

I. Research assignment, topic choosing

I started my research four years ago in the Hungarian National Archives, where - in the framework of a scientific research - I completed the working up of the economic history of the Rákosi regime. I got familiar with the so-called economic type trials during this work. These trials fit into the row of the “big” conceptual trials of the Rákosi era both chronologically and because of their nature. In spite of their importance they can be ranked among the neglected topics of our economic historical literature. Especially the working up of the so-called FM trial (against the civil servants of the Ministry of Agriculture) seems to be incomplete, even though it is specific in more aspects. In contrast to the other economic type trials, here the sabotage was done not by a firm, but by a ministry, and the “sabotage” was not done in the industry, but in the agriculture.

The trials are in such a large number and so voluminous, that I can not study every of them, so I am seeking the answer for the question, what is the economical aspect of the trials called economic type by the history, and I confronted the hidden political motivation with the conceptions that the trials were based on. I found it very important to find the connections among these and the other conceptual trials, and the connections among the accused.

The main goal of the dissertation is to examine, how similar were the economic type trials to the other big trials of the Rákosi regime, what was the difference between the methods, how specific was the accused choosing process (class, education), were they specially Hungarian or typical in all socialist countries. On the basis of concrete examples I also examined how the intention of the communist party, the work of the political police and the activity of the judicial organs were related to one other.

The FM trial is a complex trial, because every important enemy of the communist party was involved, and the accused were accused of all their activities from 1945 to 1948 in one trial. I also investigated the conception changes during the preparation and execution of the trial, and the correspondence in the party management. According to the bibliography, the purpose of this trial was to help the collectivisation. That is why I also made my task to clear up how the civil servants of the Ministry of Agriculture (further MA) thought about the situation of the Hungarian agriculture.

II. Adopted methods, sources

The work up of this topic needs extensive knowledge, although in my dissertation I am dealing with the topic by all means with historical aspect. The important element of the research method was to reveal that social, political and economic context, in which the economic trials were executed. Only with the help of the economic context can we determine, that the serious economical situation was the cause or the consequence of the economical offences. In other words: it was the central state, that made impossible for enterprises to function, or the persons involved in the trials obstructed the public interest, “The advance of Hungary”.

The political point of view is important, because at the time of the trials the political power paid off with adversaries, and in this way gave a strong political feature to these

economical trials, that otherwise looked like simple sabotage trials. At that time law was only the servant of the political purposes.

The research is based on a wide collection of records. The worked up materials are in connection with economic background and rehabilitation. The party papers (MDP KV, PB, Cabinet), and also ministry and company documentations, investigations of interior ministry and the concrete material of the lawsuit can be mentioned. Besides secondary literature I also relied to memoirs, speech collections and press-matters of the period.

As it can be seen from the above, most sources were born in the period of the party-state, thanks to the party organs. By all means we needed source critic, and during the analysis of the sources we had to be aware of the conscious cooking, distortion, biased presentation of the facts done by the investigating authorities and the jurisdiction. We had to deal with the lawsuit sceptically because the reports of deposition were neither the voluntary confessions of the accused, but confessions enforced by the effective methods of the investigating authorities which do not reflect reality.

As respecting the adapted methods first of all the chronological and analysis of the economic trials are shown. In the dissertation I use inductive and mainly deductive methods.

The introductory part of my dissertation tries to give a picture of the institutional background of the trials with demonstrating the characteristics of the power-enforcement organizations and the passing of judgement, while in the next part I am dealing with the common characteristics of the well-known show trials (the Nitrokémia, the Ferrotechnika, the MAORT and Standard trials). In the last chapter the target of my examination were the mass trials, I divided them into two groups, against the farmers and the workers' trials.

By FM trial I used analysing parts. I provided separate chapters to demonstrate the conception of the economical police, the construction of the suit, the demonstration of the counts of the indictment and the proofs against them. I also dealt with the possible choose of the accused, the ideology in the FM, the political and international connections of the accused as well as with the church side of the trial. I also touched upon the connection between the decision of the Information Office and the FM trial, the further fate of the trial and the victims of it, I emphasized the requests for reopening the case, and the demonstration of the rehabilitation. For a more total picture I touched upon the fate of the civil servants who were not put into the FM trial, the purge in the background, and the presentation of the fractions of the parties.

