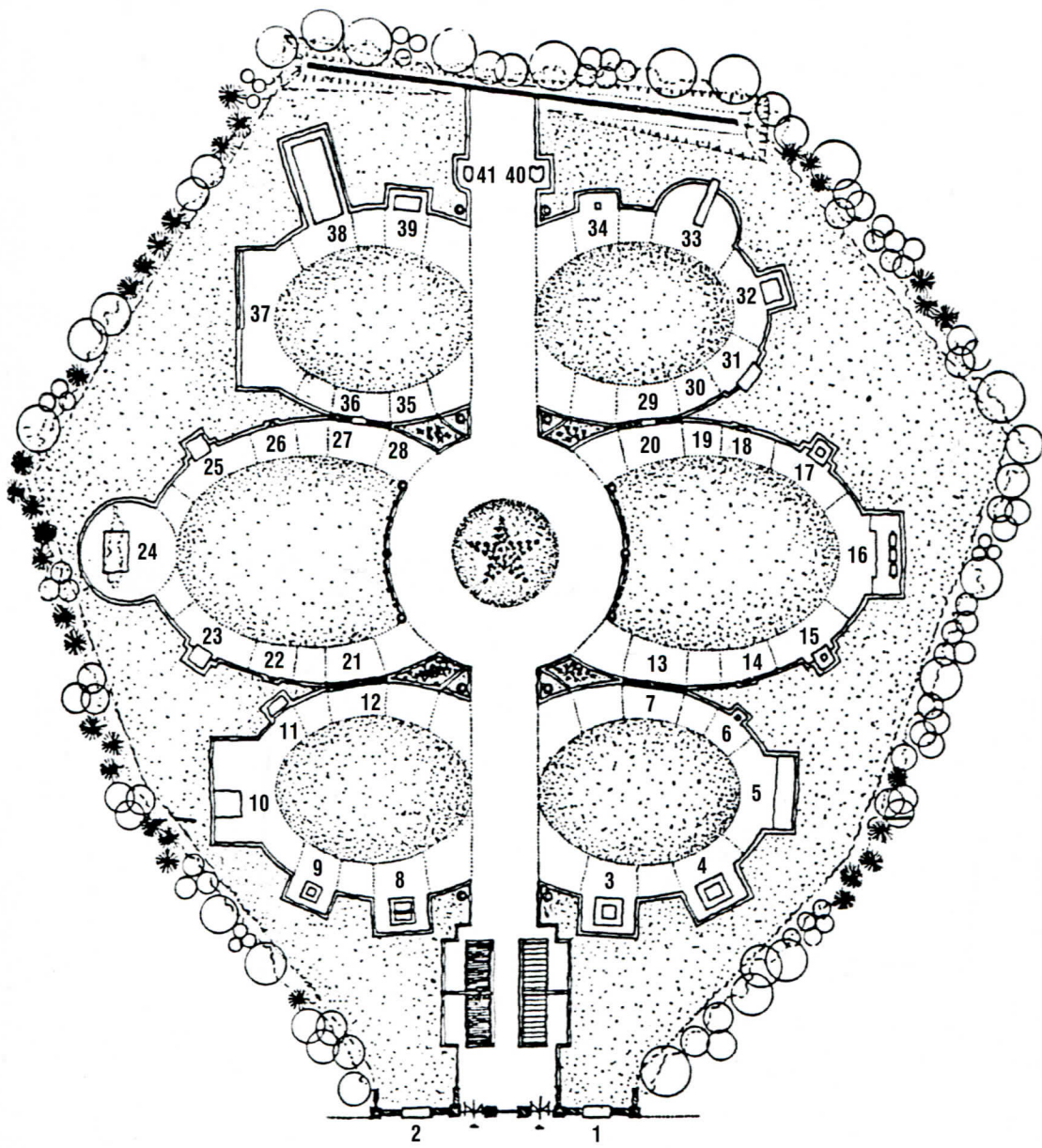


IN THE SHADOW OF STALIN'S BOOTS

VISITORS' GUIDE
TO MEMENTO PARK



In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots

Visitors' Guide to Memento Park





"The Memento Park is a museum of a historical era, simultaneously presenting the themes of dictatorship and democracy. The Memento Park was built according to the conceptual design of the architect Ákos Eleőd. An 'atmosphere of dictatorship' is created by these threatening monumental reminders of authority. However, in their new location, the positioning of the statues and accompanying buildings demonstrate to us that they are now simply the historical witnesses of the fact that there was once an era which expressed itself through these threatening symbols."

(Géza Boros, Art Historian)

Spectres of Communism

The Memento Park is located in the 22nd district of Budapest beside the busy route 7. The most important part of this tourist attraction which is both the memorial park of a historical era and a cultural centre, is the Statue Park. In this particularly Eastern-European collection, there are primarily political statues that during the years 1947-1988, in fulfilment of the requirements of the socialist political ideology, “graced” the streets of Budapest.

Hungary finished the Second World War in 1945 on the losing side. With the support of the occupying Soviet Red Army, communist politicians took power and a Soviet-style totalitarian dictatorship was established. During subsequent decades, all over the country, thousands of public statues were unveiled which glorified the communist ideal and its representatives: the occupying Soviets and those leaders that collaborated with them.

The Eastern-European dictatorships fell in 1989-90. As part of this political revolution, the fate of these public memorials to communist ideology became an important issue.

One section of public opinion supported the obvious, most drastic solution – the total destruction of the statues. The city council immediately rejected this; instead, they resolved to create a thematical statue park. The decision on which of these “creations of documentary value” should be included in the proposed park was taken by a committee of all the district mayors and local cultural

committees. As a result of this committee, a list of 42 statues was put together which provided the basis for the architectural proposal of the Statue Park.

The subject generated lots of interest: in newspaper articles, TV and radio programmes numerous opinions were given on what the statue park should be like. Eventually two main streams of thought emerged: the more serious recommended a “shame-type” solution; others thought a grotesque “Irony Park” would be better. The fact that a totally different concept was realised on the Tétényi moors, is thanks to the prize-winning architectural design of Ákos Eleőd – the “One Sentence about Tyranny” Statue Park concept.

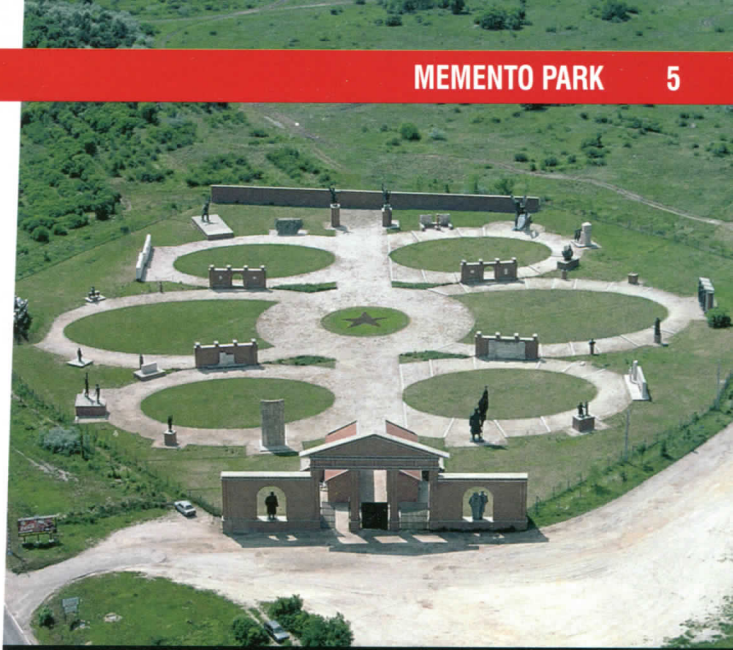
Since opening, the national and international success of the winning design has been acclaimed throughout the press. It is unusual among other similar exhibitions in retaining good opinion despite many divisions among Hungarians since the fall of communism. People from opposing schools of thought are agreed that the concept is a shining example of how to culturally and elegantly display a sensitive subject. When the competition was announced, the thirty-year-old architect caused a sensation with his entry. It wasn't simply a technical plan showing the positioning of the statues and footpaths within the statue garden, as would have been expected. Instead, he started by analysing the basic questions about why the historical era had come about. It is these questions

which form the background of why the statue park was being designed. In his design he brought together the different elements of the philosophical thought process. These basic elements highlight themes from contemporary politics with the dignity of democracy in pride of place in the centre. Alongside the statue park he also designed the project's secondary phase, a complex with artistic, educational and tourist programme themes. Memento/Statue Park has a dual message: to call forth the atmosphere of dictatorship, and to simultaneously provide the opportunity for this to be processed and critically analysed.

After weighing up the advantages of several potential sites, the statue park was finally built on the Tétényi moors in the 22nd district of Budapest. The official opening was on June 27th, 1993, the second anniversary of the end of the Soviet Red Army's occupation. At the same time, a satisfactory solution was found for the placement of statues from the Hungarian countryside. Most of these have been placed in local historical museums and collections, set up on top of the tombs of Soviet soldiers or put into storage.

Following the significant interest generated by the creation of the Budapest statue park and its ongoing problem-free operation since, it has been ensured its rightful place among the capital's other museums and attractions. Since opening, it has become one of the most

popular cultural tourist destinations in Budapest with both Hungarian and foreign tourists. According to the original design, further buildings are planned to be developed over time. Once these are finished, the display will be complete and will become a historical era theme park where everyone will be able to learn about the history of the era represented here.



The Conceiver's Commendation

(Quotations from studies, articles and conversations 1992-2003)

Currently we "have it easy" – well actually its going to get much harder. Easy, because if a democracy follows a dictatorship, then the truth has no alternative, the truth of democracy is proved by the historical process. Harder, because this thought is so obvious and clear that we easily forget about the tendency itself; in the process of political ideology, works of art get placed here and there.

This is where the sensitive dignity of Art comes in: finding and taking on the responsibility which currently leads to a narrow ethical path. It's a joy to be a part of such a peaceful process.

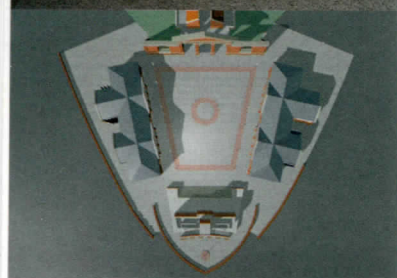
As I was designing, I gradually began to realise what a complicated problem this is. I had to recognise that I needed to summarise the individual thought-provoking elements of a historical series of paradoxes into one conceptual thought process. Paradox, because these statues are both the reminders of an anti-democratic society and at the same time pieces of our history; paradox, because they are symbols of authority and at the same time works of art; and finally, paradox, because despite the fact that they were without doubt originally set up for the purpose of propaganda, in assigning them a new location, I deemed it important to avoid the possibility that they would become anti-propaganda, which would have been no more than a continuation of dictatorship mentality.

Every violent form of society formalises the need and the right to reanalyse, touch up and appropriate their own past in order to shine favourable light on the "historical necessity" of their regime. Democracy is the only regime which is capable of looking back to its past, with all its mistakes and wrong turns, with its head up. The wonderful thing about looking back is that you are free to do this. Democracy is the only regime that has dignity. This is what I was trying to describe in that sentence which became the key sentence of my design: "This Park is about dictatorship, but as soon as this can be talked about, described and built, the park is already about democracy. After all, only democracy can provide the opportunity for us to think freely about dictatorship, or about democracy, come to that, or about anything."

These statues are a part of the history of Hungary. Dictatorships chip away at and plaster over their past in order to get rid of all memories of previous ages. Democracy is the only regime that is prepared to accept that our past with all the dead ends is still ours; we should get to know it, analyse it and think about it!

All of the statues, therefore, were positioned according to the original sculptural and architectural plans. This park is not about the statues or the sculptors, but a critique of the ideology that used these statues as symbols of authority.

I realised that if I made this park with more direct, drastic and real tools, as many thought I should,



I would create an anti-propaganda park from these propaganda statues and in doing this, I would be faithfully following the same recipe and mentality that we inherited from dictatorship.

A foreign tourist, for whom dictatorship is merely something they have read about, has completely different thoughts when in the park than the person with a tragic past, who lived here, survived and under the aegis of these statues takes the drama of his own ruined life into the park with him. But the silence is shared.

Ákos Eleőd, Architect.
The conceptual designer of Memento Park.



The Concept of the Memento Park



The Memento Park

- Tourist destination
- Artistic action ground
- Educational centre:
 - A good site to revise for the examination topic "the 20th century"

The Memento Park is not about Communism, but about the fall of Communism!

