice president of the Hungarian Parliament.

**Tamás, Gáspár Miklós**

(b. November 28, 1948, Kolozsvár (Cluj), Romania)

Tamás graduated in philosophy from the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1972 and studied classical philology at the University of Bucharest. Between 1972 and 1978 he was editor of the journal *Korunk* in Kolozsvár, then worked as proof reader.

In 1978 Tamás settled in Hungary. In 1979 he became research fellow in the Department of the History of Philosophy at the Faculty of Law, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest. In 1981 he was laid off because of his opposition activity. For the subsequent years, he worked for underground periodicals. Since 1986 he has been lecturing at several universities in the United Kingdom, France, and in the United States. In 1989 he was appointed assistant professor at the Department of the History of Philosophy at the Faculty of Law, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest. Between 1991 and 1994 he headed the MTA Filozófia Intézet (Philosophy Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), since 1994 he has been research fellow.

In 1988 he was elected spokesman of Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata (Network of Free Initiatives). He was one of the founders and executives of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). Between 1990 and 1994 he was an MP of SZDSZ.

**Torgyán, József**

(b. November 16, 1932, Mátészalka)

Torgyán earned a law degree at the Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1955. He worked as a lawyer between 1958 and 1990.

In 1956 Torgyán joined the Független Kisgazdapárt (FKgP, Independent Smallholders' Party), and in 1988 the re-organized FKgP. He took part in the negotiations of Ellenzéki

and Nemzeti Kerekasztal (Opposition and National Roundtables) as a representative of FKgP.

In 1990 he was the prosecutor of the FKgP and the president of its Budapest branch. Then he became co-president of the party, and since June 1991, he has been the party president. Since 1990 Torgyán has been member of parliament representing the FKgP, between 1990 and 1998 he was head of the FKgP caucus. Since July 1998, he has been Minister of Agriculture and County Development in the Orbán government.

### **Tölgyessy, Péter**

(b. September 15, 1957, Esztergom)

Tölgyessy graduated in law from Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1981. Since 1981, he has been research fellow at MTA Állam és Jogtudományi Intézet (Institute of Legal and Juridical Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), his field of interest is constitutional law.

In 1988 and 1989 Tölgyessy prepared the chapter about constitutional law for the political program of Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats). He participated in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable) and in the three sided political negotiations. Between 1989 and 1996 he was member of SZDSZ, and in November 1991, he was elected president of the party. In 1996 he left SZDSZ. Between 1990 and 1996 he was a member of parliament representing SZDSZ, between 1996 and 1998, he was independent MP, since June 1998 MP of Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Párt (Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party).

### **Vásárhelyi, Miklós**

(b. 1917, Fiume - Rijeka)

Between 1936 and 1937 he studied at the University of Rome, then he studied at the Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen at the Faculty of Law between 1939 and 1942. He entered the Communist Party in 1938 and participated in the opposition movement. Between 1938 and 1941 he was the secretary of the social-democratic youth organization in Óbuda. During the war he was called in to work in an armaments factory. In 1944 he joined the armed opposition. In 1945 he was active in the work of the Hungarian Communist Party. From 1945 he worked for the *Szabadság* and the *Szabad Nép*. In 1946 he was a special correspondent to the *Szabad Nép* at the Paris peace negotiations. In 1950 he was the director of the Hungarian Radio for a short period. From 1951 he was the managing editor of *Művelt Nép*, then between 1952 and 1954 he was the editor-in-chief of the journal called *Hungary-Vengria*. From May, 1954 he was the vice-president of the Information Office of the Council of Ministers. He belonged to the closest political circle of Imre Nagy and he was one of the most active leaders of the opposition of the party. In April, 1955 he was removed from his post together with Imre Nagy. He had to go through a strict disciplinary party procedure because on the 27th of May, 1955 at the party meeting of the Newspaper Publishing Company (Lapkiadó Vállalat) together with Miklós Gimes they required that the relationship between Hungary and Yugoslavia be clarified and the Rajk-trial be reheard. In October, 1955 together with other writers and artists he participated in wording a memorandum addressed to the MDP KV. This memorandum required the termination of the censorship over cultural life. He was expelled from the

Party on the 24th of December. From 1955 he was a librarian of the Művelt Nép Publishing House.