From the research point of view it is necessary, even essential, clearly to establish what is an economic type trial. It is not easy to give this definition, because the political prosecutions also had economic charges, e.g. in Mindszenty trial, in Ordass case there was a currency speculation charge, behind the surface of the economic trials there were definite political intentions. That is why Vladimir Farkas called these trials economic type show trials. The most appropriate definition could be that economic is the trial where the sentence was based on economic charges and the economic political purpose to achieve was the elimination of the private economy. The trials were conceptual because to achieve the predetermined goals a conception was fabricated, the facts were freely used and combined, and it was demonstrated, that the poor economic situation was the direct consequence of the former actions of the accused, so that this could be sentenced.

III. Main points of the essay, new scientific achievements

One of the main tools of the Bolshevik politics was the world or civil war psychosis; the reality of the war was proven by the ongoing trials. The economical trials were based on misrepresentation of real facts, biased classification, and connecting the facts to political goals, following a concept that was specified beforehand. The scenarios were written in the inmost confidential groves of the power; the decisions were made outside the jurisdiction. With the erection of People's Courts and liquidation of the independence of justice the power got capable of liquidating its real or imaginary political or social enemies by the tools of the justice.

Adopting the soviet law meant, that the equality before the law ended. Instead of evidence, it was enough a confession, which was enforced by torturing. Physical force was frequently used against the accused. According to the stalinist practice sentence was ready in advance and there were severe sentences in the trials.

Show trials

By economic trials justice became the mean of political oppression instead of a regulating infrastructure supporting increase and it did not serve economic rationality for serving the producing communities, but more emphatically promoted the making of the “political economy” regular and the building of a withdrawal system becoming overall.

The economic show trials condensed near the economic and power key positions: the great firms of foreign interest and the leading civil servants of the ministries, and were also directed against the experts of certain economic sectors. With the show trials the goal of the power was to decapitate the community. These trials - because of the great publicity - were capable of spectacularly annihilate the high position leaders or discredit them in the view of public opinion.

The Nitrokémia, FM and MAORT (Hungarian-American Oil Ventures Joint Stock Company) trials were conducted in 1948, while the sentence on Standard trial was passed in the beginning of 1950. The nature of dictatorships determines, that there were a lot other trials besides the examined, and the daily paper Szabad Nép (Free People) almost every day published articles against the enemies of the nation. Behind the public lawsuits another clean up went in the background that was hidden before the public opinion.

The power usually created these accusations from real production problems, but the economical offences were interpreted as if they were the causes of the economical trouble, not - as it was - the consequences of it. On top of that was the charge, that the “western Imperialists” worked against the socialism through the company. The most frequent charges were: disloyalty, industrial spying, serving a foreign power, impairing the Hungarian national economy, smuggling industrial patent abroad, and that the given firm deviated from the three year plan by sabotage.

These trials belong to the “big” conceptual trials of the Rákosi era, because the used methods, the choosing of the accused, the factors needing the show trials are not specially originated in Hungary, but are characteristic for the socialist countries.

In the economic show trials Soviet interests are felt so they were not without Soviet direction, moreover some cases were guided by Soviet counsellors. The same statement is proven by the decisions of the Information Bureau and the similar steps of the Central-Eastern European countries.

For instance, before the MAORT trial, but after the broadcast of the Moscow radio on 7 January 1948 (about the “agents of Wall Street”, and about the “notorious American aid that threatened the sovereignty of the European countries”) in March 1948 in Romania American and English oil firms were charged with sabotage, and after that they were taken into public ownership on 12 June.

The sabotage trials were in close connection with the building of the Stalinist state, their aim was to liquidate private ownership completely, and build state monopoly in strategic sectors of the economy. We can state that the economic show trials were related to the strategic sectors and to the greater firms of it and the whole regime is dogged by them.

The background of the MAORT trial was that after the war oil became strategic as the most important raw material for the rebuilding. The Soviet Union in this period was natural gas and oil importer, so it gave special attention to the possible new quarry places in the occupied territories. The MAORT trial was based on total misinterpretation of the facts, lacked the legality and consequently Hungarian oil industry got into a difficult situation. It served a dual goal, to frighten the intelligentsia that opposed the “people democratic system” and it was a pretext for the nationalisation.

