

Theses of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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György Marosán  
(1908 – 1992)

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## Topic of the Dissertation

The dissertation traces the life path of György Marosán from his years as a baker's apprentice in Oradea to the peak of party-state power, and finally to his long period of withdrawal. The work departs from traditional, linear biography by employing thematic "excursuses" to shed light on the deeper layers of Marosán's personality as well as the political functioning of the era.

The story begins in Bihar County, where orphanhood and poverty steered the young Marosán toward the radical labor movement. In the 1930s and 1940s, he became a defining and charismatic speaker of the Social Democratic movement, yet his rebellious nature and ideological underdevelopment already foreshadowed his later controversial role.

After 1945, he played a key role in the dismantling of the Social Democratic Party and in the communist takeover of power; however, he himself could not escape Stalinist persecution: he became the victim of a show trial and was imprisoned. Following his release in 1956, he became one of the "fists" of the Kádár restoration. His infamous statement, "*From today, we shoot!*", became a symbol of the reprisals after the revolution. Despite holding influential positions in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (Budapest party leader, Minister of State), he unexpectedly turned against the Political Committee in 1962, which marked the end of his political career.

The dissertation also deals in detail with Marosán's 30-year retirement period, during which, in his memoirs, he sought to assert his own narrative and rehabilitate himself before history.

## Historiographical Background

The historiography of biographical works on the Hungarian political elite after 1945 reflects the political and ideological transformations of the second half of the twentieth century. Before 1989, the institutional and discursive framework of historical writing was fundamentally shaped by party-state structures.

The Hungarian Institute of the Labour Movement and its successor, the Institute of Party History, functioned not merely as research centers but also as key institutions for producing the official historical narrative.<sup>1</sup> The primary purpose of the biographies produced there was not

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<sup>1</sup> Zsuzsanna B. Kádár: *Állam – párt – történetírás. A Magyar Munkásmozgalmi Intézet – az MSZMP Párttörténeti Intézete (1948–1989)*. Budapest, 2021, Gondolat Kiadó.

critical inquiry, but the legitimation of political power. The dominant “national communist” interpretive framework of the period—represented by Erzsébet Andics—was closely tied to the position of Mátyás Rákosi.<sup>2</sup>

During the post-1956 consolidation, a certain degree of professionalization in historiography can be observed, though it remained strongly limited in the study of the post-1945 period. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 had to be officially interpreted as a counterrevolution, while Imre Nagy and his associates were portrayed as traitors. Historical works thus remained part of a politically controlled memory regime. In this context, biographies were written for propaganda purposes: in the figure of István Dobi, the ideal type of the worker–peasant alliance appeared,<sup>3</sup> while in the case of Ferenc Münnich, the narrative of the internationalist communist fighter predominated.<sup>4</sup>

By the late 1980s, however, Soviet reform processes—especially glasnost—gradually loosened the ideological constraints of historiography. The 1989 report of the historical subcommittee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party already pointed toward a reassessment of the events of 1956. After the regime change, the institutional structure also transformed: the Institute of Party History became the Institute of Political History, archives were opened, and ideological barriers to scholarly biography were, in principle, removed.

Nevertheless, post-1989 historiography did not distribute its attention evenly. A significant portion of research focused on revisiting figures of the Horthy era,<sup>5</sup> while the study of the communist elite after 1945 remained more restrained. Politicians of the period were more often treated in handbooks and portrait collections than in comprehensive monographs. At the same time, an important development was that biographical writing moved beyond the narrow confines of the historical profession: writers, journalists, sociologists, and political scientists also played a major role in interpreting the period. This pluralization introduced new perspectives but also increased the unevenness of interpretations.

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<sup>2</sup> Ignác Romsics: *Clio bűvöletében. Magyar történetírás a 19–20. században – nemzetközi kitekintéssel*. Budapest, 2011, Osiris Kiadó, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> István Vida: *Fejezetek Dobi István életéből*. Budapest, 1977, Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó.  
See also: Sándor Révész: *Dobi István, az elfeledett államfő. Egy nincstelen parasztfiú útja a hatalomba*. Budapest, 2020, Európa Könyvkiadó.

<sup>4</sup> Etelka Berényi Münnichné: *Münnich Ferenc. A történelem sodrában*. Budapest, 1986, Reflektor Kiadó.  
János Botos: *Münnich Ferenc. A forradalmár, a politikus, a katona*. Budapest, 1987, BM Könyvkiadó.  
(A comprehensive scholarly biography of Münnich is still lacking.)

