GÁBOR TABAJDI

Political Police in Hungary (1945–1990): A Brief Overview

In Hungary, as elsewhere, the political police played a fundamental role in the establishment and maintenance of the communist dictatorship. The state protection organs of the Rákosi era and the state security services of the Kádár era were at the disposal of the holders of power throughout. However, the 1956 Revolution also brought about profound changes in the organisation's operation.

Many regarded Kádár's Hungary as the Soviet Union's experimental laboratory, due to the country's Western connections, economic and cultural transfers, and the relative prosperity known as „goulash communism." The secret service files, which have become researchable, albeit in a fragmentary state, cast a previously unknown light on the Cold War period and the recent past of Hungarian society.

THE ROLES OF STATE PROTECTION (1945–1956)

The political police was a key actor[1] in the Sovietisation of Hungary and an indispensable tool for operating the Soviet-type system.[2] From the very beginning of the Soviet occupation of the country in the autumn of 1944, the organisation of various communist-dominated law enforcement groups commenced. From among these rival organisations, the group of an

1 Gyarmati 2013.
2 Rainer M. 2011a.

https://doi.org/10.65017/NEB_EVKONYV.2025.321-334

illegal communist, Gábor Péter, emerged. This former tailor's apprentice, who was in direct contact with the leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, Mátyás Rákosi, ruthlessly subjugated the rival organisations. In accordance with Stalinist logic, Gábor Péter, in search of enemies within the party, initiated show trials even against his former superiors (including the former Minister of the Interior, János Kádár). He too was eventually convicted in 1953, in connection with the domestic re-enactment of the Moscow „Zionist" doctors' plot.[3]

The political police occupied the building of the Arrow Cross movement's headquarters (60 Andrássy Avenue), the last ally of the German National Socialists, on Budapest's most beautiful boulevard.[4] The organisation, called State Protection (abbreviated: ÁVO) from 1946, formally protected the new Hungarian democratic order, and its primary task was initially the tracking down of war criminals. In reality, its actions also assisted the communists' rise to power from the outset. Aiding Mátyás Rákosi's „salami tactics," by breaking up the democratic majority, they launched a series of fabricated proceedings against the political opponents of the Communist Party. In cases employing blackmail and brutal physical coercion, the state protection services collaborated with the occupying Soviet authorities throughout.[5]

The organisation was built up with the help of Soviet advisors. By 1948, the ÁVO had achieved nationwide coverage, with its staff numbering between four and five thousand. This „core staff" of the political police remained essentially unchanged until the change of regime in 1989. At the height of the terror (1949–1953), however, the body of the state protection also included the security police, several units of the penitentiary system, and the border guards. Thus, from the new headquarters on the banks of the Danube, a body of some thirty thousand was directed in total. From 1953 (due to the reorganisation after Stalin's death), and after the 1956 Revolution, the political police operated as part of the Ministry of the

3 Müller 2017.

4 See the website of the museum operating in the building: https://www.terrorhaza.hu/en. An overview of the buildings of the state protection and state security services and the locations of their actions is provided by the collection of the specialised archive: https://www.abtl.hu/topotema/ (Accessed April 12, 2025)

5 Ötvös 2016.

Interior. The internal proportions of the organisation were adapted to the changing international and social situation, as well as to the stability of the domestic political situation.

Authorised staff numbers of the various departments of the political police (1955, 1965, 1975)

	1955	1965	1975
Counter-intelligence against internal reaction	297	641	544
Intelligence	242	295	513
Counter-espionage	263	725	922
Military counter-intelligence	695	426	463
Operational surveillance	404	547	699
Mail censorship	155	268	218

The state protection played a role in the liquidation of civil society; its actions facilitated the economic system change and the process of nationalisation. During the expropriation of Western capital in Hungary, fabricated trials were also organised against the domestic leaders of international companies. Confessions coerced by the political police were used not only in courtrooms but also in propagandistic campaigns that became hysterical. The organisation (by then operating under the name State Protection Authority – ÁVH for short), having become nationwide in its scope, had enmeshed the entire Hungarian society by 1949 and become the main instrument of social control. Its most well-known stories are the show trials organised on the Stalinist model. The proceedings, launched on the basis of class-struggle logic or primary power techniques, affected the entire Hungarian elite (politicians, church and military leaders, and the defining figures of social and economic life).[6] Meanwhile, the organisation's daily intimidating actions also ensured the suppression of (local) social resistance, whether it concerned the nationalisation of companies, the expropriation of peasant holdings, or the social discontent caused by economic difficulties and the strikes that had become illegal.[7]