The Nitrokémia and FM trials were created as a reaction for the commitment of Information Bureau of the Communist Parties. The KOMINFORM conference, that was held on 22-27 September 1947 criticised the political co-operation among the former alliances, set out the policy for stabilising the positions of the communists in each country, and made violent attack against “right wing” social democrats. It influenced Hungarian inner politics and forced the Hungarian Communist Party (further HCP) towards the union of the working parties. That was opposed by the “Centre” of the Social democratic Party (further SDP). The Nitrokémia trial was closely connected to the Peyer trial, because these two trials prepared the way for the union of the two working parties. The Political Committee of SDP moved Gyula Kelemen the most known union opposing politician out of the way in January 1948, after the first accusation against Pét, but before the first official declaration in Nitrokémia case.

The KOMINFORM conference, that was held at the end of July 1948 criticised Yugoslavia, because Tito had said that the peasants (including the rich ones) were the most stable supporters of the Yugoslav State, but according to Lenin's theory the farm improves capitalism hour by hour. The excommunication of the Yugoslav communists demonstrated, that there is no independent route, the soviet model has to be used in Hungary, too. Decision was made about the fast collectivisation, and the FM trial was mend to ease this process.

The sabotage trials against the firm of foreign interest (the MAORT and Standard cases) had two main reasons. At one hand the state wanted to acquire the foreign firms without paying for them. On the other hand the spying side of the trials that served as denunciation of the “imperialists”.

Although economic type trials seemed to be “only” sabotage suits externally mainly in the propaganda, they became political trials of determinant importance in the given political situation.

Comparing the first two trials (Nitrokémia, FM trial) I have found many similarities, because the power paid off with its political enemies. After the lawsuit of the Magyar-Közösség (Hungarian Community), which smashed the Smallholder party into pieces, the Peyer trial and the Nitrokémia trial punished the so-called “right sided” social democrats, who had no intention to join the communists. In the FM trial the non-party situation resulted in increased sentences.

Communist propaganda preferred to use the sentenced people to discredit the persons

involved in the new trials. The FM case was timed to the trial against the leaders of Actio Catholica (AC), and it was made public that the first accused Béla Perneczky had got letters from Mindszenty archbishop of Esztergom, who was sentenced afterwards.

The trials against the firms truly reflect the intention of the communist party to put out of the way the persons participating in the national resistance movement (first the anti-communist, then the communist members) during world war II. The procedure against the leaders of Nitrokémia gave an opportunity to discredit the resistance fighters of the Leap out Office and those of the Liberation Committee of the Hungarian National Uprising led by Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszki. József Révai drew the following lesson from the case: the “reaction that had been thrown out the legal parliament”, set its machinations on the field of “illegal economical sabotage”. The goals were the old ones, but the methods were new. The other lesson was that the “right-sided” social democrats, the Horthyists and the arrow-cross men joined to “undermine the democracy by economical way”.

It is worth to examine, that in the first two trials they were not the first accused who played the main role, but the main goal (in Nitrokémia, industrial minister Antal Bán was also involved) was to clean the Ministry of Industry and that of Agriculture from the persona non grata. In spite of the coalition government at the end of 1948 only those could remain ministers, who were committed followers of the Hungarian Labour Party (HLP), and who accepted party policy as compulsory.

The sabotage trials against the firm of foreign interest were based on spying and sabotaging, and that served as denunciation of the “imperialists”.

It is important to stress the importance of the case of Zoltán Radó the head of a department in the Ministry of Heavy Industry. In the summer of 1949 a report was prepared about him in connection with the minor accused of the Rajk case, and he was handled as a “possible English spy”. After his arrest, he was asked if he wanted to be an accused in the Standard case or in a “Trotskyist” case with his former emigrant companion. Radó chose the Standard. (During the legal proceedings his connection with the Rajk case was withheld.) Considering the “important political and financial interests” that called for taking the Standard factory into public ownership, his interrogation officer persuaded him to be the witness of the prosecution and accept the role of the “denunciator of the diversion group”. Later in the trial of Mihály Farkas and his associates it was established, that he was unlawfully accused and persuaded to give false evidence, and was sentenced to death with trumpeted up charges.