<sup>5</sup> Máté Fábrián: A huszadik századi magyar életrajzírás néhány historiográfiai és módszertani kérdése / Adalékok egy készülő életrajzhoz. In: József Pap (ed.): *Tanulmányok Dr. Misóczki Lajos 80. születésnapjára*. Eger, 2018, Líceum Kiadó, pp. 83–98.

The greatest attention undoubtedly surrounded the life of János Kádár. The biographies written about him clearly reflect historiographical change: László Gyurkó's work<sup>6</sup> was still shaped by late Kádár-era propaganda, while Tibor Huszár approached the subject with scholarly intent from a sociological perspective.<sup>7</sup> The analyses of János M. Rainer, in turn, examined the relationship between political system and personality, introducing new conceptual frameworks (such as "Kádárism").<sup>8</sup> By contrast, the works of György Moldova and János Berecz<sup>9</sup> are more apologetic or nostalgic in nature and thus of limited value from the standpoint of critical historiography.

A similarly diverse picture emerges in the historiography of Imre Nagy. Works produced in Western emigration (e.g., those by Tibor Méray<sup>10</sup>) tend to be strongly normative and often apologetic, whereas the monograph by János M. Rainer represents a critical, source-based approach.<sup>11</sup> The evolving image of Nagy clearly reflects changes in Hungarian memory politics: the earlier consensus surrounding the martyred prime minister has, since the 2000s, once again become the subject of debate.

The level of scholarly attention devoted to other members of the post-1945 elite is uneven. In the case of Mátyás Rákosi, surprisingly few comprehensive biographies have been produced; the work of Árpád Pütkösti,<sup>12</sup> while rich in data, does not strive for scholarly objectivity. For figures such as László Rajk, Gábor Péter, or Béla Biszku,<sup>13</sup> research often

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<sup>6</sup> László Gyurkó: *Arcképvázlat történelmi háttérrel*. Budapest, 1982, Magvető Kiadó.

<sup>7</sup> Tibor Huszár: *Kádár János politikai életrajza* I–II. Budapest, 2001–2003, Szabad Tér Kiadó – Kossuth Kiadó. Revised edition: *Kádár. A hatalom évei 1956–1989*. Budapest, 2006, 2012, Corvina Kiadó.

— (ed.): *Kedves, jó Kádár elvtárs! Válogatás Kádár János levelezéséből*. Budapest, 2002, Osiris Kiadó.

<sup>8</sup> János M. Rainer: *Bevezetés a kádárizmusba*. Budapest, 2011, 1956-os Intézet – L'Harmattan Kiadó.

<sup>9</sup> György Moldova: *Kádár János* I–II. Budapest, 2006, Urbis Könyvkiadó.

János Berecz: *Kádár élt...* I–IV. Budapest, 2008–2012, Duna International Könyvkiadó.

<sup>10</sup> Tibor Méray: *Nagy Imre élete és halála*. München, 1978, Griff Kiadó.

<sup>11</sup> János M. Rainer: *Nagy Imre. Politikai életrajz. I–II*. Budapest, 1996, 1999, 1956-os Intézet.

Shortened editions: *Nagy Imre*. Budapest, 2002, Vince Kiadó; 2016, Nagy Imre Alapítvány; 2017, Kossuth Kiadó.

<sup>12</sup> Árpád Pütkösti:

*Rákosi a hatalomért*. Budapest, 1992, Európa Könyvkiadó;

*Rákosi a csúcson*. Budapest, 1996, Európa Könyvkiadó;

*Rákosi bukása, száműzetése és halála*. Budapest, 2001, Európa Könyvkiadó;

*Rákosi, Sztálin legjobb tanítványa*. Budapest, 2004, Európa Könyvkiadó.

<sup>13</sup> Erzsébet Strassenreiter – Péter Sipos: *Rajk László*. Budapest, 1974, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Key literature on the Rajk trial:

*Rajk László és társai a Népbíróság előtt*. Budapest, 1949, Szikra Kiadó;

Gábor Pais (ed.): *Rajk per*. Budapest, 1989;

István Soltész: *Rajk-dosszié*. Budapest, 1989;

Tibor Hajdú: *A Rajk-per háttere és fázisai*. Társadalmi Szemle, 1992/11;

István Ötvös: *Koncepcióváltások. A Rajk-per katonai vonala*. Budapest, 2012;

focuses on key events (such as show trials or reprisals), leading to disproportionate biographical treatments.