6 Wirthné Diera 2021; Ötvös 2018.
7 Farkas 2017.

At the height of the terror in 1953, the ÁVH employed some forty thousand network personnel and held data on more than one million Hungarian citizens in its records. It had its own prisons and labour camps under its supervision, where the use of ruthless physical violence and torture was commonplace.[8] In Hungarian society, this period is remembered as the era of the „doorbell dread," a time of general fear and uncertainty. Based on the uncovered data, it can be documented that by this time, the general surveillance of Hungarian postal traffic and the essentially complete surveillance of international mail had been effectively realised.[9]

The terror of the ÁVH contributed to the outbreak of the 1956 Revolution. One of the most important national demands (shared by the university students, the armed insurgents, as well as the provincial and capital city bodies and the workers' councils) was the dissolution of the dreaded organisation. Its fulfilment is linked to the prime minister of the revolution, Imre Nagy, but János Kádár also promised the dismissal of the ÁVH men. At the same time, during the days of the revolution, a hunt began against the members of the body held responsible for the previous oppression and the volleys of fire. Some fell victim to the people's wrath. The memory of those murdered (and their manipulated stories) was presented by Kádár's propaganda as fascist crimes and used to justify the reprisals.[10]

The vast majority of the ÁVH men, who had been hiding for days or were held in public security custody, proved to be a firm support for the authorities after the intervention of the Soviet troops. Former state protection officers played a key role in orchestrating the post-1956 reprisals, during which 231 people were executed.[11] At the same time, the stories of the „discharged legion" are deeply embedded in the public memory: from 1953, and then in several waves between 1957 and 1962, those who had previously been participants in „workers' movement cases," that is, who had been shapers of proceedings affecting communist and (former) social democratic party members, were decommissioned. (From then on, proceedings against members of the reorganised state party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers'

8 Bank 2018.
9 Ungváry–Tabajdi 2009.
10 Tulipán 2014, p. 248.
11 See the thematic page of the Office of the Committee of National Remembrance (NEB): https://neb.hu/hu/perek56hu-adatbazis-1

Party (HSWP), could only be initiated with the permission of the competent party committee.) In the spirit of de-Stalinisation and consolidation, in 1962, the political police was also reorganised to create the Main Group Directorate III (State Security) of the Ministry of the Interior, which operated with an unchanged structure until the change of regime. In the political police of the Kádár era, former employees of the state protection could, albeit in limited numbers, play a leading role right up until 1989.

THE OPERATION OF STATE SECURITY (1957-1962-1990)

As is common in the general histories of Soviet-type systems, a distinction can be made between the Stalinist and post-Stalinist periods in the operation of the Hungarian political police. The intimidating actions of the Rákosi era served the total control of society. The increasingly sophisticated secret service procedures of the Kádár era supported a targeted and effective exercise of power. At the same time, the state protection and state security units, divided into various organisational units, operated as a political police throughout.[12] In the Rákosi era, they acted under the direct control of the Communist Party (and its leaders), and in the Kádár era, under the indirect control of the leading politicians of the HSWP. The role of Mátyás Rákosi and his fellow leaders in shaping the fabricated trials (from the investigation and interrogation phase to the court proceedings) became well known after 1956. The designation of the enemy was based on the resolutions of various party bodies. János Kádár, in the spirit of „socialist legality," kept his distance from the operation of the state security, but multiple controls were ensured by various organisational solutions (the powers of the party committees and bodies). The concept of „Kádárism" (introduced by M. János Rainer), which succinctly describes the post-1956 political aspirations, refers both to the shift in the power structure and the change in the style of exercising power. In this process, „within the unchanged institutional order, the order of importance of the components

12 Tabajdi 2019.

changed; the role of coercive-controlling organisations decreased, while that of informal-coordinating organisations increased."[13]

At the same time, the system's catalogue of enemies was recorded in party resolutions throughout. The documents of the HSWP sometimes specified by name and item who the interior ministry organs should deal with. In general, however, informal direction became dominant. (The reports assisting this, the Daily Operational Information Reports (NOIJ), which ensured the briefing of the party leadership from 1979, have survived intact in the fragmentary state security records.)[14]

The rhetoric of the fight against the external and internal enemy changed slowly. The fight against imperialism remained unchanged in the seventies and eighties (at a time when Western relations were flourishing and the country was simultaneously falling into debt). The Kádárist targets of the fight against internal reaction were modified over time. Citizens who had integrated into society (including former political prisoners) were removed from the crosshairs of the state security. Moving beyond the class-struggle perspective, from the sixties onwards, the targets became the „dangerous elements" with real social influence.