The FM trial

It seems that the FM trial does not fit into the row of the big economical trials, because the trial was held not against a firm, and the sabotage was not industrial, but agricultural. According to the charges the major part of the executives of the Ministry of Agriculture - which was lead by the smallholder party - formed a “fascist group” and as a gang of criminals they sabotaged the development of the agriculture, opposed the surplus-appropriation, proclaiming competency obstructed the realisation of the communist conceptions, and “employed peasant defender demagoguism”. The power blamed the Ministry of Agriculture that in 1948 the planned economy was insufficiently implemented in agriculture.

The conception of the trial

In the FM case investigation was made not by the state security authorities (ÁVH), but by the Economical Police (GRÜ).

The conception has three levels:

1. Organization, conspiracy
2. Economic sabotage
3. Disloyalty

These three levels are framed by and effected by the spirituality of the accused, by ideology.

The logic of the show suit is the following: after 1945 a spirituality was given which was in contrast with the developments towards socialist direction. The political view of the accused was similar to that of the Horthy regime, that is why they did not enter any parties, because they saw them too “left-sided”. As a consequence, they established the Non-party Block, which constituted the political basis of the “conspiracy”. This organisation marked the direction to follow, and pointed out a so-called commissary to every department similar to the other parties, who were usually the leaders of the departments. These in their departments interfered working, drew away the plan credits from their original purposes, did sabotage systematically in the departments. In addition, to complete machinations they were in connection with the “agents of foreign intelligence services” and smuggled out different, secret information to foreign countries in illegal way, in order to participate actively in the organisation of “conspiracy” against Hungary under the aegis of the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC).

By the choosing process of the accused we can note that the “organization” had the civil, military and church side, as it was in every greater “conspiracy” cases.

- According to the charges from the persons that were involved in the lawsuit, the executives of the Ministry of Agriculture, 95 % were in position in the Horthy and then in the Szálasi regime. This ratio was so achieved, that according to the charges they developed plans, and in 1945-1946 first during the political screening, then during the B listing processes they saved those officials who had the same political view. This was the basis of the charge that “conspiracy” was part of the movements of Ferenc Nagy and Mindszenty, the Ministry of Agriculture was the “centre of Horthy like feudalism”, and spying was common.

But on the basis of the sources we can state that the highest so-called “conspiracy” level of the trial conception is totally the invention of the investigating organs. Their activities were not illegal either in case of the B listing, or the trade union election. The B listing process was totally passed off in the ministry. In the trial almost all of the accused said, that they had heard the Non-party Block expression first at the police station. The conspiracy theory that had been built up from the abuses, is not proven, it is not consistent. There are no connections among the crimes that had happened in different departments, and their actions were ended in summer of 1947.

- The role of the concrete charges in the FM case was rather to call the attention, because there was not a mature, consistent conception. In the counts the power set down the severe situations caused by independent, objective difficulties, matters pending because of the world war, legal contracts and everyday allocations against the accused as a crime. One part of the counts qualified sloppiness a crime, and there were cases which had been sanctioned for the beginning of the trial.

Summarizing it we can state that the GRÜ generalized the defaults of the individual departments for the whole ministry, merged the cases totally, and tried to see political purposes behind every activity, so explaining the incidental irregularities. The main characteristic of the charges is that they grasped an allocation, and presented it as it was a

curio, and consciously a point near a conception, although the internal matters of the Ministry of Agriculture demonstrate that there were more similar cases. At one hand it became obviously to be sentenced, because the view of the mentioned organizations opposed the policy of the HLP, on the other hand these cases were appropriate for discrediting the civil servants of the institute in the propaganda in the view of public opinion. The party newspaper daily published the new happenings.

- The disloyalty of Ferenc Kiss is not connected closely to the Ministry of Agriculture, and was later attached to the FM trial. The only loose bond to connect it to the ministry was Elemér Kiss, who had worked in the ministry.

We can point out that the individual levels of the trial's conception are not built onto each other, are not related to each other and the coverage of reality of the individual levels are not right. At the same time it is obvious that the condemned were in opposition with the policy of the communist party from political and economic aspect, were engaged in politics, were in connection with well-known civil politicians, and Perneckzy Béla activated in the Actio Catholica.