Special attention must be paid to the historiography of the Social Democratic elite, without which the career of György Marosán cannot be properly understood. The biographies of politicians such as Anna Kéthly or Károly Peyer<sup>14</sup> provide a more nuanced picture; however, comprehensive monographs are still lacking for other leading figures of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, such as Árpád Szakasits.<sup>15</sup>

Overall, it can be concluded that the biographical treatment of the Hungarian political elite after 1945 has been strongly shaped by the political and ideological context of each period. Although the regime change eliminated direct ideological control, it did not produce full balance: research directions, authorial backgrounds, and debates in memory politics continue to significantly influence the biographies that are produced. Historiography thus reflects not only the actors of the past, but also the interpretive frameworks of the present.

## Objectives of the Dissertation

In the course of my research, a recurring question has been why the life path of György Marosán should be placed at the center of analysis. Behind this question there often lies an implicit assumption that the choice of topic necessarily reflects some form of political identification—whether a commitment to the political left or its critique. The present work, however, proceeds from a fundamentally different premise: it is guided not by normative or identity-based considerations, but by explicitly scholarly ones. The choice is primarily rooted in the recognition of a clearly perceptible historiographical gap, which is still evident in

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Tibor Zinner: „*A nagy politikai affér*”. *A Rajk–Brankov-ügy*. I–II. Budapest, 2013–2014;

Tibor Takács (ed.): *Rajk-per éve: közéletések 1949-hez*. Budapest–Pécs, 2020.

Rolf Müller: *Az erőszak neve: Péter Gábor. Az ÁVH vezetőjének élete*. Budapest, 2017, Jaffa Kiadó.

Zsolt Krahulcsán: *Biszku – A megtorlás belügyminiszterének életútja*. Budapest, 2022, Jaffa Kiadó.

<sup>14</sup> Erzsébet Strassenreiter (ed.): *Kéthly Anna válogatott levelei (1921–1976)*. Budapest, 2011, Napvilág Kiadó;

Ágnes Hankiss: *Kéthly Anna lejárata. A kommunista állambiztonság eszköztára*. Budapest–Brussels, 2013;

Csaba Loppert (ed.): „*Kéthly Annát a kormányba!*”. *Magyar szociáldemokraták és az 1956-os forradalom*. Budapest, 2017;

Zsuzsanna B. Kádár: *Kéthly Anna (1889–1976). Életrajzi monográfia*. Budapest, 2023.

István Simon: *Vezérelőzet. A Peyer-kérdés és a magyar szociáldemokrácia*. Budapest, 2003;

Gábor Holczer: *Városlódtól New Yorkig. Peyer Károly politikai pályafutása*. Városlőd–Veszprém, 2011.

<sup>15</sup> János Kende: *Szakasits Árpád*. *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1982/12, pp. 71–80;

János Botos – Péter Schiffer (eds.): *Szakasits Árpád emlékkönyv*. Budapest, 1988;

Erzsébet Strassenreiter: *Szakasits Árpád*. *Párttörténeti Közlemények*, 1988/4, pp. 164–200.

Hungarian historical scholarship regarding the treatment of Marosán's personality and political role.

In my assessment, Marosán's career is exceptionally well suited to serve as a lens through which several closely interconnected yet distinct periods of twentieth-century Hungarian history can be interpreted. His life trajectory passes through key historical junctures that encapsulate fundamental transformations in Hungarian society and politics: the scope and limitations of interwar social democracy; the post-Second World War reconfiguration of the labor movement; the mechanisms and logic of Stalinization; the events and consequences of the 1956 revolution; as well as the consolidation of the Kádár era and the antecedents of the regime change. This multifaceted historical experience does not appear merely as a chronological sequence in Marosán's life, but rather as a complex biographical arc that offers an opportunity to examine the interaction between structural forces and individual agency.