The most important „tools" of the political police were the network personnel who were forced into secret and organised cooperation (a small proportion of whom were won over through various benefits). In contrast to the thirty to forty thousand informers employed in the Rákosi era, the more rationally operating organs of the Kádár era utilised eight to ten thousand such connections at any one time.[15] (In total, some two hundred thousand Hungarian citizens were recruited during the entire Party-state period.) At the same time, after 1956, the state security gradually enmeshed the state apparatus and social organisations as well: the number of official, social, and occasional connections can only be estimated. Officers of the strictly secret staff had a special role; they were simultaneously employees of an office or company (mostly as middle managers) and of the Ministry of the Interior.[16]The identification of collaborators, the citizens organised

13 Rainer M. 2011b, 138.
14 Müller 1999.
15 Takács 2015.
16 See the thematic page of the Hódmezővásárhely Memorial Point (Emlékpont): http://szigoruantitkos.hu/

into the network, through the agent list awaited by many, raises not only moral questions. The identification of these network personnel (due to the fragmentary nature of the data) is partial: according to some samples, it can be carried out with a probability of 20-80% in the area of internal counter-intelligence. Currently, the contents of the former electronic data archives of the state security (the so-called magnetic tapes) are partially legible.[17] At the same time, the fundamental operating method and target areas of the organisation can be clearly described. In the historical literature, detailed analyses and area-specific summaries have been published in connection with individual cases.[18]

In the Kádár era, the targeted procedures of the state security served the maintenance of public tranquillity, which was also expressed by the regime's motto (a twisted biblical quote): „he that is not against us is for us." Among the power-technical endeavours, the most important was subversion. This endeavour meant the destruction of relationships of trust around groups and individuals classified as hostile or dangerous (from police warnings to defamatory newspaper articles and anonymous letters). The political police thus fundamentally contributed to the atomisation and depoliticisation of Kádár's society. In daily operations, the most frequent measure taken by state security officers was 'signalisation'. This meant that information obtained through secret service channels was regularly passed on to the leaders of the competent party, state, or social organs. With this, the measures (conversations with the persons concerned, disciplinary proceedings if necessary) were delegated to their authority. This situational exercise of power is one of the most important characteristics of Kádárism.

17 Report and proposal of the Committee of National Remembrance on the magnetic tapes containing agent names (6 March 2017), see: https://neb.hu/asset/phpoj7mWy.pdf (Accessed April 12, 2025)

18 For the state security bibliography available on the website of the specialised archive, see: https://www.abtl.hu/files/dokumentumok/ALLAMBIZTONSAGI_BIBLIOGRAFIA_2021.pdf (Accessed June 12, 2025)

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE AREAS

From 1945, the fundamental objective of state protection was to support the change of elite necessary for the Sovietisation of the country. After 1956, however, the state security carried out the surveillance of the potential anti-elite (persons enjoying authority in a given social sphere).

One of the tasks of the political police was the apprehension of war criminals. Between 1945 and 1949, soldiers and politicians captured at home or on the Western front, as well as those responsible for the persecution of Jews in Hungary, were brought before the so-called people's courts one after another. The conflation of war criminals and criminals against the people served the power objectives of the communists. Alongside the leaders of the Arrow Cross regime, former prime ministers of Hungary were also executed. But after 1949, the struggle against „fascism" was taken over by the „fight against imperialism." Thus, on political commission, it was only from 1957 that persons branded as „fascist" or „Horthyist" were again targeted, in order to compromise the aspirations and memory of the 1956 Revolution with their former activities. In the sixties, the reprocessing of war criminals' cases took place primarily due to international influences (especially the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961).[19]