Spirituality, political relations in the Ministry of Agriculture

At the time of the trial the main problems of the communist party were in connection with the allied parties, the co-operative politics and the relation to the church. Rákosi discussed these three topics in his speech on 20 August and covered the proceedings against Ministry of Agriculture. That is why I attached importance to examine the political relations of the accused, and the examination of the clerical and international (English and American) side, on which the investigation happened.

As a consequence of the numerical proportion (and different party membership) of the accused it is very difficult to conduct a homogenous picture about the spirituality of the civil servants, although the investigating organ suggested that there was such. In reality, however, we only have data about the thoughts of the heads of departments.

Taking this into account in my dissertation I assembled the relations of the accused, and I found that most of them personally knew Ferenc Nagy, who at that time had been forced abroad, and Béla Kovács, who had been hauled to the Soviet Union in connection with the Hungarian Community trial and Bálint Arany. Although there was strong propaganda against the employees, about half of them were non-party, because they did not agree with the programme of any parties and they thought that even the smallholders' party was "communist collaborator". Six of the twelve heads of department were non-party.

In spite of this *they were engaged in politics, and always were open to the "right sid", to the civil parties, but these parties became hunted, as the enemy concept of the HCP broadened.* They considered Mindszenty and Dezső Sulyok as their political leader (although Mindszenty did not participate in politics, he opposed the communist party and the process after 1945 from an ethical aspect), and they were in contact with Pfeiffer and Barankovics. They opposed the economical, social and political changes at the time of the trial.

Theoretically they explicitly opposed the increasingly socialist Hungarian political system, the course of the development. All of them expressed, that Röpke's third way idea was exemplary for Hungary. Quoting the examples of the Pope encyclicals, they stood on the ground of the private ownership, and thought the degree of nationalisation is a mistake from

ethical and production point of view and would also utilise the Marshall aid. In the ministry they thought, that the three-year plan is unrealisable. They did not agree with the land-reform of the government, because it did not consider the production technology, and they thought that the dwarf estates were not fit for life.

Clerical line

Bibliography considers the FM trial that its function was to promote the collectivisation. But it is important taking into account the church side of the trial.

From the spring or summer of 1948 in the communist party politics the fight against the church linked up with the liquidation of the holder peasantry and kulaks and forcing them into co-operation. The cause of it was that this was the only owner class that could remain politically independent and was able to support the church financially, and stuck to the values represented by the church. They thought if they liquidate the public political influence of the church, peasantry would lose its last ideological supporter, and it would be easier to direct them to the col-farms.

The focus of the church side was that Béla Perneczky established the cultural section of the Actio Catholica in the Ministry of Agriculture, and they regularly held discussions about main political and economical questions, and wrote essays about the problems of democracy and Christianity. The condemned leaders of AC, Mihalovics and Lénárd were in correspondence with him. Perneczky urged his friends, acquaintances, and subordinates to join the Központi Katolikus Kör (Central Catholic Ring), and in addition according to the charges he reported all his political movement to Cardinal Archbishop József Mindszenty.

The Ministry of Agriculture granted several thousand forints from the technical education fund to Actio Catholica, so it is the most concrete and provable thread. *The Actio Catholica line was related to the Ministry of Agriculture through the personality of Perneczky, served mainly propaganda purposes and was meant to prove that the non-party membership, the thought of the church and the western civil democratic aspect stood together, because all of them wanted a western type civil democracy based on private property.* During this trial the Mindszenty trial was prepared, because it was considered as a crime, that Perneczky got a letter from him, and Ferenc Kiss met him once face to face. So we have to conclude, that the FM trial was one of the main stages of the fight against the Catholic Church.

International line

The trial had an international side that involved two people. The first international line was the disloyalty of Ferenc Kiss, as the incentive of “spying to the imperialists” was an integral part of this case, too. Ferenc Kiss (who formerly had been the correspondent of the Evening Papers in London and Lord Rothermere's personal secretary) was accused to be in contact with the formerly expelled Dezső Sulyok, and to have sent litoprint materials abroad. These materials were classified as “secret” -using similar logic as of in the Nitrokémia case-by the Olti division.