Accordingly, the dissertation does not confine itself to a conventional reconstruction of a political biography. Its aim is instead to produce an analytical portrait of an era, one that renders visible the dilemmas, fault lines, and processes of transformation in twentieth-century Hungarian history through the prism of a single life trajectory. In this sense, the life story is not an end in itself, but serves as an interpretive framework for exploring a broader historical reality. In analyzing Marosán's life course, the study consistently seeks to reconstruct the social and political contexts shaping each phase of his career. Through thematic excursions, it aims to uncover deeper—and often less visible—layers of this trajectory. This approach not only seeks to refine and reconsider established narratives, but also engages in historiographical reflection on the evolving image of Marosán: how it was constructed, transformed, and solidified across different periods, and within what interpretive frameworks it became part of historical memory.

## Methodology and Sources

The methodology of the dissertation is defined by the critical comparison and interpretation of various types of sources, differing in origin and purpose. The analysis is based, on the one hand, on autobiographical materials (memoirs, oral history interviews, family conversations), and, on the other hand, on official documents and public statements (party records, press interviews, publicistic writings). In applying source criticism, I consistently sought to interpret each document within the context of its creation, taking into account its function and intended effect. Where critical observations arose, these are indicated either in the main text or in footnotes.

Whenever possible, the accounts of remembering subjects—whether autobiographies or family recollections—were compared with official party documents, with particular attention paid to omissions, narrative distortions, and patterns of self-interpretation. In certain cases, the political language of press interviews and publicistic texts was analyzed from a discourse-analytical perspective. The aim was not merely the collection of data, but the identification of internal tensions between sources and the creation of an interpretive space in which both the life trajectory and its historical context can be understood in a complex manner.

During the research process, technological tools such as the ChatGPT (GPT-5.2) were also employed in organizing the source material and outlining relational networks. This tool assisted in exploring structural possibilities, identifying conceptual connections, and preparing preliminary drafts of certain sections. Throughout its use, however, I maintained strict scholarly responsibility and critical control; all decisive interpretations and final authorial conclusions are exclusively the result of my own research.

In the chapters dealing with the period before 1945, the focus extends beyond Marosán's person to a broader reconstruction of the processes of the Social Democratic labor movement, tracing his role and movement within this multi-layered narrative. Reconstructing his views on contemporary events poses a particular challenge, as the available sources consist almost exclusively of retrospective reflections, which tend to reflect later identity formation rather than direct representations of the original situations.

Following the examination of the theoretical background, the first step was to divide Marosán's life into distinct phases. Based on the historiographical overview, three key turning points were identified: the party merger of 1948, the suppression of the 1956 revolution, and the political rupture of 1962. These events play a central role both in Hungarian historical interpretations and in the structure of the dissertation. At the same time, care was taken not to marginalize other aspects of Marosán's life—such as his family background and socio-cultural environment—which provide essential context for his political career.

The first chapter addresses Marosán's childhood, socialization, and entry into the labor movement. The subsequent phase of the biographical narrative presents the unfolding of his political activity, situated within the broader historical context of the Social Democratic movement. This approach is particularly necessary because much of the historiography on the Hungarian labor movement was produced before 1989 and therefore requires reinterpretation from a contemporary perspective. The key phases of Marosán's career—his increasing political engagement from the 1930s onward, his role in the antifascist resistance, and the postwar

reestablishment—are examined in separate chapters, embedded within their political and social contexts.

The analysis of the postwar years, Sovietization, and the Rákosi era focuses on his ministerial responsibilities, the political trial, and his imprisonment. The 1956 revolution and the subsequent reprisals are treated in a separate chapter, as are the three phases of Marosán's role during the Kádár era, including his ministerial, party, and diplomatic activities, the rupture of 1962, and his subsequent return. The final section of the dissertation examines the last years of his life and his relationship to the regime change.

In analyzing Marosán's life, particular attention is given to recurring motifs with strong structuring power. These are explored in detail through the “Excursuses” placed at the end of each chapter. These sections do not merely supplement the chronological narrative but expand its interpretive horizon. They examine Marosán's social embeddedness, religious orientation, rhetorical self-conception, and his relationship to sport, younger generations, and intellectual groups, as well as the narrative characteristics and memory-political implications of his memoirs.

The inclusion of these “Excursuses” is methodologically justified. They go beyond a “postmodern” narrative device and instead address a classical problem of historical writing: chronological narration necessarily fragments phenomena that in reality exist as long-term, recurring patterns. Political habitus, rhetorical role perception, or even the social function of alcohol cannot be tied to single events but must be understood as temporally extended practices. If confined strictly to chronological logic, they become fragmented and lose interpretive weight. The “Excursuses,” by contrast, restore their temporal continuity and allow them to appear within a unified interpretive framework, thereby enabling a more complex analysis while minimizing repetition.