The activity of the political police against the churches is demonstrable from the beginning. Church leaders with an active following, social support, and who opposed Sovietisation became victims of fabricated proceedings. In addition to the grandiose series of trials, the endeavours of the state protection also included the isolation (house arrest) and internment of church personnel. The intimidation and manipulation of ecclesiastical public life, and the support for the careers of „loyal" leaders, were also legacies of the Rákosi era. In the Kádár era, recycled trials[20] formally punished „recidivists," but the proceedings against non-compliant church personnel carried a clear message to the faithful. After the series of trials organised in 1961 against active Catholic lay community (youth) leaders (the „Black

19 Máthé 2014.
20 See Kiss 2018.

Crows" case), the enmeshment of the churches and the manipulation of international church organisations became a priority secret service task.[21]

The political police was active in the cultural sphere throughout. In addition to assisting the cultural change of elite, the fight against the enemy (vigilance) extended to all branches of art. In the spirit of an archaic conception of culture, special attention was „enjoyed" by writers (which was reinforced by their role in preparing the 1956 Revolution). [22] The activity of the state security in the spheres of theatres, film production (and other branches of art) developed according to the extent of Western connections. The departments dealing with the internal opposition of the Kádár regime and the units searching for samizdat literature were created from the cultural staff at the end of the seventies.[23]

The main organ of the fight against imperialism was counter-espionage. In the Rákosi era, the charge of „espionage" was a necessary accessory of the fabricated trials. The activity of the organ initially extended to the surveillance of Western legations and foreign trade. The international détente and the opening of the sixties brought a fundamental change in this. Organised tourist trips, foreign trade relations, and the expansion of scholarship programmes increased the department's tasks several-fold. In addition to securing strategic companies or transport, the organ's most well-known international cooperation is connected to the surveillance of GDR and FRG citizens meeting and holidaying together at Lake Balaton.[24] In addition, it is known from the rumours of the era, memoirs, and now also from the fragmentary records, that from the seventies, the Hungarian state security services maintained a special relationship with international terrorist organisations (supporting and monitoring their stay in Hungary). Moreover, the employees of the state security took part in the illegal international drug trade. Drug deals, arms trafficking, and in the eighties, actions related to the acquisition of embargoed products can be linked to their activities.[25]

21 Soós 2016; Wirthné Diera 2016.
22 Standeisky 1996.
23 Szőnyei 2012.
24 Slachta 2012.
25 Orbán-Schwarzkopf 2016.

The operation of Hungarian intelligence developed gradually. In the initial period, the leaders of state protection could rely almost exclusively on embassy staff. According to the available documents, meaningful foreign data collection became possible from the sixties onwards. Hungarian intelligence carried out its actions in cooperation with the socialist sister services, under the direction of the KGB. In the international division of labour, the Hungarian secret agents were given a prominent role in organising actions against the Vatican. The diplomatic representations and the secret service were also intertwined in the Hungarian People's Republic. (This is also demonstrable in certain career paths.) Hungarian intelligence played a prominent role in the surveillance, manipulation, and subversion of the Hungarian emigration in the West. In line with Kádárist endeavours, the organ played a role in luring home renowned public figures and politicians. In addition to scientific and technological espionage, the department was primarily concerned with improving the Western image of the Hungarian People's Republic.[26]

Among the operational areas of state security, the least explored is the world of military counter-intelligence. The change of elite following the Second World War and the proceedings initiated against the officers of the pre-1945 Royal Hungarian Army have been treated by several authors. (These cases were initially handled by the Military Policy Department, established in the Ministry of Defence and then merged into the ÁVH in 1950.) [27] But after 1956, the organisation was adapted to the order of the reorganised Hungarian People's Army units. Due to general conscription, the department played a role in the surveillance of young people. Conscripts who entered service before their university years (so-called pre-enlistees) were considered a group to be specially worked on.

It is important to note that in addition to the departments of the Ministry of the Interior discussed here, the People's Army had its own military intelligence unit (Hungarian People's Army General Staff 2nd Group Directorate: MNVK-2). In accordance with the doctrines of the Warsaw Pact, the department primarily carried out reconnaissance tasks towards Austria and Italy. The games between the members of NATO

26 Andreides–M. Madarász–Soós 2018.
27 Okváth 2001.

and the Warsaw Pact belonged to the world of the Cold War, and detailed publications can be read on individual chapters of this. The most well-known cases of the era show that significant international secret service actions also took place in Hungary.[28] It may have played a role in this that by the sixties, state security had become a predictable profession, and in addition to political commitment, expertise played an increasingly important role. The process of professionalisation can be grasped in the operation of state security. From the seventies, state security officers trained at the college level increasingly prepared entrapments and initiated so-called „games" against Western services as well. While the secret service toolkit hardly changed over the decades, the results of privacy-violating wiretaps and surveillance, or a successful case officer's activity, could lay the foundation for a professional career.[29]

