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**SATELLITES AND COMETS**

*THE HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN-  
YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE  
INTELLIGENCE AND DIPLOMACY ASPECTS  
1945-1956*

Thesis of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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## I. The topic of the dissertation and setting of objectives

One of the most interesting parts of the post-war Europe's history – that have a major impact on the socialist countries – is the conflict between the Yugoslav and Soviet leadership that influenced both the internal and foreign affairs of Hungary.

In June 1948, the conflict between Tito and Stalin led to the exclusion of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Cominform. Mátyás Rákosi was one of the first communist leaders who attacked the Yugoslav politics and during the Conflict he served the Soviet interests. Hungary became a “frontline country”, the diplomatic relations between Budapest and Beograd reduced to the minimum level. In the early 50s, the armed incidents on the border happened on a daily basis; furthermore, a war between Yugoslavia and the Socialist Block became a possibility.

During the conflict, in the background an “intelligence-war” evolved, the services of the two countries tried to collect more and more information about each other. Stalin's death became a turning point in the relationship of the two countries, between 1953 and 1956

a slow-paced procession of normalization happened between the Soviet Block and Yugoslavia. The final act of the normalization was a high-ranked Hungarian political delegation's visit to Yugoslavia in October 1956.

The introduction of every aspect of the Hungarian-Yugoslav relation would fill several books, therefore I focused my research mainly on three topics:

- In the first part of the dissertation, I introduced the political-historical aspects of the Hungarian–Yugoslav relationship, mainly in chronological order, and added the economic, social and military information if it was necessary.
- The second part of the dissertation is about the history of the Hungarian Embassy in Beograd, introducing the relationship of its members and the investigation of the question of how the embassy could work during the conflict.
- The third main topic of the dissertation is about the “intelligence-war”, the history of the state security services and its comparison with the similar Hungarian services.

## II. The method of the research

The history of the Hungarian–Yugoslav relations between 1945 and 1956 has a relatively rich Hungarian literature, but unfortunately in the ex-Yugoslav countries the historians didn't take much interest in the topic, therefore the specialized literature is not as significant as in Hungary. The primary sources of the dissertation are the documents located in the Hungarian archives, mostly in the National Archives of Hungary. Among other things, I researched the papers of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the papers of the Hungarian Embassy in Beograd. Unfortunately, the document located in the Serbian archives are only partly researchable or completely unresearchable (mainly for Hungarian historians).

The documents about the intelligence services and the “intelligence-war” are very special forms of the historical sources. There are plenty of documents in the Historical Archive of the State Security Services about the Hungarian–Yugoslav relationship, but the analysis and the assessment of the documents is complicated. First of all,

there is no possibility to compare the statements of the papers with the similar papers found in the Serbian archives. Secondly, the documents were born in a conspirative environment, therefore the statements in the papers didn't always meet with the real world's events. Furthermore, the documents are not complete, over the decades a lot of the papers were destroyed or simply disappeared from the archives. Beside the problems detailed above, in my opinion the usage of the state security papers is reasonable because it introduces other aspects of the conflict, too.

The reports of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are researchable online. To this day lots of documents are still secret, but the researchable papers show us a third point of view to the events.

### III. The results

The history of the Hungarian-Yugoslav relations between 1945 and 1956 has been split in four parts in the dissertation, mostly in chronological order. The first part is from the end of the war until the decision of the

exclusion of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Cominform in July 1948. The next two parts are about the relationship during the conflict, while the fourth bigger part is about the process of the normalization between 1953 and 1956.

The first part of the dissertation mostly leans on the literature; however, it has been completed by the result of the new resources, because the documents of the Hungarian Embassy in Beograd gave a lot of new information. The papers of the state security services provided several new information about the conflict and about the incidents happened at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. The papers of the Hungarian Embassy helped to nuance our knowledge about the period of the normalization, therefore it is shown in the dissertation what kind of obstructive factors slowed the normalization between the two states.

In the second part of the dissertation a lesser-known aspect of the relationship has been shown: the history of the Hungarian Embassy in Beograd and the intelligence-war between the two states. The legation restarted its work in 1947, but the conflict has changed the

daily life of the diplomats in Beograd because they had to work in a hostile environment. About the years 1950 and 1951 there are only a few papers in the archives and only one paper from 1953 gives an answer to this hiatus. According to it, one agent of the Hungarian military intelligence service who worked in Beograd destroyed all the papers by fire. In the document of the embassy became conspicuous that most of the diplomats were unprofessional and they didn't speak foreign languages and this deficiency impacted the quality of their work and influenced the relationship of the countries.

The Hungarian residency in Beograd worked between 1953 and 1956 but it didn't function well. The agents of the residency couldn't reach any result in the field of intelligence. It was not only their fault but the headquarters' one in Budapest, too. In the dissertation the organizational history of the Hungarian and Yugoslav state security services is presented and also compared. Unfortunately, there are only a few available literatures in the topic of the Yugoslav state security services, even so by the Hungarian documents about these services seems to be enough to picture its organizational history. I'm aware

of the fact that in the future new papers can be presented about the Yugoslav state security services that will add more information about the topic.

In the final chapter of the dissertation the history of the lesser-known Zagreb trial has been presented. During the trial, three former KOS officer were convicted because they worked for the Hungarian services. Aranka Urbán was one of the main characters of the event, whose story is a sad example of how the conflict affected the life of the citizens. During the research of the papers, it became obvious that the state security services' archive documents raise more questions than they answer.



#### **IV. Publications of the author**

- DOMJÁN Dániel Ferenc: *Ütközőpontok a magyar-jugoszláv viszonyrendszerben a Kominform - konfliktus idején, a belgrádi magyar követség levéltári anyagának tükrében*, Studia Vincentiana, 2016/1-2. 39-53.p.
- DOMJÁN Dániel Ferenc: *Magyarok a jugoszláv partizánhadseregben*, In: BALOGH-EBNER Márton; GYÖRGY Sándor; HAJNÁCZKY Tamás (szerk.): *Nem mindennapi történelem : Válogatás a Napi Történelmi Forrás szerzőinek írásaiból*, Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest, 2017, 107-114.p.
- DOMJÁN Dániel Ferenc: *A belgrádi magyar követség helyzete a Kominform-konfliktus idején*, Külügyi Szemle, 2018/4, szám, 66-79.p
- DOMJÁN Dániel Ferenc: *A Yugoslavian show trial : the history of the Zagreb spy trial and its background*, Études sur la Région Méditerranéenne – Méditerran Tanulmányok 28 pp. 2019. 101-109. p.