On the 1st of November, 1956 he was appointed press chief of the government. On the 4th of November he took refuge in the apartment of the military attaché of the Yugoslavian Embassy. On the 23rd of November together with the Imre Nagy group that was taking refuge in the Yugoslavian Embassy he was deported to Rumania. He was arrested on the 10th of April, 1957 in Snagov and deported back to Hungary. On the 15th of June, 1958 he was sentenced by the Supreme Court to 5 years in prison in the Imre Nagy and fellows trial. He was granted amnesty and was released in April, 1960.

From 1961 he worked as a copy editor for the Fine Arts Publishing House.

(Képzőművészeti Kiadó). In 1964 he was dismissed from his position. Until 1972 he worked as a buyer for a construction company. From 1965 he worked for the *Élet és Tudomány*, then from 1972 until 1990 he worked for the Institute in the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and did research on the history of the press. From 1973 he worked for Mafilm as a dramaturg. In 1979 he signed the Charta '77 declaration that meant to express solidarity with the imprisoned members of the Czechoslovakian civil rights movement. In 1981 he participated in an illegal roundtable discussion about the history of the 1956 uprising, which then lasted for 1 and a half years. Between 1983 and 1984 he spent six months at Columbia University. Since 1984 he has been a member of the committee of the Soros Foundation and he has been a personal representative of György Soros. He gave a lecture in the Monor meeting in 1985. He was one of the organizers and speakers of the illegal conference on the 1956 uprising that was held in December, 1986 in the apartment of István Eörsi. In 1988 he was one of the founding members of the New March Front (Új Márciusi Front). In 1988 he was one of the founding members of TIB, then in 1992 he became its president. Between 1988 and 1989 he was taking part in establishing the Network of Free Initiatives and the Alliance of Free Democrats. Since 1990 he is a member of the National Council of the SZDSZ and was a member of parliament between 1990 and 1994.

### **Vigh, Károly**

(b. June 28, 1918, Losonc, Austria-Hungary)

Vigh earned degrees at the University of Pozsony (Bratislava) and Pázmány Péter University, Budapest. Between 1942 and 1950 he worked at the Történettudományi Intézet (Institute of History). Between 1950 and 1952, he was senior archivist at Országos Levéltár (National Archives), between 1952 and 1957 head of Pest Megyei Levéltár (Archive of Pest County), between 1958 and 1963 senior fellow at Országgyűlési Könyvtár (Library of the Parliament), between 1963 and 1967 head of department in the Legújabbkori Történelmi Múzeum (Museum of Contemporary History). Then until his retirement in 1985 he worked as senior research fellow at Nemzeti Múzeum (National Museum).

Vigh was a founding father and the president of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Társaság (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society). Since 1989 he has been honorary president. He represented his society in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

### **Vitézy, László**

(b. May 17, 1940, Budapest)

Vitézy studied to be a director and cameraman at Színház és Filmművészeti Főiskola (College of Theater and Film Art), he graduated in 1973. Between 1963 and 1969 he was light effect man at Budapest Filmstúdió, and second cameraman at Mafilm. Between 1973 and 1979 he was one of the leaders of *Balázs Béla Stúdió*, director of the Studio of Documentaries. In 1981 he became director and cameraman at Társulás Stúdió, and editor-director of MTV (Hungarian Television).

In 1988 Vitézy was one of the founders of Mozgóképek Demokratikus Szakszervezet (Mozgóképek Democratic Trade Union). Between 1990 and 1993, he was executive of Független Szakszervezetek Demokratikus Ligája (Independent Democratic League of Trade Unions). He represented the League in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable).

### **Zétényi, Zsolt**

(b. August 9, 1941, Veszprém)

Zétényi earned a law degree at Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, in 1964. He worked at Pesti Kerületi Bíróság (Central District Court of Pest) and later at the Supreme Court . In 1968 he was researcher at Országos Kriminálisztikai Intézet (National Institute of Criminalistics). Since 1969 he has worked as legal advisor, then lawyer.

In 1986 he joined the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Társaság (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society). He became managing director, and in 1989 secretary general of the Society. Since 1988 he has been member of Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum). He participated in the negotiations of Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (Opposition Roundtable). Between 1990 and 1994 he was member of parliament representing the MDF.



POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY  
1989-1990

List of Abbreviations

BZSBT	Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre Baráti Társaság)
CSKP	Czechoslovak Communist Party (Csehszlovák Kommunista Párt)
DEMISZ	Hungarian Federation of the Democratic Youth (Magyar Demokratikus Ifjúsági Szövetség)
EKA	Opposition Roundtable (Ellenzéki Kerekasztal)
ENSZ	United Nations Organization (Egyesült Nemzetek Szervezete)
FIDESZ	Federation of Young Democrats (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége)
FJF	Independent Lawyers' Forum (Független Jogász Fórum)
FKGP	Independent Smallholder, Farmer and Civic Party (Független Kisgazda, Földműves és Polgári Párt)
HNF	Patriotic People's Front (Hazafias Népfront)
HVG	<i>Heti Világgazdaság</i> (Weekly World Economy)
HVK	Patriotic Election Coalition (Hazafias Választási Koalíció)
KB	Central Committee (Központi Bizottság)
KDNP	Christian Democratic People's Party (Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt)
KIOSZ	National Association of Small Craftsmen (Kisiparosok Országos Szövetsége)
KISOSZ	National Association of Small Traders (Kiskereskedők Országos Szövetsége)
KISZ	Communist Youth Federation (Kommunista Ifjúsági Szövetség)
KISZÖV	National Association of Small Industry Cooperatives (Kisipari Szövetkezetek Országos Szövetsége)
KSH	Central Statistical Office (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal)
LEMP, PZPR	Polish United Workers' Party (Lengyel Egyesült Munkáspárt)
MDF	Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum)
MISZOT	National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations (Magyar Ifjúsági Szervezetek Országos Tanácsa)
MSZDP	Social Democratic Party of Hungary (Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt)
MSZMP	Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt)
MSZP	Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt)
MTA	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia)
MTI	Hungarian Telegraphic Agency (Magyar Távirati Iroda)
MTESZ	Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations (Műszaki és Természettudományos Egyesületek Szövetsége)
MTV	Hungarian Television (Magyar Televízió)
NSZEP, SED	Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Német Szocialista Egységpárt)
OÉT	National Council for Interest Reconciliation) Országos Érdekegyeztető Tanács)

OKISZ	National Council of Industrial Cooperatives (Ipari Szövetkezetek Országos Tanácsa)
OKP	Italian Communist Party (Olasz Kommunista Párt)
PB	Political Committee (Politikai Bizottság)
PIB	Political Executive Committee (Politikai Intéző Bizottság)
POFOSZ	National Alliance of Hungarian Political Prisoners (Magyar Politikai Foglyok Országos Szövetsége)
SZDSZ	Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége)
SZKP, CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Szovjetunió Kommunista Pártja)
SZOT	National Council of Trade Unions (Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa)
SZÖVOSZ	National Council of Consumer and Sales Cooperatives (Fogyasztási és Értékesítési Szövetkezetek Országos Tanácsa)
TDDSZ	Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers (Tudományos Dolgozók Demokratikus Szakszervezete)
TIB	Committee for Historical Justice (Történelmi Igazságtétel Bizottsága)
TOT	National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives (Termelőszövetkezetek Országos Tanácsa)
ÚMF	New March Front (Új Márciusi Front)
VOSZ	National Alliance of Entrepreneurs (Vállalkozók Országos Szövetsége)

POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY  
1989-1990

Documents

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The minutes of the Opposition Roundtable and the National Roundtable meetings  
were published in:

*A rendszerváltás forgatókönyve. Kerekasztal-tárgyalások 1989-ben* [Scenario of the Transition.  
Roundtable Talks in 1989] Editor-in-chief: András Bozóki, editors: Márta Elbert, Melinda  
Kalmár, Béla Révész, Erzsébet Ripp, Zoltán Ripp, Magvető Kiadó, Bp. 1999, Vols. I-IV.