The thematic spectrum of the “Excursuses” includes:

- an intellectual-historical overview of the intersections between religious belief and politics;
- a family-historical reconstruction revealing genealogical dimensions of Marosán's social and cultural background;
- a movement-historical analysis of the workers' choral movement;
- a gender-oriented source analysis examining Marosán's attitudes toward women;
- network analysis mapping his personal and political connections;
- a critical reinterpretation of the concept of “crypto-communism”;
- a collective biographical experiment on “traitorous social democrats” in the Eastern Bloc;

- a sports-historical perspective on his activities and their social meaning;
- a reconstruction of his intellectual development based on ego-documents;
- an analysis of the role of alcohol consumption in social and political interactions;
- rhetorical case studies of his speeches;
- an examination of his attitude toward intellectuals;
- an analysis of the genesis and narrative construction of his memoirs;
- an interpretation of his relationship to younger generations;
- and the identification of unexplored areas and future research directions.

Although these thematic “deep dives” occasionally interrupt the linear progression of the biography, they provide an opportunity to uncover deeper and more complex layers of the life story. These sections are marked as separate units at the end of each chapter, allowing readers—according to their interests—to omit them or approach them as autonomous analytical units.

Rather than blending different levels of interpretation implicitly within the main narrative, they are presented separately and reflectively. This does not fragment the narrative but structures it, making it clear when the text follows the sequence of events and when it shifts to an analytical level.

In the concluding part of the dissertation, Marosán’s life is summarized in a chronological table highlighting key events, accompanied by a network diagram that visually maps the complex social and political space in which his activities unfolded.

Primary archival research was conducted in the collections of the Hungarian National Archives (MNL OL), the Archives and Library of the Institute of Political History (PIL), the Budapest City Archives (BFL), and the Historical Archives of the State Security Services (ÁBTL). Additional sources included correspondence and interviews from the collections of the Petőfi Literary Museum (PIM), the National Széchényi Library (OSZK), and the Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives (OSA). In an international context, the CIA’s historical collection (Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room) was also consulted.

The Marosán family provided valuable assistance: conversations with György Marosán Jr. and Júlia Marosán helped clarify several previously unknown aspects. Contemporary recollections from the Oral History Archive of the 1956 Institute, as well as interviews and documentaries from MTVA and the National Audiovisual Archive, further enriched the research perspective.

Printed sources—including memoirs and contemporary press materials such as *Népszava*, *Magyar Nemzet*, and *Szabad Nép/Népszabadság*—were also indispensable. Their study was greatly facilitated by digital databases such as Arcanum Digitális Tudománytár, Hungaricana, and DigiTéka – Erdélyi Digitális Tudománytár.

## Results of the Research

A key point of departure is that no comprehensive, scholarly monographic biography of György Marosán has yet been produced, despite the fact that his life closely follows many of the turning points of twentieth-century Hungarian history. His political career—from the Social Democratic movement through communist party leadership and imprisonment to the upper echelons of the Kádár regime—has allowed for multiple interpretations, yet these have mostly focused on partial issues. The aim of this dissertation was to provide a nuanced portrayal of this controversial politician while also illuminating broader historical contexts.

The dissertation interprets Marosán’s life not merely as an individual career, but as a cross-section of interwar labor movement structures. Through biographical reconstruction, it offers insight into the internal relations and organizational functioning of both the Transylvanian and Hungarian Social Democratic movements.

The use of “Excursuses” made it possible to integrate themes that are typically relegated to the periphery in conventional political biographies. These include, for example, the influence of family background on political habitus, the internal logic of intellectual development, and the role of alcohol in the functioning of political and informal networks. These are not marginal aspects, but factors without which the motivations and frameworks of political action would appear distorted. They also serve a comparative function: when parallel life paths or similar trajectories from the Eastern Bloc are introduced, Marosán appears simultaneously as both typical and unique. This perspective does not fragment the unity of the biography, but rather situates it within a broader historical field.