The other line was represented by Artúr Sibelka Perleberg, President of the Hungarian organisation of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), who because of his position had often been abroad, and regularly published data about the achievements and mistakes of

the rebuilding of the Hungarian agriculture, and about actual political events. Contrary to this *the FAO case was absolutely legal*, Sibelka represented Hungary legally and formally, with the allowance of the Council of Ministries. In the end Sibelka was acquitted of the charge, and he was only convicted because of the supposed participation in the Non-party Block.

The heads of departments in the Ministry of Agriculture were in contact with the American army expeditionary officers, among others with Peter J Kopcsák artilleryman colonel American attaché, who had been declared persona non grata before the lawsuit started. Beyond that, several other accused were in contact with the embassies. This was also legal in the period of the happenings of the charges, because in this period, after world war II. Hungarian receptions were perhaps the most important social events, on which they met the foreign diplomats playing the most important political role.

The FM trial served the terrorization of the intelligentsia and the action against expertness.

Examining the education of the accused, it can be determined, that 63 of them had degree from law, economics, engineering (82%), 24 of them had even doctorate (32%), the other accused had “only” high school graduation, or at least high school certificate, so it is clear that one of the goals of the trial was to terrify the intelligentsia. They gave the reason for acting against the expertness with that the enemies of the “democratic state”, who fulfil all the requirements of qualifications, committed “crime” in their positions in order to overthrow “democratic republic”.

It is a fact, that their expertness, thought and their economic aspect turned the civil servants against the communists, and tried to repel the attacks of the “party” in the more and more totalitarian situation, so they supported those forces who could resist the communist party in a changing political situation.

Changes of conceptions

There were often conception changes in the preparation and carry out stage.

Organisation, execution and results of the trial were influenced by the decision of the Information Office. It is necessary and essential to mention, that the case started with an other concept, since the first arrests had been made before the KV meeting, when the relatives, Ferenc Kiss and dr. Elemér Kiss were arrested. In the beginning it was planned to call them to account for “illegal fascist combination”, and the materials was separately collected, and when the conception changed they were attached to the FM trial.

The next act started in May 1948; when based on a memo of the Economical Council, auditors were sent from the State Control Centre and Supreme Audit Office to the Ministry of Agriculture. István Dobi, the agricultural minister asked the Economical Department of the Hungarian State Police Budapest Headquarters to join the investigation. The parallel investigations stated that organised political forces were behind the actions “that did not want the moving towards the people's democracy”.

The investigation started as an ordered and defined case: the home affairs organisations received orders that the investigation should not be extended to the whole ministry, because they did not want to hinder the reorganisation of Ministry of Agriculture, and the office work with special regard to the summer (harvest) period. The police investigation was extended only over some departments, and the heads of the examined departments were the executives accused with being non-party men.

In the period between the arrest and the BM communiqué the decision of the Information Office happened which brought changes in agrarian policy and Rákosi wrote his notes at the same time on the reorganization of the ministry (by which the main point was the organization of the socialist sectors) as well as on the personal changes foreseeing the probable sentence.

At the delivery of judgement Elemér Kiss and Ferenc Kiss were sentenced life imprisonment, as the first accused, so the spying side of the trial was exaggerated. After the KOMINFORM meeting this thread came certainly handy to the power, and was used to prepare the MAORT and Mindszenty trials, with the “instigation” of the accused by the USA.

Personal changes in the Ministry of Agriculture between 1945 and 1948

In my dissertation I demonstrated that process how the communist party grasped the power in the public administration through a concrete example. *The examination of the political composition of the Ministry of Agriculture and economic thought of the civil servants after 1945 proves the statement that the FM case had long antecedents.* The organizational and personal construction of the Ministry of Agriculture shows that the ministry was not exempt from political fights, although after 1945 the MA was traditionally of smallholder interest and did not belong to the key positions for the communists.