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*A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt Központi Bizottságának 1989. évi jegyzőkönyvei.*  
[Minutes of the 1989 meetings of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee]  
Editors: Anna S. Kosztricz, János Lakos, Karola Vágyi Mrs. Németh, László Soós,  
György T. Varga.  
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# POLITICAL TRANSITION IN HUNGARY 1989-1990

## List of Documents

- Document 1. Anatoly Chernyaev's Notes from the CPSU Politburo Meeting [About the Future of Comecon]. *March 10, 1988.*
- Document 2. The First Meeting between Károly Grósz and Mihail Gorbachev, Moscow. *July 8, 1988.*
- Document 3. Shakhnazarov's Preparatory Notes for Gorbachev for the Meeting of the CPSU Politburo. *October 6, 1988.*
- Document 4. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [Gorbachev Transcends the Concept of Class Struggle]. *October 28, 1988.*
- Document 5. Anatoly Chernyaev's Notes from the CPSU Politburo Session [Gorbachev's Report on the Talks with the Trilateral Commission (Kissinger, Giscard d'Estaing, Nakasone) – Hungary's Situation, Kissinger's Reference to a Possible Soviet-American Condominium in Europe]. *January 21, 1989.*
- Document 6. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee (Debate on Imre Pozsgay's Declaration). (Excerpts). *January 31, 1989.*
- Document 7. A Memorandum of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to Alexander Yakovlev [Relations with the Countries of Eastern Europe, Strategic Outlines]. *February, 1989.*
- Document 8. Bogomolov Institute Memorandum on Changes in Eastern Europe and their Impact on the USSR. *February, 1989.*
- Document 9. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes. *February 7, 1989.*
- Document 10. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [György Fejti on the Political Committee's Resolution on the Revision of Show Trials]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpt). *February 20-21, 1989.*
- Document 11. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee (Proposal to the Central Committee on a Resolution on the Regulatory Concept of the New Constitution). *February 20-21, 1989.*
- Document 12. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *February 28, 1989.*
- Document 13. Record of Conversation between Gorbachev and Miklós Németh. Excerpt. *March 3, 1989.*
- Document 14. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *March 14, 1989.*
- Document 15. Statutory Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Record (Excerpts). *March 22, 1989.*
- Document 16. Memorandum of Conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and Károly Grósz General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (Excerpts). *March 23-24, 1989.*
- Document 17. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *March 30, 1989.*

- Document 18. Record of Negotiations between Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, London [Analysis of Changes in Eastern Europe]. *April 6, 1989.*
- Document 19. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *April 19, 1989.*
- Document 20. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 2, 1989.*
- Document 21. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 2, 1989.*
- Document 22. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [Gorbachev has "no idea which way we are heading"]. *May 2, 1989.*
- Document 23. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [György Fejti on the principles of the Party Law]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 8, 1989.*
- Document 24. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [György Fejti on the need for the Party to compete at the elections]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 8, 1989.*
- Document 25. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [Sándor Nagy's complaint that the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) was left out of the national coordinating talks.] Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 8, 1989.*
- Document 26. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 16, 1989.*
- Document 27. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 24, 1989.*
- Document 28. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 26, 1989.*
- Document 29. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *May 31, 1989.*
- Document 30. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *June 9, 1989.*
- Document 31. Record of Conversation between Erich Honecker and E. Shevardnadze in Berlin. *June 9, 1989.*
- Document 32. Agreement on the Establishment of a National Roundtable. The Full Text of the Signed Agreement. *June 10, 1989.*
- Document 33. Record of Conversation between Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl, Bonn [The End of the Brezhnev Doctrine]. *June 12, 1989.*
- Document 34. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *June 13, 1989.*
- Document 35. The Opening Plenary Session of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes. *June 13, 1989.*
- Document 36. Third Conversation between Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl, Bonn. [Evaluation of the Changes in Eastern Europe]. *June 14, 1989.*
- Document 37. Record of the Telephone Conversation between Chancellor Kohl and President Bush. *June 15, 1989.*
- Document 38. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *June 19, 1989.*
- Document 39. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpt). *June 20, 1989.*
- Document 40. Plenary Session of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *June 21, 1989.*