The Memento Park is divided into two parts:

1. The "One Sentence about Tyranny" park, commonly known as Statue Park;

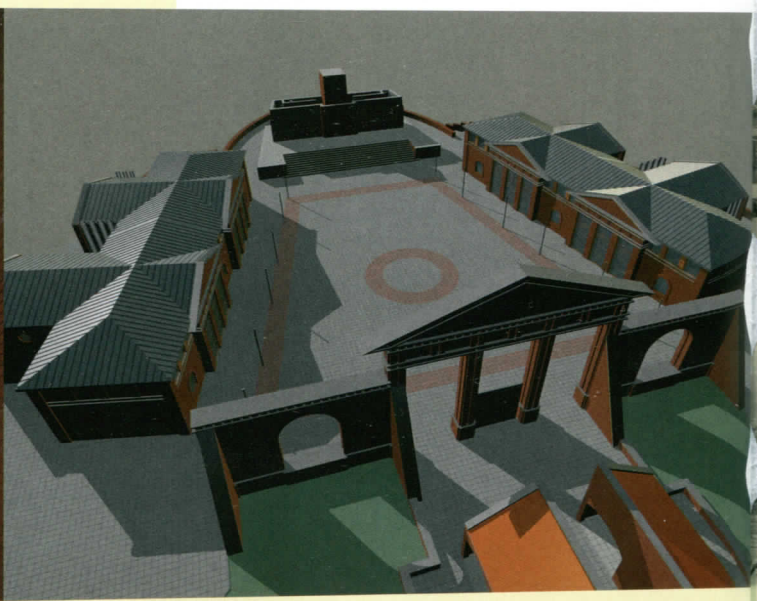
Not irony – remembrance

- The "behind the scenes" wall – behind which there are no buildings, nothing,
- The end wall – which says once and for all: no further,
- And the road between them – which leads to nowhere.

2. The trapezium-shaped, atmospheric Witness Square (Neverwas town, Neverwas square), and the collection of buildings which are both the continuation of the statue park's conceptual architecture and content, and the conclusion of the thought process.

The long base of the trapezium:

This is the main façade of the "one sentence about tyranny" statue park with the poem "One Sentence about Tyranny" by Gyula Illyés on a huge plaque in the middle. The park was conceived in the same circle of thought – the same silence resounds around the statues as is in the poem. Pain, grief, impotence, shame, shock, rage and defiance.





The two sides of the trapezium:

The two buildings along the side of the square house the functional content of the complex and the service centres.

- Artistic Centre: thematic exhibitions, conferences, film clubs, theatrical productions, concert venue.
- Tourist Centre
- Educational Centre: site for school history lessons.

The style of their façade is in tune with the park's "empire" architecture, the scale creates the original design concept of space. They emphasize and counterpoint the brutal enormity of the gate-like "behind the scenes" wall. Within the two buildings is a



tourist-artistic-educational minicentre (cinema, art shop, lecture theatre, theatre, exhibition hall, tourist services, hospitality, etc.)

The short top of the trapezium:

Opposite the main façade of the Statue park, in its original size, constructed with accurate weight proportions is the grandstand and dais of the Stalin statue and on top of it are the boots! Only the boots!

One square - along its axis the poem "One Sentence about Tyranny" and the boots – which guard the unshattered myth of the 1956 revolution, the anti-dictatorship uprising.

One square - which in its very being, in that it could even be, becomes the remembrance site of

the fall of Communism, the victory of Democracy over Dictatorship.

One square - which uses Hungarian symbols to tell the story of a Central and Eastern-European turning point in history which can be understood anywhere in the world: about dictatorship, about democracy.

For Witness square...

... is Széna Square, Budapest in 1956, Wenceslas Square, Prague in 1968, Palace Square, Warsaw in 1981, Opera Square, Timisoara in 1989, Potsdamer Square in Berlin, Square of the National Assembly in Sofia.

Ákos Eleőd

Concerning his prize-winning design.



Hungary in the 20th Century



Until the end of World War I, Hungary was a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Hapsburg Empire. At the peace talks that ended the world war, their independence was reinstated, but according to the terms of the treaty of Trianon, by 1920 they had lost 2/3 of their territory and a half of the population. This trauma affected the life of the country for decades, and the main aim of their foreign policy was to repeal this. It was as a result of this that Hungary allied with fascist Germany when World War II broke out in 1939.

The Hungarian army played an active part in the attack on the Soviet Union, both in the battles and in the occupation. In spite of this, on March 19th, 1944, Hungary was occupied by German forces. Within the country,

the Arrowcross Party took power. They clung to the fascists, and employed unbridled internal terror to control the people, turning the country into a battlefield and totally destroying the already completely demoralised country.



First, the retreating Germans smote a blow to war-stricken Hungary, then they were followed by the Soviet liberators who looted, destroyed and murdered. They left the towns in ruins, a large proportion of the population died either in the war, in captivity or in the concentration camps. Both the economy and the infrastructure became inoperable, effectively destroyed. As a part of the retaliation against the German army and its allies, the Soviet Red Army occupied Budapest on February 13th, 1945 and by April 1945 Hungarian war operations had been concluded.



At the World War II peace talks, the leaders of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America declared the new world order. They annexed 72% of the territory and 64% of the population of the beaten Hungary. The West, by implication, acknowledged the political and economical interests of the Soviet Union in Eastern-Europe. The future development of Hungary, along with many other Eastern-

European countries, was entrusted to the Soviet Union and its all-powerful dictator, party general secretary and military leader, Stalin. Following this, the Soviet Union established a "people's democracy" which on the surface looked as if it complied with the democratic expectations of the West, but which in reality, in terms of true elections, freedom and representation, was run according to the ideals of the Soviet empire.

Most of the survivors of the war initially greeted the Soviet Red Army as liberators. However, it didn't take long to realise that the soldiers had come as conquerors and their primary goals were the gradual occupation of the country and the bringing of the communist party into power by force.

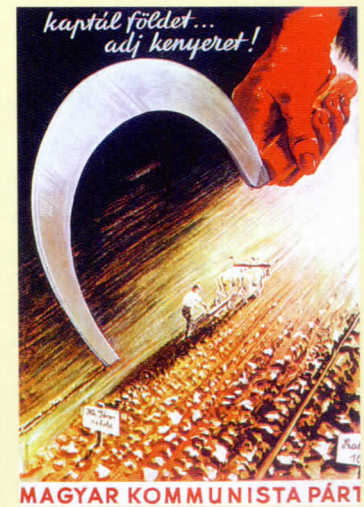
Despite the desperate economic situation, the majority of people believed in the coming of a new, hope-filled era, and because of this the rebuilding of the country continued apace. Even though the political oppression was increasing, the standard of living of the majority of the population improved. A large proportion of society received

health and social benefits for the first time ever, they were able to attend educational establishments and they could visit cultural and sport centres. Alongside these positive results, political oppression continued to grow, people's freedom was drastically reduced, and in every aspect of life terror increased.

1949-1956 was the period of heavy dictatorship known as the Rákosi era. Its namesake, the communist politician Mátyás Rákosi was the supreme political leader and he demanded to be worshipped as a god. The era was characterised by the one-party communist state, public life in submission to the party leadership and a terrorised population. The condition of dictatorship and the dissatisfaction caused by the deterioration in the standard of living finally led to an uprising.

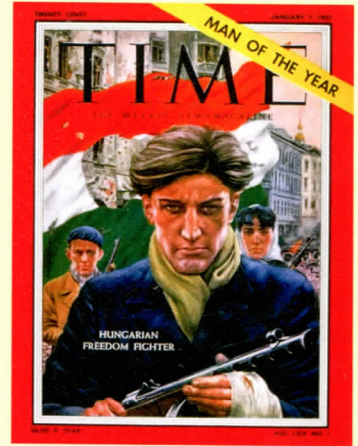


Between 1945-1947, communist politicians, who had earlier been either underground or abroad, used many, often illegal, ways to secure key positions in political and economic life within the new coalition government. They were poised to take over leadership in many aspects of everyday life in order to establish their autarchy.





The anti-revolutionary Soviet intervention legitimised the so-called Revolutionary Peasant Worker's Government, whose leader, János Kádár, was nominated by the Soviet party leadership. The bloody reckoning of the revolution, along with the restoration of the administrative institutional regime of dictatorship, lasted until the early 1960's. This consolidated Kádár's personal power and earned international recognition of the regime.



On October 23rd, 1956, revolution and a war for freedom against the Rákosi dictatorship and the Soviet occupation broke out in Hungary. It started with peaceful student demonstrations, but soon developed into armed fighting. Sadly, by the beginning of November the uprising had failed due to the lack of explicit political direction and the Soviet military intervention. Many thousands died or were wounded in the fighting. In the aftermath, thousands more died, and almost two-hundred-thousand escaped abroad.



It became obvious that the basic goals of the revolution – independence and democracy – were not going to be realised, however, it also became clear that there would be no return to the pre-1956 Stalinist politics.

Kádár's willingness to compromise and his main slogan "whoever is not against us is with us" found widespread consensus among a society longing for tranquillity. There were, however, limits to the liberalisation: communist one-party government and unconditional faithfulness to the Soviet foreign policies outlined by the Warsaw Pact.



From the sixties there was an ongoing detente; this was the era of "soft dictatorship". Everyday life was depoliticised, space was given within the economy for personal initiatives, the social benefit system was extended, they accepted and worked on satisfying society's demands for modernisation and consumerism – for this reason the era was later mockingly named "refrigerator socialism" and "goulash communism".



From 1968, mostly due to economic pressures, the pre-planned economy was relaxed and at the same time Soviet foreign policy became less rigorous. Within the communist party leadership, there were reform communists, who encouraged a cautious relaxation of the rules. However, by the middle of the eighties, there were rapid changes in foreign policy. By the end of the eighties, Mikhail Gorbachev, the new general secretary of the Soviet Union's communist party, recognised that his country and along with it the communist world order had come to an economical and political crisis point which meant that it could no longer maintain the Central- and Eastern-European power block.

In Hungary, in the light of these political changes, the underground opposition groups started to form political parties. They aimed to gain more and more publicity and to seek to have a voice in political life. In 1989, in response to pressure from society, the National Assembly passed the right to form political parties. The fall of communism in Hungary was peaceful. In the spring of 1990, free parliamentary elections were held, in which the former opposition powers won the majority.



On February 25th, 1991, the member countries of the communist block signed the document to dissolve the Warsaw Pact. On June 19th, 1991 the last Soviet occupying soldier left Hungary.



One Sentence about Tyranny

Where tyranny exists
that tyranny exists
not only in the barrel of
the gun
not only in the cells of a
prison

not just in the
interrogation block
or the small hours of the
clock
the guard's bark and his
fists
the tyranny exists

not just in the billowing
black fetor
of the closing speech of the
prosecutor,
in the "justified use of force"
the prisoners dull morse

not merely in the cool
postscript
of the expected verdict
there's tyranny
not just in the crisp
military

order to "Stand" and the numb
instruction "Fire", the roll
of the drum,
in the last twitch
of the corpse in the ditch

not just in the door half open
and the fearful omen,
the whispered tremor
of the secret rumour

the hand that grips,
the finger before the lips,
tyranny is in place
in the iron mask of the face

in the clench of the jaw
the wordless O
of pain and its echo
and the tears

of silence-breeding fears,
in the surprise
of starting eyes

tyranny supplies
the standing ovation, the
loud
hurrahs and chanting of
the crowd
at the conference, the songs

of tyranny, the breasts
that tyranny infests,
the loud unflagging
noise of rhythmic
clapping,

at the opera, in trumpet cry,
in the uproarious lie
of grandiose statues, of
colours,
in galleries,

in the frame and the wash,
in the very brush,
not just in the neat snarl
of the midnight car

as it waits
outside the gates
tyranny permeates
all manners and all states,

its omnipresent eyes more
steady
than those of old Nobodaddy,
there's tyranny
in the nursery

in father's advice, in his
guile,
in your mother's smile
in the child's answer
to the perfect stranger,

not just in wires with barbs
and hooks
not just in rows of books,
but, worse than a barbed
wire fence
the slogans devoid of sense

whose tyranny supplies
the long goodbyes,
the words of parting,
the will-you-be-home-
soon-darling?

in the street manners, the
meetings
and half-hearted greetings,
the handshakes and the alarm
of the weak hand in your
palm,

he's there when your loved
one's face
turns suddenly to ice
he accompanies you
to tryst or rendezvous

not just in the grilling
but in the cooing and the
billing,
in your words of love he'll
appear
like a dead fly in your beer

because even in dreams,
you're not free
of his eternal company,
in the nuptial bed, in your
lust
he covers you like dust

because nothing may be
caressed
but that which he first
blessed,
it is him you cuddle up to
and raise your loving cup to

in your plate, in your
glass he flows
in your mouth and through
your nose
in frost, fog, out or in
he creeps under your skin

like an open vent through
which
you breathe the foul air of
the ditch
and it lingers like drains
or a gas leak at the mains

it's tyranny that dogs
your inner monologues,
nothing is your own
once your dreams are known

all is changed or lost,
each star a border post
light-strafed and mined,
the stars
are spies at window bars,

the vast tent's every lamp
lights a labour camp,
come fever, come the bell
it's tyranny sounds the
knell,

confessor is confession,
he preaches, reads the
lesson
he's Church, House and
Theatre
the Inquisition,

you blink your eyes, you
stare

you see him everywhere,
like sickness or memory
he keeps you company;

trains rattling down the
rail
the clatter of the jail,
in the mountains, by the
coast
you are his breathing host,

lightning: the sudden noise
of thunder, it's his voice
in the bright electric dart,
the skipping of the heart

in moments of calm,
chains of tedium,
in rain that falls an age,
the star-high prison-cage

in snow that rises and waits
like a cell, and isolates,
your own dog's faithful eyes
wear his look for disguise,

his is the truth, the way
so each succeeding day
is his, each move you make
you do it for his sake,

like water, you both follow
the course set and the
hollow
ring is closed, that phiz
you see in the mirror is his

escape is doomed to failure,
you're both prisoner and
gaoler,
he has soaked, corroded in,
he's deep beneath your skin

in your kidney, in your fag,
he's in your every rag,
you think his agile patter
rules both mind and matter

you look, but what you see
is his, illusory,
one match is all it takes
and fire consumes the brake

you having failed to snuff
the head as it broke off,
his watchfulness extends
to factories, fields and
friends

and you no longer know or
feel
what it is to live, eat meat
or bread
to desire or love or spread
your arms wide in appeal,

it is the chain slaves wear
that they themselves
prepare,
you eat but it's tyranny
grows fat, his are your
progeny

in tyranny's domain
you are the link in the
chain,
you stink of him through
and through,
the tyranny IS you,

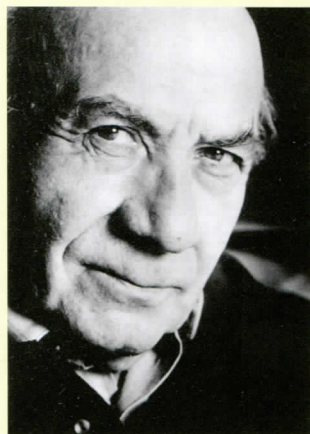
like moles in sunlight we
crawl
in pitch darkness, sprawl
and fidget in the closet
as if it were a desert,

because where tyranny
obtains
everything is vain,
the song itself though fine
is false in every line.

for he stands over you
at your grave, and tells
you who
you were, your every
molecule
his to dispose and rule.