AFTERLIFE

The operation of the political police became known as one of the scandals of the change of regime. After the debates that began in the nineties and then dragged on, the documents of the Main Group Directorate III of the Ministry of the Interior (and its predecessors) were placed in a separate specialised archive. However, the process of transferring the documents has not been completed to this day. For three decades now, professional and political debates have been ongoing about the fate and researchability of the files.

The Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security Services primarily contain documents that were once closed (archived) and survived the culling and destruction.[30] Based on the complex, inter-referential documents, the secret service activity of the sixties and seventies can

28 Soós 2014.

29 For the archontology of the leaders of the state security, see: https://www.abtl.hu/ords/archontologia/f?p=108:1

30 Takács 2018.

be understood in the greatest detail. The legal regulation of research, however, still gives rise to much debate today. The transferred materials are accessible; in recent years, the specialised archive has provided (and continues to provide) informational compensation to former victims and their relatives. On the basis of the material, a 21st-century archive has been created, which is at the same time a scientific workshop with an active public outreach activity and extensive international connections.[31] At the same time, research on the history of the state security repeatedly runs into practical obstacles. Network personnel named in the 2000s have initiated personality rights lawsuits not only against press products but also against academic researchers. The legal regulations in this area do not facilitate scientific exploration. The vetting of public figures did not satisfy the demands of Hungarian society. The lack of information further increased the social frustration related to the course of the change of regime and provided fertile ground for various conspiracy theories.[32]

At the same time, in the past two decades, hundreds of scientific institutes and research projects have dealt with the histories of the political police.[33] (In parallel with this, dozens of documentary films have processed the knowable cases.) The scientific investigations have contributed to the thematisation of fundamental methodological and historical-theoretical questions, to the deepening of professional discourse, and to empathetic historical processing. In addition to the traditional political and social historical approaches, other sub-disciplines have also analysed the legacy of the political police.[34] Through the scientific processing, the once-secret documents of the era have been able to become historical sources (slowly losing their former functions, e.g., blackmail, manipulation, propaganda).

31 For its online journal, *Betekintő* (*Insight*) (its first English-language issue), see: https://www.betekinto.hu/hu/szamok/2022_4_angol (Accessed April 12, 2025)

32 Ungváry 2017; Varga 2006.

33 Beyond the List – The State Security Dossier of the 1956 Institute (http://www.rev.hu/rev/html/hu/ugynok/munka.html), and the Digital State Security Archive - http://allambizt.osaarchivum.org/ (Accessed April 12, 2025)

34 Horváth 2014.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

Sources

National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, MNL OL)
MNL OL, XIX-B-1-au – Papers of the Organisational Group Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior

References

Andreides Gábor–M. Madarász Anita–Soós Viktor Attila (ed.) 2018: *Diplomácia, hírszerzés, állambiztonság*. Budapest, Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága.
Bank Barbara 2018: The Hungarian "Gulag", 1945–1953. In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (ed.): *NEB Yearbook 2016–2017*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 87–119.
Farkas Gyöngyi 2017: *Lázadó falvak. Kollektivizálás elleni tüntetések a vidéki Magyarországon, 1951–1961*. Budapest, Korall.
Gyarmati György 2013: *A Rákosi-korszak. Rendszerváltó fordulatok évtizedes Magyarországon, 1945–1956*. Budapest, Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára–Rubicon.
Horváth Sándor (ed.) 2014: *Az ügynök arcai. Mindennapi kollaboráció és ügynökkérdés*. Budapest, Libri.
Kiss Réka 2018: A Protestant Youth Association in the early cold war: The Persecution of the Hungarian YMCA by Communist State Security. In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (ed.): *NEB Yearbook 2016–2017*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 63–85.
Máthé Áron 2014: *A zuglói nyilasok pere 1967*. Budapest, Századvég.
Müller Rolf 1999: Napi Operatív Információs Jelentések, 1979–1990. *Trezor 1. A Történeti Hivatal évkönyve*. 251–285.
Müller Rolf 2017: *Az erőszak neve: Péter Gábor*. Budapest, Jaffa Kiadó.
Okváth Imre (ed.) 2001: *Katonai perek a kommunista diktatúra időszakában, 1945–1958. Tanulmányok a fegyveres testületek tagjai elleni megtorlásokról a hidegháború kezdeti időszakában*. Budapest, Történeti Hivatal.
Orbán-Schwarzkopf Balázs 2016: *Szürkék és farkasok a vörös árnyékában. Szemelvények állambiztonsági iratokból*. Budapest, Hamvas Intézet.
Ötvös István 2016: Show Trials and Politics in Post-War Hungary. In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (ed.): *NEB Yearbook 2014–2015*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 79–91.
Ötvös István 2018: Political Trials and Their Utilization by the Hungarian Communist Dictatorship. In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (eds.): *NEB Yearbook 2016–2017*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 45–62.
Rainer M. János 2011a: The Crimes of the communist regime in Hungary: National report. In Svoboda, David–O'Connor, Cóilín (ed.): *International Conference Crimes of the Communist Regimes: An Assessment by Historians and legal Experts*. Prague, Institute for the Study of