- Document 41. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *June 26, 1989.*
- Document 42. From Conversation of Gorbachev with Mitterrand during a Private Dinner at the President's Apartment, Paris. (On certain political personalities: Ceausescu, Zhivkov, Bush). *July 5, 1989.*
- Document 43. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 6, 1989.*
- Document 44. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 6, 1989.*
- Document 45. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 10, 1989.*
- Document 46. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 17, 1989.*
- Document 47. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 21, 1989.*
- Document 48. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee [On Speeding Up the Political Coordinating Negotiations]. Excerpt. *July 24, 1989.*
- Document 49. Negotiation between Mihail S. Gorbachev and Rezső Nyers, President and Károly Grósz General Secretary of the MSZMP, Moscow. Report to the MSZMP Political Executive Committee. Excerpt. *July 24-25, 1989.*
- Document 50. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 25, 1989.*
- Document 51. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 27, 1989.*
- Document 52. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *July 27, 1989.*
- Document 53. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 3, 1989.*
- Document 54. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 10, 1989.*
- Document 55. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 17, 1989.*
- Document 56. Meeting between the Representatives of the Opposition Roundtable and Boris Stukalin, Soviet Ambassador to Budapest [Speech by Viktor Orbán of the Federation of Young Democrats]. *August 18, 1989.*
- Document 57. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 24, 1989.*
- Document 58. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 24, 1989.*
- Document 59. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 25, 1989.*
- Document 60. Conversation of Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher with Minister President Németh and Foreign Minister Horn, Palais Gymnich [Overview of the Situation in Eastern Europe]. *August 25, 1989.*

- Document 61. Foreign Minister Genscher's Notes on the Conversation of Chancellor Kohl with Minister President Németh and Foreign Minister Horn during Lunch; Palais Gymnich. *August 25, 1989.*
- Document 62. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 28, 1989.*
- Document 63. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 29, 1989.*
- Document 64. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 30, 1989.*
- Document 65. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *August 31, 1989.*
- Document 66. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [Imre Pozsgay on the Roundtable Negotiations]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 1, 1989.*
- Document 67. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [Pál Iványi on the Roundtable Negotiations]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 1, 1989.*
- Document 68. Meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee [Rezső Nyers on the Roundtable Negotiations and the Preparations for the Party Congress]. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 1, 1989.*
- Document 69. Telex from State Secretary Bertele to Head of Chancellery Office, Berlin [East-German Citizens in Hungary]. *September 1, 1989.*
- Document 70. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 4, 1989.*
- Document 71. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 4, 1989.*
- Document 72. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 5, 1989.*
- Document 73. Meeting of the SED Politburo [A Critique of Hungary]. *September 5, 1989.*
- Document 74. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 6, 1989.*
- Document 75. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 8, 1989.*
- Document 76. Report by the Budapest Embassy of the GDR [Information on the talks with Rezső Nyers]. *September 10, 1989.*
- Document 77. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 11, 1989.*
- Document 78. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 11, 1989.*
- Document 79. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [Gorbachev is worried about the dissolution of the Empire]. *September 11, 1989.*
- Document 80. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 15, 1989.*



- Document 81. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 15, 1989.*
- Document 82. Meeting of the Opposition Roundtable. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 18, 1989.*
- Document 83. Meeting of the Medium-level Political Coordinating Committee of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 18, 1989.*
- Document 84. Plenary Session of the National Roundtable Negotiations. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 18, 1989.*
- Document 85. Meeting of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee. Verbatim Record of Minutes (Excerpts). *September 19, 1989.*
- Document 86. Record of Conversation between Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, London. [German reunification and East European stability]. *September 23, 1989.*
- Document 87. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [The end of Socialism]. *October 5, 1989.*
- Document 88. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [On Gorbachev's Western Friends]. *October 9, 1989.*
- Document 89. Record of Conversation between Gorbachev and Egon Krenz [Possibilities of German-German-Soviet trilateral cooperation]. *November 1, 1989.*
- Document 90. Excerpt from Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary [Gorbachev dissolved the Yalta world order peacefully]. *November 10, 1989.*
- Document 91. Record of telephone Conversation between Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl, Moscow-Bonn [Kohl wants to see more dynamic changes in the GDR]. *November 11, 1989.*
- Document 92. The Malta Summit, Notes from of Anatoly Chernyaev. *December 2, 1989.*
- Document 93. Record of Conversation between Gorbachev and Hans-Dietrich Genscher [Gorbachev criticizes Kohl's GDR policy]. *December 5, 1989.*
- Document 94. Memorandum from the CC CPSU International Department "Towards a New Concept of Relations Between the USSR and the States of Central and Eastern Europe." *January 5, 1990.*