Gyula Illyés:
Egy mondat a zsarnokságról
(1950)

Translated by George Szirtes



Gyula Illyés
Hungarian writer, poet and
publicist
(1902-1983)

In 1928 he published his first independent volume. From the beginning of the 1930's he was one of the initiators and leaders of the so-called "folk writers" movement. As a left-winger, he was also active politically from 1932 on. Seeing the political illegalities of the 1950's, he gradually began to withdraw from public life. He played an active role in the 1956 uprising, and after it failed he was called in for questioning. From the end of the 1960's he was able to return to literary and public life. Throughout his working life, he received many important national and international awards and his talents were widely acclaimed.

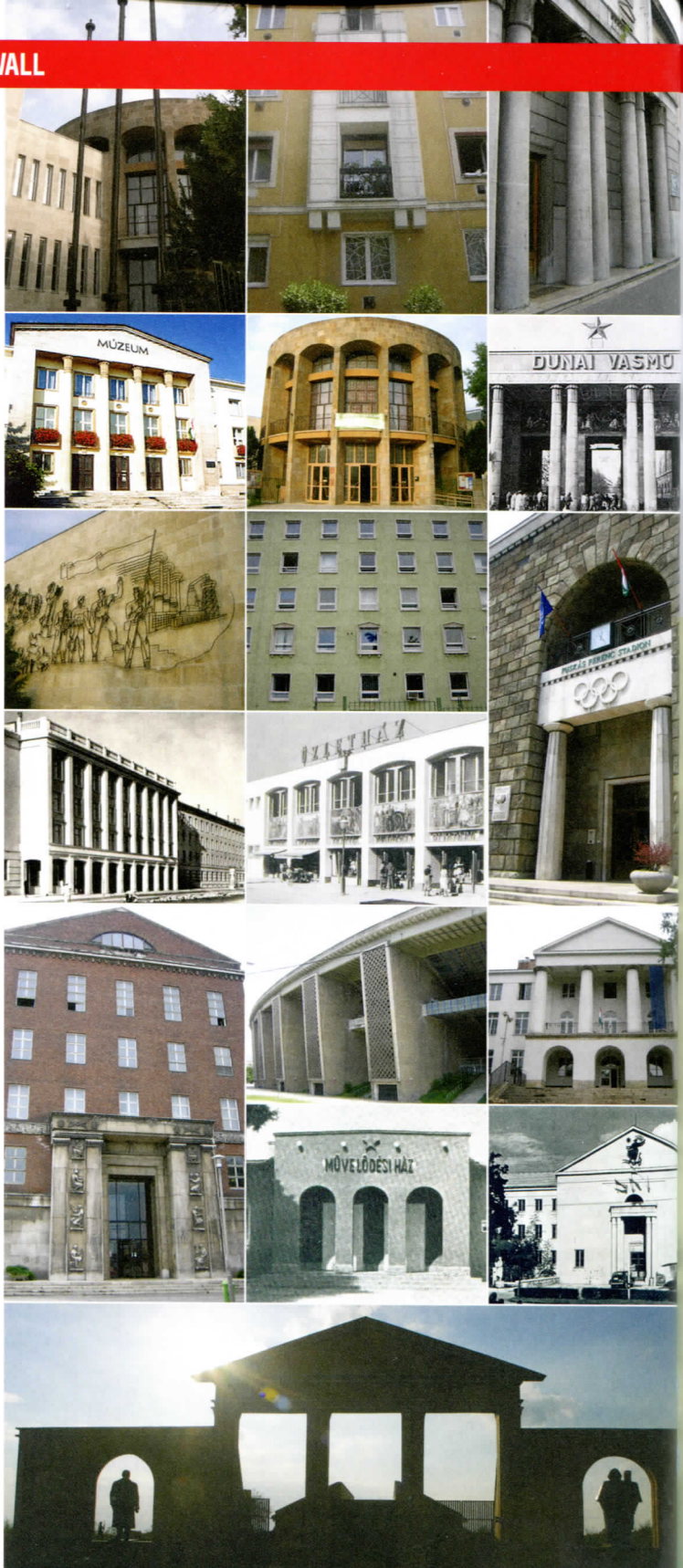
He wrote the poem "One Sentence about Tyranny" in 1950, but it wasn't until 1956, during the uprising, that it was first published openly.

"Behind the Scenes" Wall

The architects of dictatorships most often seek inspiration among the vistas of antique historical buildings. The antique-style main entrance of the statue park is also suggestive of this. The plain, enormous brick wall calls to mind the elements of the characteristic socialist-realist style. The tympanum, borrowed from the ancient style of architecture, the enormous columns and also the arched alcoves in the walls are all characteristic of socialist architecture. At the same time, they are used by the architect to symbolise communist ideology. By their sheer enormity, their power over everything, they emphasise the worthlessness of everything beneath them and the desire to be served by those under them.

The enormous building with its imposing façades, promises an incredible continuation, just like all those people who dreamed of the coming of a brighter future. However, with a glance behind the gate the trick is revealed: the façade is merely decoration, an enormous, fake Potemkin wall, which is supported from behind by posts and scaffolding.

In the two arches on each side of the gate, stand the founding fathers of the practical outworking of communist thought: Marx and Engels on the right and Lenin on the left. They greet the visitors as if they were intended to be the starting point of the time travel. But you cannot go through the main gate to start your journey. It is always closed. You have to find another solution: the golden rule of everyday communist life applies here too: next to every big door, there is a small window.



1 Marx and Engels
 György Segesdi, 1971, made of Mauthausen granite, 4.2m high
 Original site: 5th district, Jászai Mari tér – next to the Communist party headquarters

The only cubist-style monument of Marx and Engels in the world, it stood next to the building that housed the headquarters of the communist party that ran the country from 1956-1990 - the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Originally the artist wanted to weld the statue from sheets of steel, but the idea seemed too radical to

the cultural politicians of the time; the “powers that be” insisted that such an important statue should be made from a more “worthy” material. A compromise was agreed on: the monument maintained its original, modern design, but was made from the more “traditional” granite.



MARXENGELS

The pair, but mostly Marx, developed the still valid diagnostic analysis of capitalism. In 1848, showing incredibly accurate insight into the future, they wrote in their Communist Manifesto: “The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market, given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country.”

Many of their hypotheses proved to be utopian; especially the unification of the world proletariat, the revolutionary downfall of capitalist society, and the natural progression of these, the coming into being of a new society based on shared ownership, truth and the abolition of social classes.

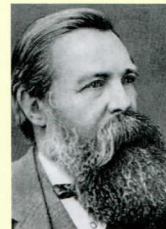
Although communist theoreticians generally consider their ideology to be derived from ancient philosophy, Marx and Engels tend to be accepted as the fathers of communist thought. In communist countries they have been given cult-status in a similar way to Lenin. It is interesting that they were very rarely mentioned separately, and school kids could be forgiven for thinking that “Marxengels” was one person.



Karl Marx (1818-1883), German philosopher, economist, sociologist

Theorist of the communist workers' movement and namesake of Marxism. One of the most influential thinkers in history, who, unlike all previous philosophical trends, saw the aim of philosophy not only as the interpretation of a given social situation, but also as the task of changing the world. His life's work was distinguished by the fact that in the twentieth century

his theories led to real attempts to transcend capitalism. The practical implementation of his theories was initially confined to Europe, but socialist ideas went on to conquer the world and play a decisive role in shaping policy in the Third World (China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.). No social scientist before or since has had such an influence, even if, in the name of Marxism, things have been done that have little to do with the original idealistic aims.



Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), German theoretician

Textile manufacturer, businessman.

In addition to his scientific work with Marx, he also carried out research in history, military history, linguistics and natural sciences. After Marx's death, his life's work was edited and published by Engels.



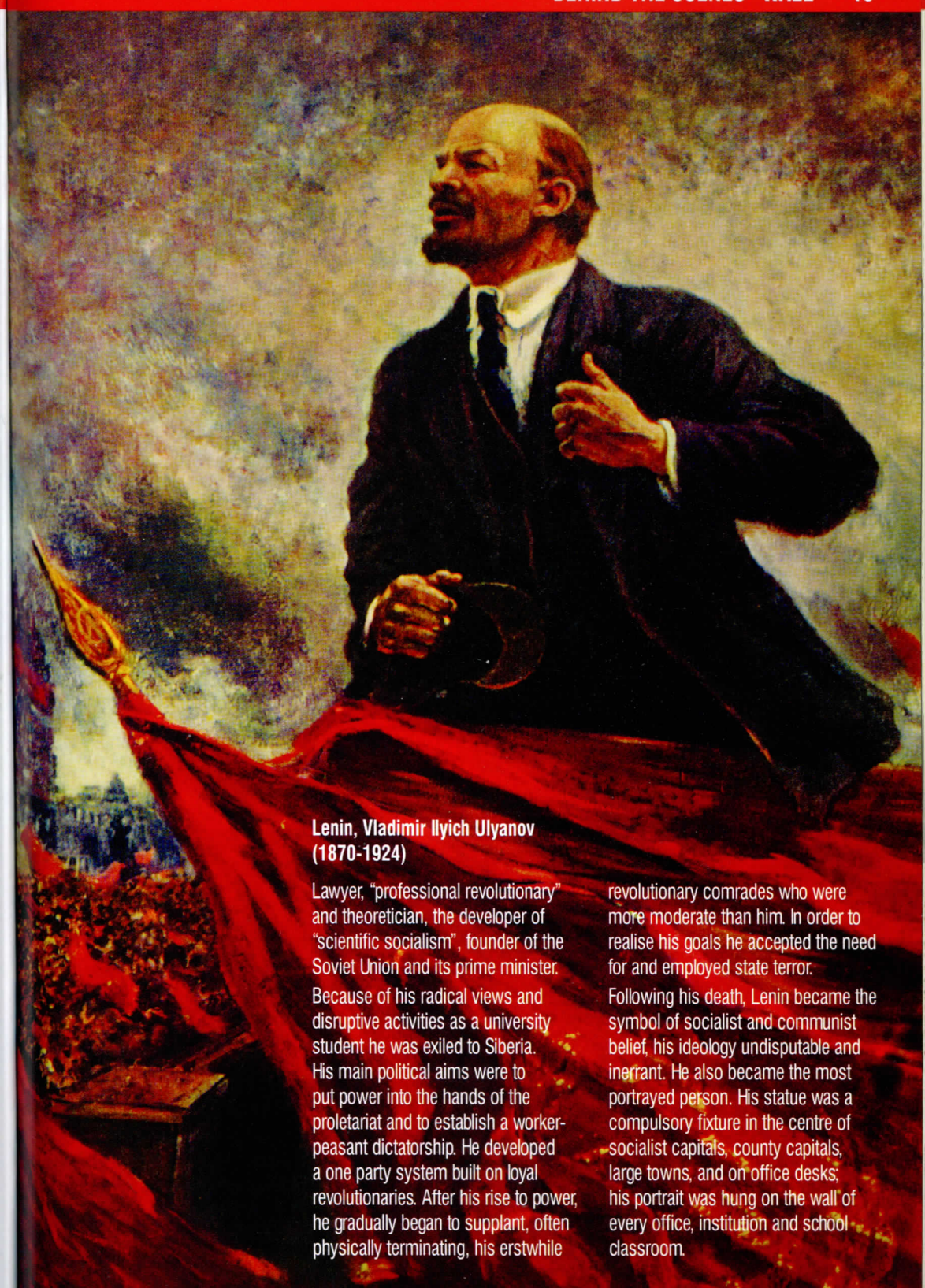


2. Lenin

Pál Pátzay, 1965,
cast in bronze, 4m
Original site: 14th district,
Dózsa György út / Felvonulási tér
(now Ötvenhatosok tere)

The statue stood on the side of Felvonulási tér (Parade Square) where the capital's mass political and military rallies were held. Surprisingly for a communist symbol, at its original site, the statue stood only 2m high, on a low pedestal so that it was close to the people. Directly behind Lenin, however, stood a 15m high concrete block dressed in Swedish red granite, giving the message Lenin proclaimed the weight it deserved. In 1988 the piece was taken down for repairs, then, in the light of the political changes, instead of restoring it to its place, the whole monument was destroyed.





**Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov
(1870-1924)**

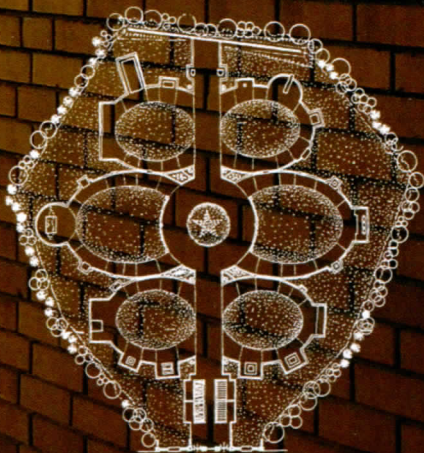
Lawyer, "professional revolutionary" and theoretician, the developer of "scientific socialism", founder of the Soviet Union and its prime minister.

Because of his radical views and disruptive activities as a university student he was exiled to Siberia. His main political aims were to put power into the hands of the proletariat and to establish a worker-peasant dictatorship. He developed a one party system built on loyal revolutionaries. After his rise to power, he gradually began to supplant, often physically terminating, his erstwhile

revolutionary comrades who were more moderate than him. In order to realise his goals he accepted the need for and employed state terror.

Following his death, Lenin became the symbol of socialist and communist belief, his ideology undisputable and inerrant. He also became the most portrayed person. His statue was a compulsory fixture in the centre of socialist capitals, county capitals, large towns, and on office desks; his portrait was hung on the wall of every office, institution and school classroom.





From the “behind the scenes” wall, a narrow alley leads to the statue park where you step into open space.

Paths open out from this point, and from above it can be seen that these form a figure eight. This is the symbol in mathematics for infinity. As the paths lead back into each other they are infinite – and in reality they lead to nowhere, always taking you back to the central path which then becomes the only true and right road.

Liberation

April 4th, 1945, was the day that the German forces and their fascist Hungarian sympathizers were finally chased out of Hungary. It was also the day that the Soviet occupying forces came in to take their place. Liberation day was officially celebrated until 1989 as a national holiday.

The idea of liberation has been an ongoing subject for debate since the fall of communism in Hungary. For many millions of people, the arrival of the Soviet soldiers in 1944-45 meant the end of the previous unjust regime, salvation from the danger of holocaust, and an end to the war. At the same time, for a large proportion of the population, the appearance of the Soviet army brought an era of fear because they brought with them a new age of looting, violence and suffering.

For a while the hope remained that once the peace treaty was signed, the Red Army would pull back from the country, and finally there could be a period of free, civil development in Hungary. But this never happened. After the victory, the proletariat dictatorship was established, state terror reigned and oppression became a fact of daily life.

Hungary went from the oppression of one dictatorship straight into the arms of another.







3. Liberating Soviet Soldier
Zsigmond Strobl Kisfaludy,
1947 (1958), cast in bronze, 6m
11th district, Gellért Hill

The Soviet soldier holding the flag was a side figure of the Liberation Monument on Gellért Hill. The statue was commissioned in 1945 by Marshal Voroshilov, the commander of the Soviet troops who liberated Budapest from the fascist occupation. He also designated the site of the monument in the centre of Budapest, on Gellért Hill, which is visible from all over the city.

The model was Vasily Ivanovich Golovtsov, a soldier of the Red Army. In every detail, the statue exudes the strength and confidence of the invaders. He steps forward slightly with one foot, almost offensively. With his left hand clenched into a fist, he stabs the flag held in his right hand with determination, taking possession of the foreign land.

Proclaiming his superiority, he raises his head and looks not at the man in front of him, but into the distance. The work stood on a 7-metre-high pedestal in front of a 22-metre high obelisk topped by a 13.5-metre tall female figure holding a palm branch - the Genius of Liberty.

The statue of the Soviet soldier was toppled during the October Revolution of 1956. After the uprising was suppressed, it was re-installed in 1958, exactly as the original - the Genius of Liberty could not be left without Soviet supervision.

During the discussions about the future of the statues in 1989-90 several different suggestions were made as to whether the whole monument or only a part of it should be taken down. Finally they only

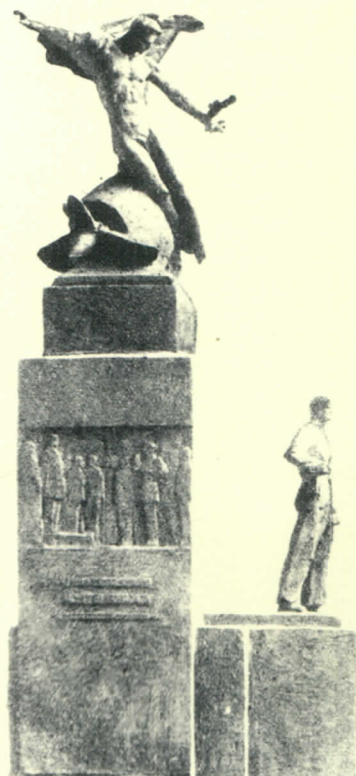


removed the soldier.

The female figure holding the palm branch lives on as one of the most important symbols of Budapest, colloquially called the "Liberty Statue".

To Somebody Else's Glory?

According to urban legend, the monument was not originally intended to glorify the Soviets. István Horthy, deputy governor and the eldest son of Miklós Horthy, governor of Hungary from 1920-1944, died in action while serving as an air-force officer on the Soviet front. Zsigmond Strobl Kisfaludy received an order to design a remembrance monument to the younger Horthy, which because of the war was never finished. The composition of the statue group and its designs is indeed similar to that of the monument later placed on Gellért Hill, but the figures are different. However, it is also not true that the main statue in the original design would have held an aeroplane propeller instead of a palm branch.



Spirit over Budapest

The main figure in the statue group, the woman holding up the palm branch, was covered in a white shroud for a few days in 1992 during a cultural event. With this substantiation, the statue became the Spirit of Freedom, or to look at it another way, the spirit of communism above the city was finally turned into a ghost.

After the storms and arguments were over, this monument still remains on the heights of Gellért Hill in the heart of Budapest, without those parts, like the Soviet soldier, that were reminiscent of the occupation.



4. Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Memorial

(Zsigmond Strobl Kisfaludy, 1956 cast in bronze), 10th district, Pataki (now called Szent László) tér

The body positions of the two figures is very telling: the Hungarian worker is sincerely offering his friendship with both of his hands, the Soviet soldier, on the other hand, is holding himself back and coolly offering half a hand.

**5. Liberation Monument**
(István Kiss, 1971, made of Süttő Limestone)
14th district, Thököly út 141

The sculpture depicts the liberation that meant the end of World War II from a military, social and ideological point of view. The wall behind the worker's figure is a symbol of the isolation of the working class before liberation and the communist takeover.

In 1945, Hungary was liberated from the fascist oppression by the same Soviet Red Army that had crushed the 1956 revolution against the communist regime. That is why, after the revolution was crushed, the symbolism of the liberation monuments referred to the working people, to the worker-peasant alliance, rather than to the military. The figure of the Soviet soldier -

the liberator - is only a suggestion, a silhouette behind the figure of the worker in the wall. In this way, the message of the work is fulfilled: the working class can break through the wall of isolation due to the communist ideal brought by the Soviet Red Army. The young worker's face radiates confidence and faith in the future.

6. Liberation Memorial Stone
(1960 made of Süttő limestone), 1st district, Dízsz tér

Inscription: "Onwards for the working nation, and for the homeland! To the 15th anniversary of our liberation. Budapest, 4th April, 1960, the Pioneers of the 1st district."

The engraved flag is the emblem of the Pioneer Association. The first line of the inscription is the motto of the association.

7. Soviet Heroes' Memorial
(Péter László, 1951, made of limestone), 12th district, Széchenyi Hill, Rege Park

Inscription in Hungarian and Russian: "In eternal praise of the freedom and independence of the Soviet Union, and in memory of the heroes who fell in the war for the liberation of Hungary. 1945-1965".

**8. Monument to Soviet-Hungarian Friendship**
(Barna Buza, 1975, made of granite)
10th district, Kőbánya-Óhegy, Friendship Park

Inscription: "The token of freedom and peace is the Hungarian-Soviet eternal friendship 1945-1975". This statue has an identical twin, the "Peace and Friendship Monument" which can be seen in the Peoples' Friendship Park in Moscow.

9. Soviet Heroes' Memorial
(Sándor Mikus, 1970, cast in bronze), 16th district, Rákosszentmihály, Hősök tere

The allegorical figure embodies the female ideal of communist propaganda, standing firmly on her feet with strong legs. Her wide hips are a symbol of motherhood, the palm branch in her hand is not only a symbol of peace, but also of the knowledge that can be acquired by all under socialism, and her strong arms are a testament to her ability to perform physical labour. The message of the short hair: it is not what is on the outside that counts, but what is on the inside.

10-11. Liberation Monument

(Viktor Kalló, 1965, bronze, 2.6m) 13th district, Béke tér

The figures originally stood in front of a 6-metre-high reinforced concrete dome on a 1.5-metre-high sloping pedestal.

The figure standing backwards, wearing a Soviet soldier's cap and - anachronistically - officer's jodhpurs and boots, is almost "giving a blessing" with his raised hand: he is bringing and handing over freedom, but at the same time he is carefully shepherding the Hungarian worker as if he was a child, who is spiritedly and selflessly giving in to the spring breeze of the new era.

**12. Soviet Heroes' Memorial**

(Barna Megyeri, 1948, made of limestone), 17th district, Rákosiiget, Kasztel András utca 4

The inscription in Hungarian and Russian: "In gratitude to the Soviet liberators for our freedom."

Graffiti inscription: "Russians, go home!"

The poster-like relief carving is of a Soviet soldier, holding his weapon high, with a face shining with enthusiasm, ready to attack. It also looks a bit as if he has just fallen in battle.

At the top of the original monument was a five-pointed red star, which was torn down while it stood in its original location. From the now bent iron pole that once supported the star, rusty water dripped and continues to drip onto the soldier's trousers in the crotch area. It's a strange accident, and many make malicious suggestions on seeing this particular intimate body part coloured brown!



Pioneer Movement

After 1945, the communists ordered the creation of a national Pioneer Association. The 6-10 year olds were the "little drummers", the 10-14 year olds were the "pioneers". The pioneer movement grew into a huge organisation of which every school child automatically became a member. Alongside the training in thinking and ideology, there were also great performances, days out and summer camps in the programme.

As a result of the changes in 1989-90, the Pioneer Association came to a crisis, the membership was drastically reduced and later it was reorganised into an apolitical civil association.

The most important objectives of the Pioneer movement were the building of Csillebérc in the Budapest hills and Zánka on the shores of Lake Balaton. Many thousands of children were able to go to these "socially run" Pioneer towns with their own post offices and shops, for two-week holidays. One of the most popular institutions of the Pioneer Movement was the Pioneer Railway, which still exists today as the Children's Railway. Dotted with bridges and tunnels, real engines run along the real woodland tracks between the stations. Under the supervision of trained adults, just about every job on the railway is manned by 6-14 year old children.





New Heroes

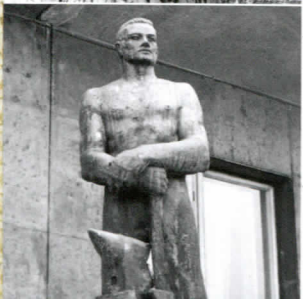
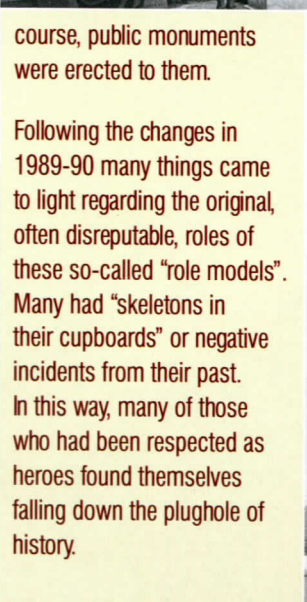
In Hungary, as in the other Soviet-occupied Eastern-European countries, the new Communist political regime needed its own ideals, mindsets and heroes who could be presented to young people as role models: people

whose destiny, legacy and example could bond the people into a revolutionary unity. Deservedly or undeservedly, new "stars", previously almost unknown people, or even some who were earlier considered to be

negative individuals appeared and were written into the pages of the history books. These people became the role models in history books, on the pages of literary works, in films, at celebrations, were used as street names, and of

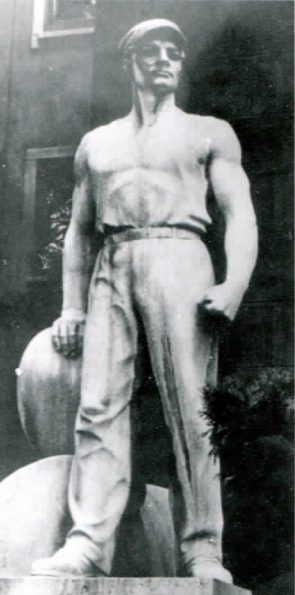
course, public monuments were erected to them.