The Hungarian Communist Party had a careful tactic in order to clean the ministries from the beginning. Between 1945 and 1948 the ministries were gradually seized by the political police. The HCP members working in the Ministry of Agriculture continuously informed the party centre about the cases in the ministry. The police from 1945 continuously collected the evidences against the accused. In the propaganda the fight against the accused started during the political screening process. *So we can by all means state that the communist power-enforcement organizations were fully aware of the situation in the Ministry of Agriculture from the beginning,* and they usually started press attack in the topic of the later charges.

We must assert, that for 1948 the communist party being in power had detailed ÁVO characterizations for starting the purge and placing persons appropriate for it. *The examination of the reorganization of the ministry and the personal changes showed that both would have happened without the decision of the Information Bureau although it by all means had an effect on the carry out of the suit.*

Mass trials

The main role of the mass trials was to bring terror to the level of every days, and to threaten the population. In the mass trials all classes were represented: from peasants to workmen. The intellectuals were terrified mainly by the FM trial. So there were trials or slanders in all parts of the country, almost in every bigger community, in order that people feel the terror. The economical exploitation of the Hungarian population was combined with political terror.

In 1948-49 record number of trials were held against the farmers, but the trials depending on the hardening and softening regime continued until 1956. The power explained the huge shortages and the introduction of the rationing, that the “unexposed enemy was

sabotaging”. Of the 200 thousand people, that were sentenced between 1948 and 1955, there were 24 % agricultural workers, 12 % co-operative members, 46 % little farmers and middle peasants, and 18 % were kulaks. The kulak trials were the roughest of all, because of their brutality and because kulaks were over-represented among the accused. There were death-sentences based on invented charges to break the resistance of the rural population, and to blame an invented enemy for the failure of the communist economic system.

Between 1952 and 1954 15 thousand people were sentenced in workers' trials because of „crime against the planned economy”. Half of the workers' trials were held on the region of grand socialist projects, the most preferred industrialisation places. So real political goal was to “bond to place” the workers, to force them back to the previous firm, and give a warning example to the other employees of the workplace.

It can be pointed out, that the communist dictatorship forced a completely unliveable economical system on the Hungarian people, and tried to achieve its political goals by widely applied terror. Economy and politics came together and joined into an inseparable whole with the tools of justice in the economical trials.

IV. Utilisation of the achievements of the research

My basic goal through the results of the essay was to contribute to the working up of the economical and political history of the second half of XX. century objectively and the more complete judgment of the conceptual trials of the Rákosi regime.

The worked up subject is a new research field in many ways. There is no publication in the literature that summarised the so-called economy type trials. The dissertation concentrates on those areas of the economy type trials which either have not been researched at all, or have not been researched in this form, and with whose introduction new or original achievements can be provided for Hungarian economic history. The topics closely examined by me in connection with the FM trial (the construction of the Ministry of Agriculture, the reconstructions, the spirituality of the Ministry of Agriculture, the political, clerical and international relations, the shadowing of the later fate of the accused) could give important additional material to start further researches.

The results of the research can be used more different ways. At one hand they can be incorporated into the economical and political history of the second half of XX. century. Beside these the results of this research can provide new information to the makers and users of the economic literature. In addition, my dissertation can support and stimulate any research that study this period.

V. Publications in the topic of the essay

- Gazdasági típusú perek a Rákosi rendszerben. *Collega*, 2003 április, VII. Évfolyam 2. szám 66-72. o.
- Az FM elleni koncepciók per. Tavasz Szél Konferenciakiadvány 2003. május 19-22, Sopron 39-43. o.
- Gazdasági kirakatperek politikai indíttatásból? 1948-53 Heller Farkas Füzetek, I. évfolyam 2003/1. szám. Tarsoly Kiadó, Budapest 2003. 76-88. o.
- Some Aspects of the Collectivisation in the Rákosi Regime 1948-1953. In: *Development and Integration in Transition*. Cluj-Napoca, Romania 16-17 mai 2003. 400-409. p
- A kollektivizálás feltételei és körülményei a Rákosi rendszerben 1948-1953. Heller Farkas Füzetek. II. évfolyam 2004/1. szám. Tarsoly Kiadó, Budapest 2004. 66-80. o.
- Nagy Imre első miniszterelnöksége 1953-1955 MNB Füzetek, megjelenés alatt
- Perek a gazdaságpolitika szolgálatában. MNB Füzetek, megjelenés alatt
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