Totalitarian Regimes. 57–192. https://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/publikace/sborniky/crime/sbornik.pdf (Accessed January 20, 2025)

Rainer M. János 2011b: *Bevezetés a kádárizmusba*. Budapest, 1956-os Intézet–L'Harmattan Kiadó.

Slachta Krisztina 2012: State Security and Tourism on the shores of Lake Balaton. Germans to meet Germans in Hungary between 1961–1989, In Gyarmati György (ed.): *Prelude to Demolishing the Iron Curtain: Pan-European Picnic*. Budapest, L'Harmattan Kiadó–ÁBTL, 47–64.

Soós Mihály 2014: *A magyar polgári hírszerzés NATO-elleni tevékenysége az 1980-as években*. Budapest, Hamvas Béla Intézet.

Soós Viktor Attila 2016: An Agent's Story from Two Perspectives. The Portrait of Agent „Mátrai" Based on His Confessions and the Documents of Hungarian State Security. In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (ed.): *NEB Yearbook 2014–2015*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 123– 161.

Standeisky Éva 1996: *Az írók és a hatalom 1956–1963*. Budapest, 1956-os Intézet.

Szőnyei Tamás 2012: *Titkos írás I–II. Állambiztonsági szolgálat és irodalmi élet*. Budapest, Noran Könyvesház.

Tabajdi Gábor 2019: *Bomlasztás. Kádár János és a III/III*. Budapest, Jaffa Kiadó.

Takács Tibor 2015: Them and us: Narratives of agents from the Kádár era. *Hungarian Historical Review*, 2015/1. 144–170.

Takács Tibor 2018: Az Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltárának (rövid) története. In Apor Péter–Bódi Lóránt–Horváth Sándor–Huhák Heléna–Scheibner Tamás (ed.): *Kulturális ellenállás a Kádár-korszakban. Gyűjtemények története*. Budapest, MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet. 307–320.

Tulipán Éva 2014: *Ostrom 1956-ban. A Köztársaság tér emlékezete*. Budapest, Jaffa Kiadó.

Ungváry Krisztián–Tabajdi Gábor 2009: Ungarn. In Lukas, Kaminski–Krzyszof, Persak–Jens, Gieseke (Hg.): *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944–1991*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 481–554.

Ungváry Krisztián 2017: *A szembenézés hiánya. Felelősségre vonás, iratnyilvánosság és átvilágítás Magyarországon, 1990–2017*. Budapest, Magánkiadás.

Varga László 2006: *Világ besúgói, egyesüljetek! Az állambiztonság átmentése*. Budapest, Polgart Könyvkiadó.

Wirthné Diera Bernadett 2016: The Situation of the Catholic Church and Youth Pastoral Care in Hungary: A Presentation of Operation "Black Ravens". In Kiss, Réka–Horváth, Zsolt (ed.): *NEB Yearbook 2014–2015*. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance. 163–187.

Wirthné Diera Bernadett 2021: The Others. József Mindszenty's Co-defendants. In Fejérdy, András–Wirthné Diera, Bernadett (ed.): *The Trial of Cardinal József Mindszenty from the Perspective of Seventy Years: The Fate of Church Leaders in Central and Eastern Europe*. Citta del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 97–114.