Following the changes in 1989-90 many things came to light regarding the original, often disreputable, roles of these so-called "role models". Many had "skeletons in their cupboards" or negative incidents from their past. In this way, many of those who had been respected as heroes found themselves falling down the plughole of history.





For many their lives went through a 180 degree change. Some, however, despite their communist convictions or their negative roles, were able to follow through with their heroic responsibilities. For example, they took part in the



war for independence, or in the anti-fascist resistance. The evaluation of their lives became an ongoing theme in the later discussions and attempts to interpret the past, and this will probably continue.



From 1945 onwards, thousands of streets and squares were renamed for these movement personalities and concepts. During its 100-year history, possibly the most beautiful boulevard in Budapest has been



named Sugár, Andrásy, Stalin, "Hungarian Youth", "People's Republic", and again Andrásy Street. Following 1989-90, most of the street names were changed back to the original, while some were given a totally new



name. Because of this, it often happens that within one family, members from three different generations will call the same street or square by three different names.



13. Lenin Relief
(Ivan Szabó, 1970, cast in bronze), 8th district, Lenin (now Erzsébet) körút 1

On a plaque on the wall of the only grocery store in Budapest in the 1970s and 1980s that was open day and night, the kindly, almost Santa-like Lenin was watching over the workers' daily lives.

14. Dimitrov Bust
(Jordan Kratchmarov, 1954, 1984, cast in bronze), 5th district, Dimitrov (now Fővám) tér

The model for the statue was a gift to Budapest from the leaders of the city of Sofia in 1952. The model had to be enlarged. The statue was knocked down in the October 1956 revolution and hung up on a tree where it remained for several days. After the crushing of the revolution, it was replaced in its original site. In 1984 it was replaced by the next, even bigger Dimitrov statue.

15. Dimitrov Statue
(Valentin Startchev, 1983, cast in bronze), 5th district, Dimitrov (now Fővám) tér

A gift from the communist leaders of the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, who expressed the wish that it should be placed in Dimitrov Square in Budapest.



Georgi Mihailov Dimitrov (1882-1949)

Bulgarian printer, revolutionary, communist leader, prime

minister and party general secretary, imprisoned for his activities in the workers' movement. Following his later exile, he ended up in Germany where on March 9th, 1933 he was accused of setting fire to the Reichstag, the German National Assembly. In the famous "Leipzig trial", he upset the Nazi plan: the trial was planned to be used as propaganda against the communists, and he used it as a platform for anti-fascist propaganda. Due to international pressure, they let him go free. In 1945 he returned to Bulgaria and with the help of the Soviets, he became the most important leader of the emerging Bulgarian state.



The way out of Socialist Realism

The two Dimitrov monuments, erected in the same place but at different times, illustrate the process of finding a way forward for art supported by the communist regime. The bust, unveiled in 1954, is typical of socialist realism, realistic in appearance but idealising in intention. Dimitrov's facial features are soft, friendly and human, yet perfectly polished.

The work of 1983, almost three decades later, is much more complex, almost expressionistic. The main aim is not to faithfully depict the model, but to convey the message, the myth of the fiery revolutionist, the dedicated leader, the hero.

16. Monument to the Heroes of the Workers' Movement

(Zoltán Kiss Olcsai (Béla Kun), Klára Herczeg (Jenő Landler), Aladár Farkas (Tibor Szamuely), 1967, cast in bronze), 8th district, Kun Béla (now Ludovika) tér

The reliefs of the people's commissars of the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship of 1919 proclaimed the importance and immortality of the people depicted, with a similar appearance to ancient or medieval grave covers, but disproportionately magnified.



Jenő Landler
(1875-1928)

A lawyer, social democrat and later a communist politician. As a social democrat, he was People's

Commissar for the Interior and Trade during the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, then commander of the 3rd Corps of the Hungarian Red Army, later General Director of MÁV (Hungarian State Railways), and from July onwards Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, one of the leaders of the successful campaign in the Highlands (now Slovakia). He emigrated to Austria after the fall. Following the political consolidation, he was involved in the reorganisation of the Social Democratic Party and

later the Communist Party. He died of heart failure, and his ashes were buried in a memorial tomb in the walls of the Kremlin in Moscow.



Tibor Szamuely
(1875-1919)

Communist politician, journalist. He was called up for military service in 1914. In May 1915

he was taken prisoner of war on the Russian front. He was sent to Siberia and then became increasingly active in spreading communist ideas. In 1918 he became the political delegate of the communist group of Hungarian prisoners of war. During his stay in Russia, he had several Hungarian officers executed,

who, even under the influence of propaganda, refused to join the Russian Red Guard. He returned to Hungary on 3 January 1919, where he continued his agitational activities. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic, he was Deputy People's Commissar for War and People's Commissar for Public Education, and President of the Behind-the-front Committees. This organisation was known colloquially as the 'Lenin Boys', but in reality, it was a group set up as an instrument of state terror. Tibor Szamuely was at the head of this task force. He is associated with many death sentences and their personal execution. After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic he fled abroad, but was captured at the border. He then committed suicide.

17. Lenin (Unknown Soviet sculptor, 1958, cast in bronze), 21st district, Csepel, main gate of the iron works

In April, 1958 the then Soviet party first secretary Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev visited Budapest. At Budapest's largest example of heavy industry, the Csepel Iron and Metal Works, he remarked that there should be some kind of statue at the gates of the giant factory that would remind the workers of the power of communist ideology and at the same time enthuse them on their way to work. The lack had to be quickly made up and so on November 7th, 1958, on the 41st anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the first public statue of Lenin in Budapest was dedicated.

Barely ten years later, Lenin got a hole in him! It was obvious that the hurriedly thrown together, cheap, poor quality material had avenged itself. The experts at the Csepel factory had to recast the statue in secret. In March 1970, in absolute secret they exchanged the statue. The sensitive event was shrouded in such secrecy that there isn't even



a contemporary newspaper article about the exchange.

Despite this, everyone in Csepel knew about the statue exchange, so that a joke was even made about the events based on the movement of the figure: 'Comrade Lenin, where did you get your new jacket made? - Where? Here, in the factory.'



Bread and Dripping and Marzipan

According to urban legend, at the beginning of the nineteen-eighties, somebody secretly placed a piece of bread and dripping into Lenin's elevated right hand and put a placard around his neck with the following inscription: "Stop smirking, Lenin, this will not last forever, after one hundred and fifty years we didn't become Turkish either!"*

(* This refers to the 150 year-long occupation of Hungary by the Turks in the Middle Ages.)



During the statue removals that took place following the 1989-90 political changes, right-wing political organisations prepared to knock down Csepel's Lenin statue. The factory's old line (communist sympathising) workers found out about the plan and before it could be carried out, they hid the statue in one of the factory cellars. After this, the statue was forgotten about and for years gathered dust in the corner of a marzipan factory's storage room that had been developed in one of the privatised halls of the former steel industry. There it stood among the marzipan figures and other sweets. When new owners took over the factory they discovered the statue while cleaning, and donated it to the statue park.

18. József Kalamár Bust
(Tamás Gyenes, 1957, cast in bronze), 21st district, Csepel, Kalamár József (now Szent István) utca

József Kalamár's statue stood in the yard of the Kalamár József Primary School in Kalamár József street.

19. János Asztalos Memorial Plaque

(István János Nagy, 1968, made from limestone), 8th district, Nagyvárad tér - at the entrance to the János Asztalos Youth Park (now Orczy Gardens)

The inscription on the plaque: "He gave his life for the freedom of Hungary. In 1956 he was martyred in the defence of the Budapest Communist Party Headquarters."

20. Róbert Kreutz Memorial Plaque

(András Nagy Kiss, 1977, cast in bronze) 8th district, János Asztalos Youth Park (now Orczy Gardens)

The Plaque inscription (quote from a poem): "Come freedom! Bring me order. Show the way, teach me with kind words and leave some time for play to your beautiful, serious son." ("A Breath of Air!" In Attila József, 43 poems. Translated by Péter Zolmann. Budapest: Maecenas, 2005, p 81.) At the time of the work, there was no authentic photograph available of the young communist martyr, imprisoned and executed in 1944 for his participation in the anti-fascist armed resistance. The artist overcame the problem by portraying the model blindfolded and in front of the firing squad, ignoring his facial features.

21) Bela Kun Memorial Plaque (Viktor Kalló, 1989, cast in bronze) 21st district, Csepel, Tanácsház (now Szent Imre) tér (In the building that housed the Csepel Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.)

In this square on March 18th 1919, the Csepel workers, Béla Kun and the other communist leaders arrested with him demanded to be set free. Here they pledged their loyalty to the programmes of the KMP (Communist Workers' Party) and the power of the workers. On April 27th, 1919, Béla Kun spoke to a large crowd of his fellow Csepel workers. On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Béla Kun, Budapest Capital City Council 1986.

22. Endre Ságvári Bust
(György Soós Baksa, 1949, cast in bronze), 5th district, Városház utca 9-11. (in the courtyard of the City Hall)

What is interesting about this statue is that the sculptor, probably on the suggestion of those who commissioned it, wanted to demonstrate Ságvári's physical strength. The commission, however, probably through lack of funds, only ran to a bust. So the sculptor was able to ignore the real, unfavourable elements of his body and made him look more like a Greek athlete, with strong facial features.

The sculpture is an excellent illustration of one of the most important messages of the Memento Park: what happens to reality and how art adapts to a situation when the demands of current politics and political propaganda are on the client's side.

23. Árpád Szakasits Statue
(László Marton, 1988, cast in bronze), 11th district, Szakasits Árpád (now Etele) út



József Kalamár (1895-1956)

Carpenter, unskilled labourer.

He was the

organiser and one of the leaders of the Csepel workers' movement pre 1945. Following the change to communist rule, he became one of the most significant party leaders in Csepel. He was killed by his oponents in the October 1956 revolution.



János Asztalos (1918-1956)

Jeweller, communist party worker. From 23

October 1956, he was one of the commanders of the military unit of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party in the Republic Square (Köztársaság tér) building, and one of the leaders of the defence during the siege of the party building. In their hopeless situation, he and his comrades surrendered, but were lynched by the group of besiegers, who by then had a mixed composition.



Róbert Kreutz (1923-1944)

Iron worker. Took part in the distribution of communist

leaflets, joined in the resistance against the Germans. Was captured and executed in 1944.



Endre Ságvári
(1913-1944)

Clerk, lawyer. Got involved in the workers' movement in his teens. As one of the members, he helped develop the underground communist party and was involved in the secret dissemination of Marxist and Stalinist ideology. One of his jobs was editing and publishing the party's underground newspaper. He was also in charge of running and hiding the party's printing house. Years ahead of his time, he was also the main organiser of possibly the world's first ever "flash-mob". (This is what they call it when a group of people who are unknown to each other, are secretly notified to come together at a public place. In response to a secret signal, they do something unusual for a few minutes and then suddenly disappear.) On October 6th, 1941, the remembrance day for the execution of the generals of



the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and freedom war, three hundred young social democrats who had until then seemed to be aimless passers-by, in response to a certain signal, encircled the moment to the martyred prime minister. Despite this being forbidden by the authorities, they laid a remembrance wreath which had been hidden under their coats onto the plinth. Following this in a matter of minutes, they all melted away.

The insignificant-looking, spectacled young man known to be a tax office intellectual was a consistent conspirator, who in his secret life in the communist movement, had a high capacity for work and was an active agitator. He was a sport competitor and boasted physical strength. He organised retaliation against the Arrowcross members. Between the two wars, at a rally organised by the extreme right wing political organisation, he not only organised, but also took part in the physical violence that was used to break it up. In 1944 the secret police who were watching him, exposed him in the Buda "Nagy Béla" cake shop (now called Remiz Restaurant), in the middle of subversive activity. They shot Ságvári as he attempted to resist arrest.

After World War II the name of Endre Ságvári was bestowed upon numerous youth organisations,

used on school uniforms and his character and commitment were held up as an example to young people. Following the political

changes in 1989-90, criticism of his life became an ongoing subject for discussion. Nowadays he is remembered by many not primarily as a communist martyr, but for playing one of the most active roles in the barely significant Hungarian anti-fascist resistance.



Árpád Szakasits
(1888-1965)

Stonemason's assistant, trade union leader, newspaper reporter

and editor, social democrat politician. After 1945 he held many important positions, including the post of minister of state and later deputy prime minister.

By the beginning of the fifties, the highest communist leaders were openly showing their distrust with regard to the social democrats. Because of this, they started to criticise the older cadre and party workers and later even the leaders. In many cases they brought false accusations against them to the courts. In 1950 Szakasits was sentenced and imprisoned. As the dictatorship softened, he was rehabilitated, in the years after the 1956 revolution, he was returned to a leadership position, although with a much less significant role.