The dissertation argues that Marosán’s relationship to communism cannot be understood solely as political or ideological commitment, but rather as an attitude that, in many respects, resembles a religious logic: for him, communism functioned as a belief system, providing moral norms, a sense of historical mission, and an interpretive framework. To analyze this, the dissertation employs the concept of political theology, which—following Carl Schmitt—examines structural parallels between political ideologies and religious thought. The

research thus aims to demonstrate how communist ideology could function as a form of collective belief within the thinking of a political actor.

The dissertation pays particular attention to Marosán's role during the so-called "years of the turn," especially in the process of unifying the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party. It also offers a detailed analysis of the period following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, examining the dynamics of repression and consolidation, and reconstructing Marosán's political positions, rhetorical role, and functions within the power structure.

An important result of the study is that, through the examination of an individual life path, it sheds light on the characteristics of the transition between the Social Democratic and communist political elites. Marosán's story illustrates the constraints of decision-making, strategies of adaptation, and internal conflicts that characterized actors who moved from the old world of the left-wing movement into the structures of the communist party-state.

The research also places special emphasis on the relationship between Marosán and János Kádár. It demonstrates that although Marosán played a highly visible role after 1956 in the suppression of the revolution and the reorganization of the party, he was relatively quickly pushed out of the inner circle of decision-making. This finding helps to nuance our understanding of the Kádár regime, particularly regarding how the leadership dealt with figures who were perceived as overly "problematic" from the standpoint of power.

A separate focus is devoted to the evolution of Marosán's memory after the regime change. The dissertation shows how this retrospective image was constructed and where it diverges from the reality that can be reconstructed from contemporary sources. In doing so, it contributes to interpreting Marosán not merely through condemnatory or apologetic labels, but within a historical context.

Finally, one of the major contributions of the research lies in the diverse and integrated use of sources. The dissertation is based not only on party documents and archival materials, but also incorporates Marosán's own writings, press appearances, oral history interviews, audio and film recordings, and memoirs—though the latter are consistently treated with strong critical scrutiny.

## List of the Author's Publications

The results of my research on the life and activities of György Marosán have previously been published in the following venues:<sup>16</sup>

- Bárány, Balázs: *Marosán György és Nagyvárad – Egy politikai pályakezdés szociokulturális háttere*. In: Ballabás, Dániel (ed.): *Mozaikok a 18–20. századi magyar és egyetemes történelemből*. Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2017, pp. 17–32.
- Bárány, Balázs: *A jó, a rossz és a szocdem? Marosán György, Nagy Imre és Kádár János pályafutásának ingamozgásai*. In: Fábrián, Máté – Romsics, Ignác (eds.): *RMJ60. Tanulmányok a hatvanéves Rainer M. János tiszteletére*. Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2017, pp. 17–40.
- Bárány, Balázs: „Mi már nem érthetjük, ami itt történik.” *Marosán György és a rendszerváltás*. *Múltunk*, 2019/3, pp. 123–144.
- Bárány, Balázs: *A megkerülhetetlen ember. Marosán György közéleti szerepei*. In: Rainer M. János (ed.): *Elit és szubelit a Kádár-korszakban – közelítések. Magyarország a jelenkorban*. Budapest–Pécs: 1956-os Intézet Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, 2021, pp. 211–277.
- Bárány, Balázs: „A munkásosztály forradalmi pártjában nem szokás tisztségekről lemondani.” *Marosán György távozása az MSZMP-ből*. In: Takács, Tibor (ed.): *1961, 1962, 1963. A konszolidáció évei*. Budapest–Pécs: ÁBTL – Kronosz Kiadó, 2023, pp. 133–147.
- Bárány, Balázs: „Maga nagyon jó helyen van a Szociáldemokrata Pártban.” *Marosán György és a fordulat évei*. In: Rainer M. János (ed.): *Elit és konfliktus – tanulmányok. Magyarország a jelenkorban*. Budapest–Pécs: 1956-os Intézet Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, pp. 293–358.

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<sup>16</sup> List of further academic and popular publications:

[https://m2.mtmt.hu/api/publication?cond=published;eq:true&cond=core;eq:true&cond=authors.mtid;eq:10044168&sort=publishedYear,desc&sort=firstAuthor,asc&page=1&size=20&fields=template&labelLang=hun&cite\\_type=2](https://m2.mtmt.hu/api/publication?cond=published;eq:true&cond=core;eq:true&cond=authors.mtid;eq:10044168&sort=publishedYear,desc&sort=firstAuthor,asc&page=1&size=20&fields=template&labelLang=hun&cite_type=2)