24. Béla Kun Memorial
(Imre Varga, 1986, cast in bronze, chrome and red copper)
1st district, Vörösmarty-park

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Béla Kun, leader of the short-lived 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic was in 1986. The governing communist party decided that they should commission a statue in Budapest to celebrate this anniversary.

The committee planning the centenary events intended them to be "dignified, but moderate", however, the programme, along with the statue, ended up being a big deal. Books and stamps were issued, a documentary film prepared and conferences were organised. His descendants did everything they could to ensure that the statue was erected in a central site. They even suggested that a metro station should be renamed after him along with a street in Moscow. Furthermore: the relatives reminded the leaders that in the 1920's a cloth mill in Leningrad was named for him. There was also a boat on the river Volga once named for him, but was now called Mayakovski. Perhaps, they suggested, the leaders could have a quiet word with Moscow about changing it back again.

The reason of enormity of these celebrations is paradoxical. Neither Kun's personality, nor his achievements are admired or understood by the official communist historians or by general consensus.

There was a fair amount of controversy surrounding the erection of the statue and a number of different ways were sought to define it.

Moving from left to right, the figures of the group personify the historical processes of 1918-19: the civilians on the left, referring to the "Aster" civil revolution, are joined on the right by former soldiers returning from Soviet captivity and ideological re-education, who had forced the communist takeover. Then Béla Kun appears towering above them as a leader, rising above reality, speaking, showing the way, leading the charge; but also waving his hat as a farewell. His ship is rocking in a storm, and in the background the mast and lantern ominously resemble a gallows - a reference to the circumstances of Béla Kun's later death, which are still unclear, since Béla Kun himself was later a victim of Stalinist terror. On the right edge of the monument, the incited workers are transformed first into a demonstrating crowd, then into Red Army soldiers charging into battle, and finally into ghosts vanishing into nothing.

Imre Varga, the sculptor of the statue, said in 1986: "This was the first monument in history to take a critical view. It is about a man who, at the moment of his farewell, encounters the ghosts of those he executed. There they are hovering, hovering above the ground, and there stands this man, waving goodbye, hat in hand, under the gallows that awaits him."

During the period of political regime change, the work was wrapped up and painted by opponents, and Béla Kun's head was covered with a clown hat with a rattle. The sculpture suffered considerable damage when it was moved to the Statue Park and unfortunately it was not possible to reassemble the sculpture group perfectly as originally intended.

Imre Varga
(1923-2019)

Imre Varga (1923) was the sculptor of the statue group. In the later socialist cultural politics, he was one of the most frequently employed and most honoured artists, and was active in every branch of sculpting. The most important aspect of his work was the designing and production of monumental public compositions. He often used different kinds of material and different methods in the creation of his dynamic open-air pieces. From the end of the 1960's on the most important characteristic of his sculpting was de-heroizing, bringing the heroes down to the level of real life men. The central themes of his memorial statues are history, Hungarian culture and important artistic personalities, however he has also created many mythological and biblical works as well as statues of people. The most important statues of Imre Varga still stand in Budapest and in the cities of the Hungarian countryside. There is also a museum of his life's work. Most of his public sculptures, which were removed for political reasons, have been collected by the town of Siófok near Lake Balaton.





Béla Kun
(1886-1938/39?)

Official, left-wing politician,
professional revolutionary.

At the outbreak of World War I he was called up and in 1916 was made a prisoner of war by the Russians. During this time his communist convictions were strengthened. In 1918 Kun became the chairman of the Hungarian group of the Russian Communist Party. During that time he built personal relationships with many Bolshevik leaders, among them Lenin. At the end of 1918 he returned home and established the Hungarian Communist Party, of which he was voted chairman.

In the chaos that followed the failure of the civil revolution in 1918, the communists took power and on March 21st they proclaimed a Soviet-style Hungarian Soviet Republic. Béla Kun, who always said he would only take on smaller positions, became the leader of the commune. He soon began to apply all the experiences and knowledge he had gained in Soviet Russia to the Hungarian situation.

His goal was to export the proletariat dictatorship further west. Via the influence and money that he had raised, they created the Austrian Communist Party. An armed take-over of Austria was planned for June 14th, 1919, but the Austrian police exposed the plot and broke it up. Kun also supported the Italian Communist party with large donations. Of course, the European powers were not too happy about these incursions. Among other things, this led to international political and military intervention against the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on August 1st, Béla Kun escaped. In 1920 he settled in Soviet Russia, where he was entrusted with new revolutionary tasks.

Firstly he dealt with the execution of thousands of prisoners of war captured by the Reds, and then he directed the ethnic cleansing of the Crimean Turks. The result of these two years of operations was 60,000 deaths among the Turks alone. Even the Bolsheviks questioned his cruel terrorist methods.

In 1921 he travelled to Germany in order to lend his ideological and administrative help to the "workers' uprising" there. Police opposition to the communists soon led to clashes. However, the revolutionary impetus soon died out, because the workers were not prepared to take up arms in the fight. Because of the failure, Kun and his cronies summoned the workers to a general strike and anti-state warfare. The workers however, responded by attacking those who wanted to take over the factories and the communist activists who were trying to hinder their work with cudgels and their bare fists. Following this, Béla Kun returned to the Soviet Union where he continued his political work. He became an active player in the intra-party power struggles, the final result of which – following the "customs" of the communist dictatorship – was elimination by his own comrades. On 29th June, 1937, on the orders of Stalin, he was arrested, and later died in prison under suspicious circumstances; it's possible he was executed.



"The Flight of Béla Kun"

The group originally stood at the end of the Vérmező Park. The morbid name of the park (it means field of blood) refers to the execution of abbot Ignác Martinovics and his associates, who were beheaded in 1795 for being part of a

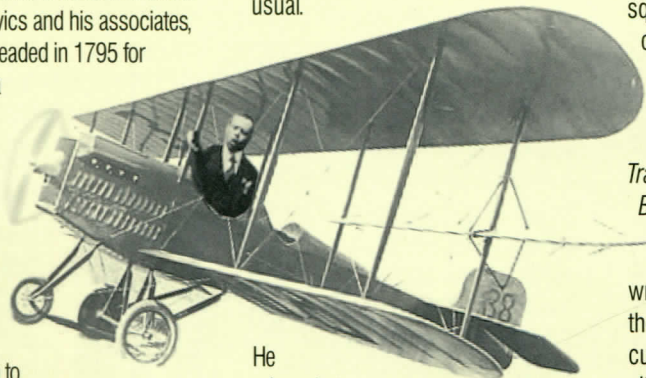
Freemasons conspiracy against the king. The place is also associated with Béla

Kun in relation to another anecdote. Dezső Kosztolányi, one of the most outstanding writers in 20th century Hungarian literature, writes the following in his brief preface to his novel Édes Anna.

"Béla Kun was fleeing the country in an aeroplane.

In the afternoon – at about five o'clock – an aeroplane rose over the Soviet headquarters in the Hotel Hungaria, crossed the Danube and, passing the palace on top of the Várhegy, banked steeply towards the Vérmező Gardens.

The pilot of the aircraft was none other than the head of state himself. He flew low, barely sixty feet above the ground. His face could be clearly seen. He was pale and unshaven as usual.



He grinned at those below and gave an occasional shabby and sardonic wave of farewell. His pockets were stuffed with sweet pastry. He carried jewels, relics of the church and precious stones that had once belonged to well-disposed and generous aristocratic women. There were other valuable things, too. Great gold chains hung from his arms. As the aeroplane began to climb, and just as it was disappearing from sight, one such gold chain fell right in the middle of the Vérmező

where it was found by an elderly and long-established resident of the Krisztina area, an excise clerk who worked in the Fortress, or Vár, district, in Szentháromság tér, the square dedicated to the Holy Trinity, one Károly József Patz by name.

Such at least were the rumours in the Krisztina area."

Dezső Kosztolányi: Anna Édes. Translated by George Szirtes. Budapest: Corvina, 1991, p 1.

This excerpt from the novel, written in 1926, was censored by the communists for 35 years. The cultural politicians who chose the site for the memorial probably hadn't read that part for these reasons.

If they had, they wouldn't have chosen this particular site.



25. Ferenc Münnich (István Kiss, 1986, cast in bronze), 5th District, Néphadsereg (now Honvéd) tér

On the plinth an inscription refers to the beginning of his career and his ideology: 1917, 1919, No Pasaran, Viva Republica – the dates of the Russian and Hungarian communist takeovers and the slogan of the Spanish civil war.

Originally the work was of the whole body, but on March 21st, 1990, under the leadership of opposition member György Krassó, returning from exile in London, it was glazed in red, cut at the knees and knocked down. The figure's clothing is a reference to the Kádár consolidation following the 1956 revolution; although Münnich himself was first a soldier and later the bloodthirsty Minister of the Interior in the post-revolutionary repression, he appears in this depiction as a grey official in a suit and tie.



Ferenc Münnich (1886- 1967)

During the time of the Hungarian Soviet Republic he was a political

officer in the Red Army. From 1936 he took part in the Spanish Civil War. During World War II he fought as a Red Army officer. Along with Khrushchev, he took part in the council of war on the Stalingrad front. He returned home in 1945 and for a short while held the position of chief of police in Budapest. During the 1956 revolution he attended the talks in Moscow where he recommended the crushing of the revolution, the

intervention of the Soviets and discussed roles in the new government. The hard-line Soviet leaders wanted him to lead the new puppet government, but Khrushchev supported the compliant János Kádár. As Minister of the Interior and Defense, Münnich played an active part in the crushing of the revolution and its bloody reprisals. He was twice awarded the Order of Lenin, the greatest international communist decoration.

The diversity of its political role is reflected in the fact that as Minister of the Interior - no personal involvement in the matter is known - he was the proposer of the 1961 bill to decriminalise homosexuality, which Hungary passed before the United States, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

26. Ede Chlepkó Bust (György Szabó, 1980, cast in bronze), 19th District, Chlepkó Ede tér (now Ötvenhatosok tere)



Ede Chlepkó (1883-1939)

He joined the union movement as an iron welder. He was one of

the founders of the communist party, and later was politician in charge of the Red Guard, the armed forces of the Hungarian Socialist Republic. After the break-up of the commune, he immigrated to the Soviet Union. Later he was arrested on trumped-up charges and died in prison.

27. Kálmán Turner Memorial Plaque (1959, made of marble), 9th District Soroksári út, within the compound of the National Weaving Mill

Inscription: "Comrade Kálmán Turner worked in this factory and was murdered in a vile way by the counter-revolutionaries on November 4th, 1956. His uncompromising life is an example to us."



Kálmán Turner (1914-1956)

Iron worker, party activist. He was the secretary of one of the

communist unions at the Csepel ironworks. During the 1956 revolution he helped defend the Kispest Party Headquarters. Two former policemen broke into his house on November 4th and murdered him.

28. Kató Hámán Memorial Plaque (1959, made of marble) 9th District, Mester utca 59

Inscription: "From 1919-1931, Kató Hámán lived in this house. She was an outstanding member of the workers' movement, who was murdered in the prison of the Horthy-fascist regime. Erected by the 9th district women's commune."



Kató Hámán (1884-1936)

Railway officer, worker. Women's Movement, union and communist

activist. She was imprisoned many times and died of the

sicknesses and mistreatment that she received there. The Womens' Commune was a civil association, under the leadership of the communist party, which supervised, coordinated and controlled the women's movements.

29. Workers' and Soldiers' Council Memorial Plaque

(1959, made of marble)

1st District, Szentháromság utca 2

During the time of the Hungarian Socialist Republic, in 1919, the Budapest Central Revolutionary Workers' and Soldiers' Council functioned as the Civil Service. Inscription: "During the time of the great Hungarian Socialist Republic, the 1st District's Workers' and Soldiers' Council held its first meeting in this building on 12th April, 1919 and continued to operate here. In memory on the 40th anniversary. The local council of the 1st district, April 12th, 1959."

Terror

The period from 1949-1956, known as the Rákosi era was a time of "heavy dictatorship". The 1956-1990 period was known as the Kádár era, and, at least, after the reprisals that followed the crushing of the 1956 revolution were finished and the country had been stabilised, this was called the "soft dictatorship". Both eras were characterised by the one-party communist system and the use of state terror in the service of the system, however the methods used were very different.

The Rákosi era was characterised by the opposition of the two great world powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, known as the Cold War. This time was characterised by constant suspicion and a search for the enemies within. The search for and elimination of real or suspected political enemies was initially the role of the police's State Security Department (ÁVO). Later this became an independent organisation, known as the Authority for State Security (ÁVH), which was answerable only to the highest and most elite leadership of the communist party. The ÁVH was the "fist of the working class". According to its leader, Mihály Farkas, the role of the political police "... is to look for the bad things in each citizen. Looking for the good in them is not part of their job."

As guardians of the law, the ÁVH became one of the largest lawbreakers. They dragged out innocent people, usually without any formal conviction, tortured and imprisoned them.

Many of these people could not withstand the torture and gave testimony against themselves or their innocent friends. Throughout the country, no one felt safe. Their prosecutions used trumped up charges based on pre-composed scripts. Even the former Minister of the Interior was falsely accused of espionage by his former comrades and thrown into prison. There they tortured him, drew out from him an admission of guilt, then in an open court they convicted him and finally executed him.

Between 1950 and 1953, prosecutors initiated more than a million politically motivated trials and brought 390 thousand guilty verdicts. Informants abounded in every area of life.

The height of the "heavy dictatorship" and the ÁVH terror was the concentration camp at Recsk, where "enemies of the regime" were dragged away on trumped-up charges without proper trials. There, the slaves were kept in inhuman conditions and made to work in the stone quarry. Many were crippled for life, others died. Characteristically, the existence of the camp continued to be denied during the Kádár era too.

"In May of 1948, two detectives came to my digs with orders to accompany me to 60 Andrásy street. I jokingly went with them. I was a third year university student, I never got involved in politics, I didn't have the time. In the mornings I studied physics and chemistry, in the afternoon composing. I still hadn't decided whether to be a famous scientist or a well-known opera composer. My hearing lasted ten minutes. They asked me if I knew Géza Fejes. Yes, I answered, I know him, we were classmates, the last time I saw him was about two years ago. We ran into each other on the street, chatted for a few minutes, then went our separate ways, I haven't seen him since. They wrote this into a notebook and I signed it. They never gave me another hearing. They interred me like a spy or a conspirator. For nearly five and a half years, nine months of which was a disciplinary punishment, I was kept in confinement. After Budadél and Kistarcsa, I spent the last three years in the concentration camp at Recsk, for two of those years I was a member of the disciplinary brigade. I was freed in the autumn of 1953. I still don't know who I conspired with, on behalf of which powers I spied, and how I was supposed to have done it."

Géza Böszörményi, June 1989.

(Géza Böszörményi: *Recsk – Egy titkos kényszermunkatábor története* [Recsk – The History of a Secret Concentration Camp], Széphalom Könyvműhely)

After the 1956 revolution, it became clear that the earlier Stalinist methods of terror would be unusable in the future. At the same time, the "powers that be" insisted on the need for comprehensive intelligence gathering on the population, along with the use of retaliation against those who promoted other political persuasions.

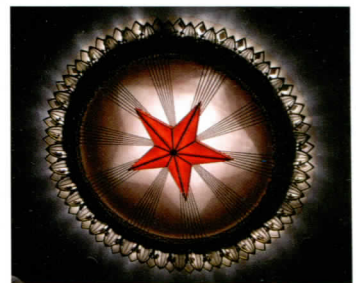
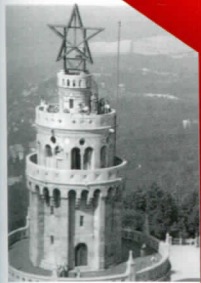
The basic operational tool of the political oppression was the directorate of the Central office of the Political Police III/III and the network of informers that they built up. This network covered every aspect of life. Hundreds of thousands were employed as secret police, operational officers, agents, networkers and in other positions. In return for money, or through "nationalistic commitment", or to demonstrate their faithfulness to the regime, or simply out of fear or blackmail, these "employees" regularly wrote reports about their work colleagues, acquaintances, relatives or friends. Information received in this way was summarised, organised and evaluated by the enormous workforce. On the basis of this, decisions were made concerning whether to restrict the freedom of the targeted individual, observe them, or arrest them. Tens of thousands of people were continually inspected. The progress of many who held different political views was obstructed in terms of education and work. Their telephones were tapped, their letters were censored, their relationships were examined, and they were prevented from

travelling abroad or holding a public office. The targeted individuals often never guessed that their day to day difficulties were not accidental, but rather deliberately ordered for political reasons.

Informers were as commonplace among the simple workers and peasants as they were among the leadership of the highest intellectual circles, churches and civil organisations. Many of them reported on their confidantes, best friends and even family members.

During the peaceful change in government in 1989-90, the operation of these organisations of oppression dwindled out. Under pressure from the opposition to expose the illegal intelligence gathering, the political police put an end to it. As the organisation hurried to destroy all the documentation it had collected, the process was stopped and the rescued documents were placed into archives. The historical processing of these will probably take decades.

The emblem of the international workers' movement is the five-pointed red star. It could be used anywhere. It was a well-known symbol that proclaimed the ideology in public buildings, schools, on the top of the parliament building, on the top of hills, on look-out towers, on soldiers' caps, on the country's seal, and on official documents. Traditionally, the zero kilometre point for Hungary's major roads is the Buda side of the first Danube bridge – the Chain Bridge. Even here, at the starting point of every road, they made the country's largest five point star from lots of red-flowered plants. A smaller version of this can be seen in the heart of the Statue Park.



The ideological battle, the process of turning communist concepts into practical reality and the events involved in creating and building a proletariat state, gave the communists plenty of opportunities to express their cultural politics. All these presented difficult tasks for the artists: they had to represent and popularize events and ideas that very often they did not agree with. There were times when confusion was caused by the opposing ideologies and points of views, and this made interpretation difficult. Sometimes, one or other of the artists who had been "honoured" with a commission, got out of it by entering nonsensical plans to the judging committee. The "understanding" of these judges is proved by the fact that often, many such works were commissioned which had been intended to be rejected.

Those given the assignments were often charlatans, without real artistic ability. Many times "artists" volunteered, but in reality the only thing they had going for them was their political sympathies or their commitment to the communist party and its leadership.

30. Memorial Plaque of the Workers' Militia Parade
(András Nagy Kiss, 1973, cast in bronze), 6th District, November 7. tér (now: Oktogon) 2

The inscription on the plaque is a quotation from the Hungarian poet Attila József (1905-1937) who wrote many proletariat poems. From his essay entitled "Workers": "But – comrade! – this is the working class that clad itself in iron in the class war. Let's stand up for them like a chimney: so they can see it! And let's hide from them as if we were being pursued. The world is shaped as it is mounted onto the conveyor belt of history, where the working class will raise its flag on the dark factory light." The last line on the plaque: "In memory of the first workers' militia parade."



Workers' Militia

The workers' militia was an armed brigade composed of volunteers, partly a party army directed by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party – the post 1956 communist party. It was created following the crushing

of the 1956 revolution in the interest of providing armed protection for the communist powers. Its members were primarily workers and people with limited schooling, but their lines also included peasants, officials, and even some intellectuals who were

loyal to the party. The local party officials were responsible for making decisions about the activities of the workers' militia. In the autumn of 1989, before the fall of communism, Parliament ordered the dissolution of the Workers' Militia.

31. Workers' Movement Memorial

(István Kiss, 1976, steel plates)
2nd District, Hűvösvölgy,
Munkásmozgalmi sétány.

The ball encircled by the two hands was originally made of plastic, which was decorated by a five-pointed star. Because of its defacement, it was replaced in 1982 by one made of granite. On the original plinth, there were copies of iron placards on which were listed the important events in the history of the workers' movement. For those trying to interpret the meaning of the monument, the wording of the invitation to the unveiling in 1976 just added to their confusion. It was worded as follows: "The work symbolises the social political results of the last three decades."

According to the official explanation, the ball represents the perfect ideology which has been fought for, realised (and perfected) by the workers' movement. The two hands are defending and protecting this fragile treasure, while at the same time opening up so that it can be seen by and made available to everyone.



32. Memorial to the Hungarian Fighters who fought in the Spanish International Brigade

(Makrisz Agamemnon, 1968, bronze sheet), 5th District, Néphadsereg (now: Honvéd) tér

On the side of the memorial are the names of Spanish towns, locations of battles in the civil war in which Hungarian volunteers fought.



International Brigades

In 1931 in Spain, the civil democratic revolution took power. A military uprising, led by General Franco broke out against the Republic. The army was helped by the German and Italian governments who wanted a chance to try themselves out before the approaching war. At the invitation of the Spanish government, men from more than 60 nationalities, including 1200 Hungarian volunteers, arrived to create an international brigade that could provide armed help to the government, which was supported at the time by the Soviet Union. However, by 1939, the civil war ended with Franco's forces victorious. Among the Hungarian volunteers were many communists. Later political propaganda sought to magnify their role: by making heroic deeds out of their actions, they sought to find and strengthen the roots of the "international proletariat" within these events.

Visitors to the statue park often identify these figures with their arms lifted up, to people in the street talking on their mobile phones. This deliberate misunderstanding is strengthened by the fact that the number of figures in the statue group coincides with the number of mobile phone providers in Hungary.

33. Monument to the Hungarian Socialist Republic

(István Kiss, 1969, cast in bronze)
14th District, Dózsa György út / Felvonulási tér (now Ötvenhatosok tere)

An army had to be assembled to defend the Hungarian Socialist Republic. The era's most outstanding artists designed posters to aid the mobilisation. One of the most famous of these was the work of Róbert Berényi, entitled "To Arms!". In the 1960's, when they wanted to erect a monument in

honour of the first workers' state, this particular representation of a figure was at hand. The work symbolises failure in that the figure continues to be "one dimensional".

The statue was placed on the edge of the city park, Városliget, next to Felvonulási tér. This was on the former site of the Regnum Marianum Church, which was built in memory of the fall of the Hungarian Socialist Republic in the 1920's. When Felvonulási tér was formed in the 1950's, the church was knocked down.

deal with social tensions and the significant losses of territory following the war. The civil revolution failed because of its lack of popular support, internal social tensions and failures in foreign policy.

Hungarian Socialist Republic

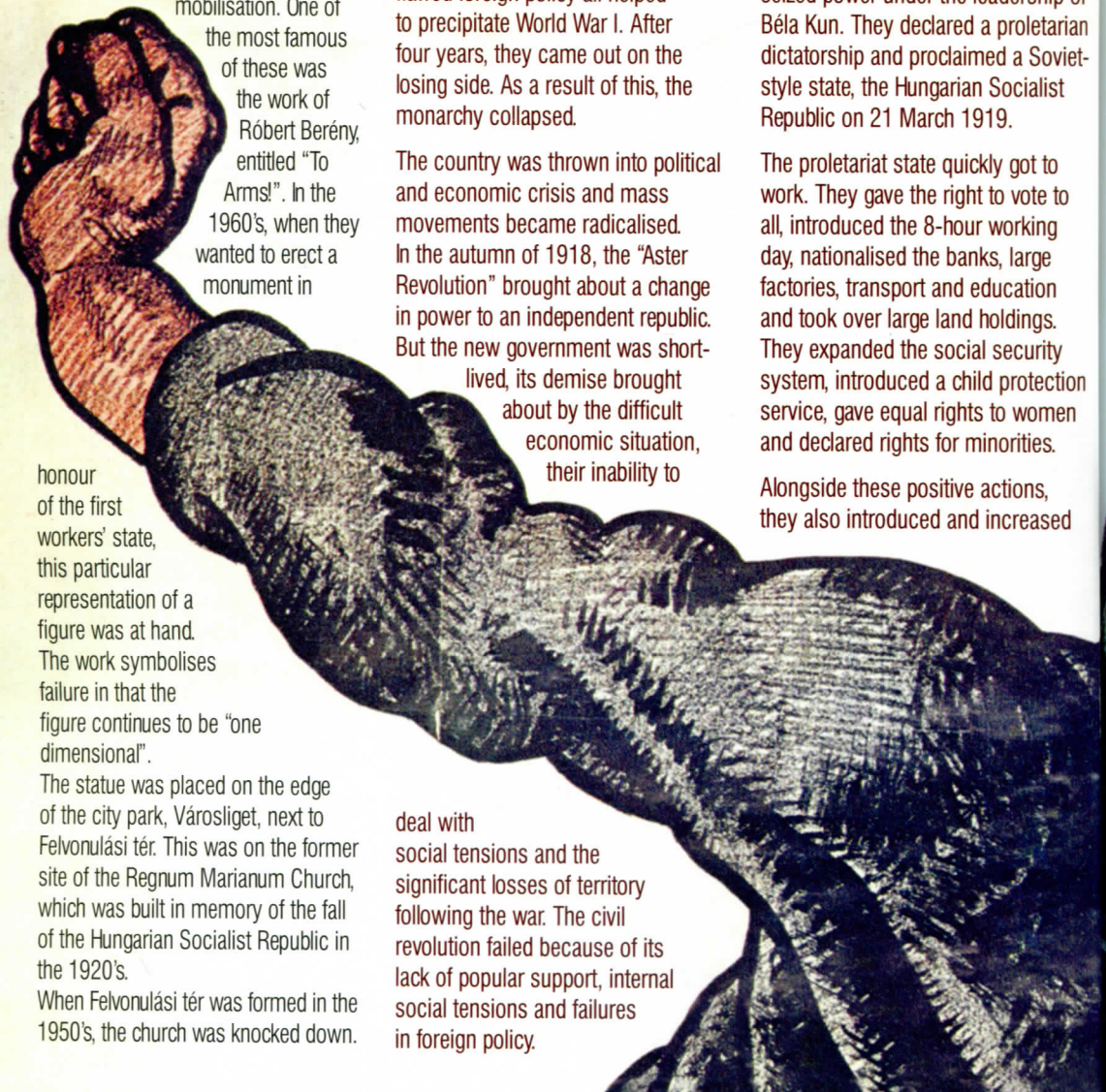
At the beginning of the 20th century, Hungary was an integral part of the central power, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The internal tensions of the multicultural state, the upcoming nationalistic movements, and the flawed foreign policy all helped to precipitate World War I. After four years, they came out on the losing side. As a result of this, the monarchy collapsed.

The country was thrown into political and economic crisis and mass movements became radicalised. In the autumn of 1918, the "Aster Revolution" brought about a change in power to an independent republic. But the new government was short-lived, its demise brought about by the difficult economic situation, their inability to

The chaotic situation was exploited by the activists returning from captivity in Russia - who had become acquainted with communist ideas there and intended to implement them in Hungary - who seized power under the leadership of Béla Kun. They declared a proletarian dictatorship and proclaimed a Soviet-style state, the Hungarian Socialist Republic on 21 March 1919.

The proletariat state quickly got to work. They gave the right to vote to all, introduced the 8-hour working day, nationalised the banks, large factories, transport and education and took over large land holdings. They expanded the social security system, introduced a child protection service, gave equal rights to women and declared rights for minorities.

Alongside these positive actions, they also introduced and increased



to state level the red terror and the institutionalisation of the merciless reduction and elimination of political enemies. The failure to distribute land meant that the peasant masses, who had been waiting in vain for land, gradually became disillusioned with the proletarian dictatorship, while the peasant farmers, fearing that their land would be expropriated again, gradually opposed the new system. The agitation against religion and the church clashed with the religious sensibilities of the majority of the people. The symbols of the communist state, the insistence on

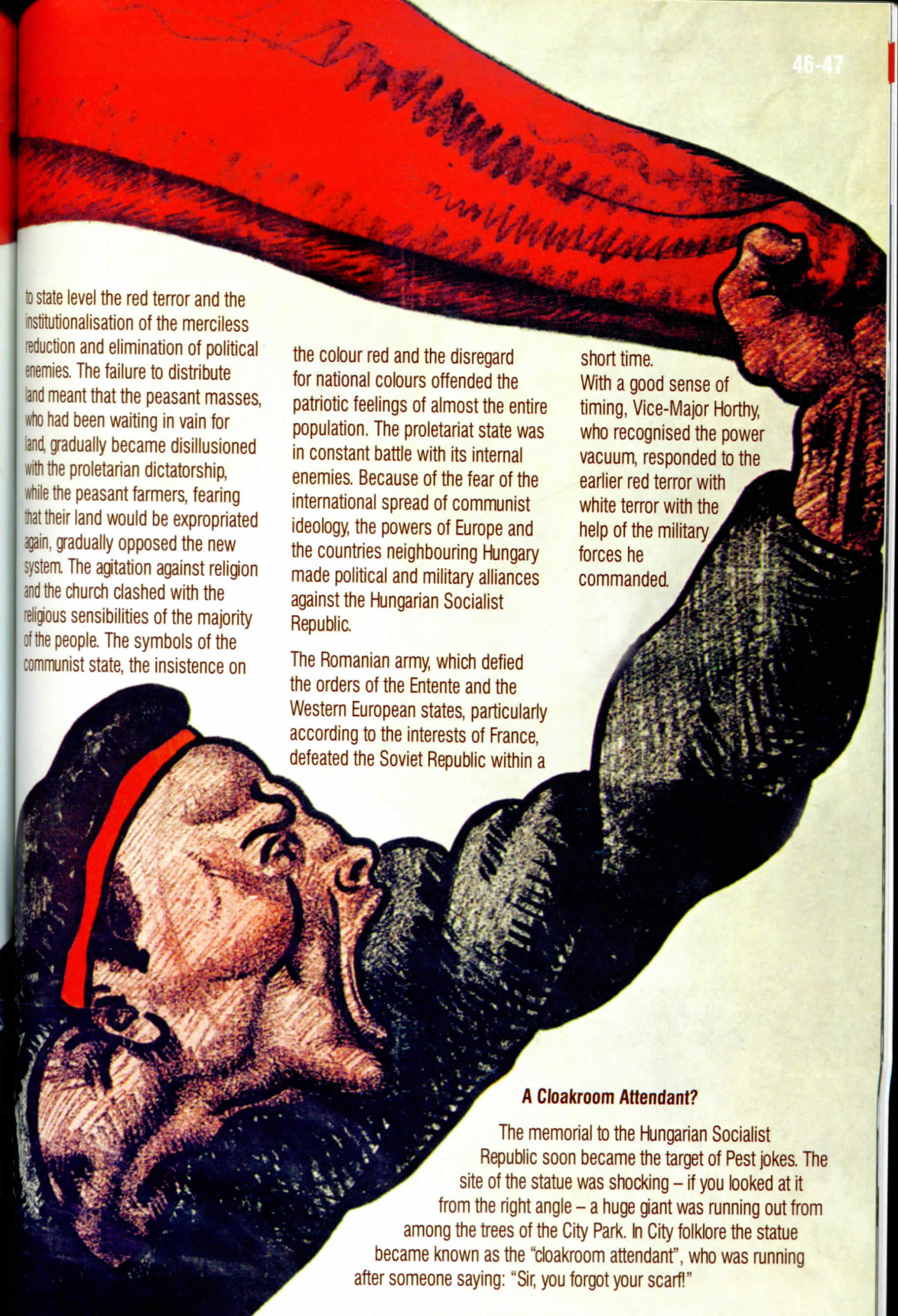
the colour red and the disregard for national colours offended the patriotic feelings of almost the entire population. The proletariat state was in constant battle with its internal enemies. Because of the fear of the international spread of communist ideology, the powers of Europe and the countries neighbouring Hungary made political and military alliances against the Hungarian Socialist Republic.

The Romanian army, which defied the orders of the Entente and the Western European states, particularly according to the interests of France, defeated the Soviet Republic within a

short time. With a good sense of timing, Vice-Major Horthy, who recognised the power vacuum, responded to the earlier red terror with white terror with the help of the military forces he commanded.

A Cloakroom Attendant?

The memorial to the Hungarian Socialist Republic soon became the target of Pest jokes. The site of the statue was shocking – if you looked at it from the right angle – a huge giant was running out from among the trees of the City Park. In City folklore the statue became known as the “cloakroom attendant”, who was running after someone saying: “Sir, you forgot your scarf!”



34. The Peace Guards' Bas-Relief
(Sándor Ambrózi – Károly

Stöckert, 1953)

2nd District, Pasaréti út 191-193

Part of an important series of bas-reliefs, which, following the example of Moscow, was planned to decorate the Népstadion station on the planned Budapest Metro. The work glorified the calling of the military, which would make it possible for the next generation – the pioneers – to live in peace and to develop in freedom so that the ideology could progress. The Metro, however, was not built in the 1950's as planned, and the plaques were hung in different locations, resulting in the loss of the work's original effect and importance. On the first plaque of the monument that you can see in the Statue Park, children - pioneers - the hopes of the communist movement are marching. On the second plaque, a border guard, a sailor and a newswoman protecting them may be taking part in a war game, or they may be on a live action mission.

It's probably only for artistic composition reasons, but still, it's interesting that the only armed figure in the group is not facing the supposed enemy, but is watching and checking on his own companions.

35. Memorial Plaque to the Ferencváros division of the Communist Workers' Party (KMP)
(1959), 9th District, Soroksári út

Inscription: "In this place stood the building that housed the Ferencváros division of the Hungarian Communist Party, established on January 15th, 1919."

36. Memorial Plaque to the Print Shop of the Communist Workers Party (KMP)
(1955), 9th District, Ráday u. 53

Inscription: „In this house in 1922, the underground print shop of KMP was operated. The Commune and the Young Proletarian party newsheets were printed here, which during the fascist era, in defiance of all the terrors of the anti-revolutionary regime, proclaimed the uncompromising truth to the workers. February 1st, 1955, National Association of Hungarian Journalists.”

37-38. Memorial to the Heroes of Peoples' Power

(Viktor Kalló, 1983, made of limestone)

8th District, Köztársaság tér (now II. János Pál pápa tér)**Monument to the Martyrs of the Counter-Revolution**

(Viktor Kalló, 1960, cast in bronze, 6.6m high)

8th District, Köztársaság tér (now II. János Pál pápa tér)

The two monuments (37 & 38) were well-balanced in their original site. The stone wall was erected in memory of those that died or were murdered in the defence of the communist party headquarters. Inscription: "In undying memory of all those fighters who were faithful to their people and to the party, and who died a hero's death on October 30th, 1956 in the defence of the Proletariat power." (This is followed by a list of names). The statue of the man was situated opposite the headquarters, on the site where ditches were built following the siege as people tried to find the cellar prisons. The unusually proportioned,

large, flat plinth suggested isolation from their enemies.

The movement of the five-metre-tall bronze figure as he falls on his knees is both earthbound and ascending. His clothing makes him timeless, ageless, unclassifiable in terms of his political and social status. In doing so, he not only suggests modernity, but also alludes to the social turmoil caused by the 1956 revolution and its retribution.

The marble wall, which forms one architectural unit with the statue, tells the story of the events of the 1956 revolution from the communist leadership's point of view in a cartoonish way. The days of the fight are depicted by bullet holes in the house walls, flames, burning books, a furious fist, and a hand reaching out for help. The top of the mass on the left of the monument symbolises human sacrifice: the head of a martyr who is sinking into nothingness, but at the same time is glorified. In the centre of the relief, there is a brief pause: a place for wreaths of remembrance and a roll call of those who died in the fighting. But in the next panel a new chapter begins. A new day is dawning, and the soldiers of the people appear, lining up in front of the flags of the communist idea with their hands raised in oath, also with their faith and their weapons. They promise the hope of a better life to all those who are willing to "fall in line": to workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. Finally, the work sums up the symbols of this new order: we see a machine shaft, an ear of wheat and houses under construction. Above all these shines the symbol of the communist ideal, the five-pointed star.

Uprising in 1956

On October 23rd, 1956 an uprising broke out in Budapest against the communist dictatorship, the state terror and the Soviet occupation. The uprising soon grew into a war of independence.

One chapter of the events took place on October 30th, when a group of insurgents headed for the Communist Party Headquarters in Budapest, with the intention of freeing those revolutionaries that they assumed were being held there. Apart from the party functionaries, the building was defended primarily by enlisted armed party members. They opened fire on the insurgents from within the building. This signified the start of a siege which lasted several hours. Later army tanks entered the fray on the side of the insurgents. The battle ended in victory for the besiegers. After they had occupied the building, they lost their heads and shot many of the defenders in the head or tortured and lynched them.

The hysteria of the crowd was not lessened by the end of the battle; instead they used diggers to dig huge ditches around the building in search of the secret underground prisons which were rumoured to be located here.



39. War Memorial to the Buda Volunteers Regiment

(Mihály Mészáros, 1975, made of concrete), 2nd District, Tároगतó út

The inscription: "In memory of the combined unity of the liberating Soviet army and the Buda Volunteers Regiment who joined them in this place."

On the different sides of the monument are assaulting Hungarian and Soviet soldiers, who are joined together by a five-pointed star, representing communist ideology, which has been blasted through the concrete.

The Buda Volunteers Regiment was formed during World War II at the beginning of 1945, at the time of the more than 100-day-long siege of Budapest. Its members were Hungarian volunteers who joined the Soviet side, taking on armed combat against the fascists. The regiment, consisting of 2,500 members, took part in the siege and capture of several of the capital's strategic points – the Southern Railway Station, Gellért Hill and the Castle District. About 600 members of the regiment died a hero's death.



The Two Peace Envoys

During the Soviet counter-attack at the end of World War II, the besieging Soviets encircled Budapest in December of 1944, and via envoy called for the surrender of the German and Hungarian troupes defending the city. Hitler and the German military leadership, wanting to win time in order to plan the defence of Germany, decided to sacrifice Budapest. During the following more than 100-day siege, the city was reduced to ruins.

On December 29th, 1944, Miklós Steinmetz (1913-1944), the ethnically Hungarian captain of the Red Army, set out from the South-East as the Ukrainian Captain Ilija Afanasjevics Ostapenko headed from the South-West. Both the

envoys carried the ultimatum with its call to surrender. Both men lost their lives on this mission: on his return journey, Ostapenko was caught in screen fire from his own side, while the returning Steinmetz drove over a mine in his car.

From the first moment, the communist propaganda suggested that the peace envoys had been deliberately murdered by the fascists.

The siege was still underway, when some weeks later they prepared propaganda photographs at the original site. In these pictures, film producer Jenő Kim, pretending to be Steinmetz, lay on the floor, dressed in a private soldier's uniform. They dragged a whole lot of debris around the "body". For decades, this photograph was "proof" of the evil deed.

The two statues were erected on the death sites of the two envoys.

The fate and death of the two envoys that have stood for decades at the southern gates of Buda and Pest was always connected. But only here in the statue park are they to be found side by side, where they are the ones who say farewell to the visitors at the end of the road.



40. Captain Steinmetz
(Sándor Mikus, 1958, cast in bronze, 4.3m high), 18th District, Vöröshadsereg (now: Üllői) út

The work, originally of two figures, was blown up by the revolutionaries in 1956. It was later replaced by a more down-to-earth work.

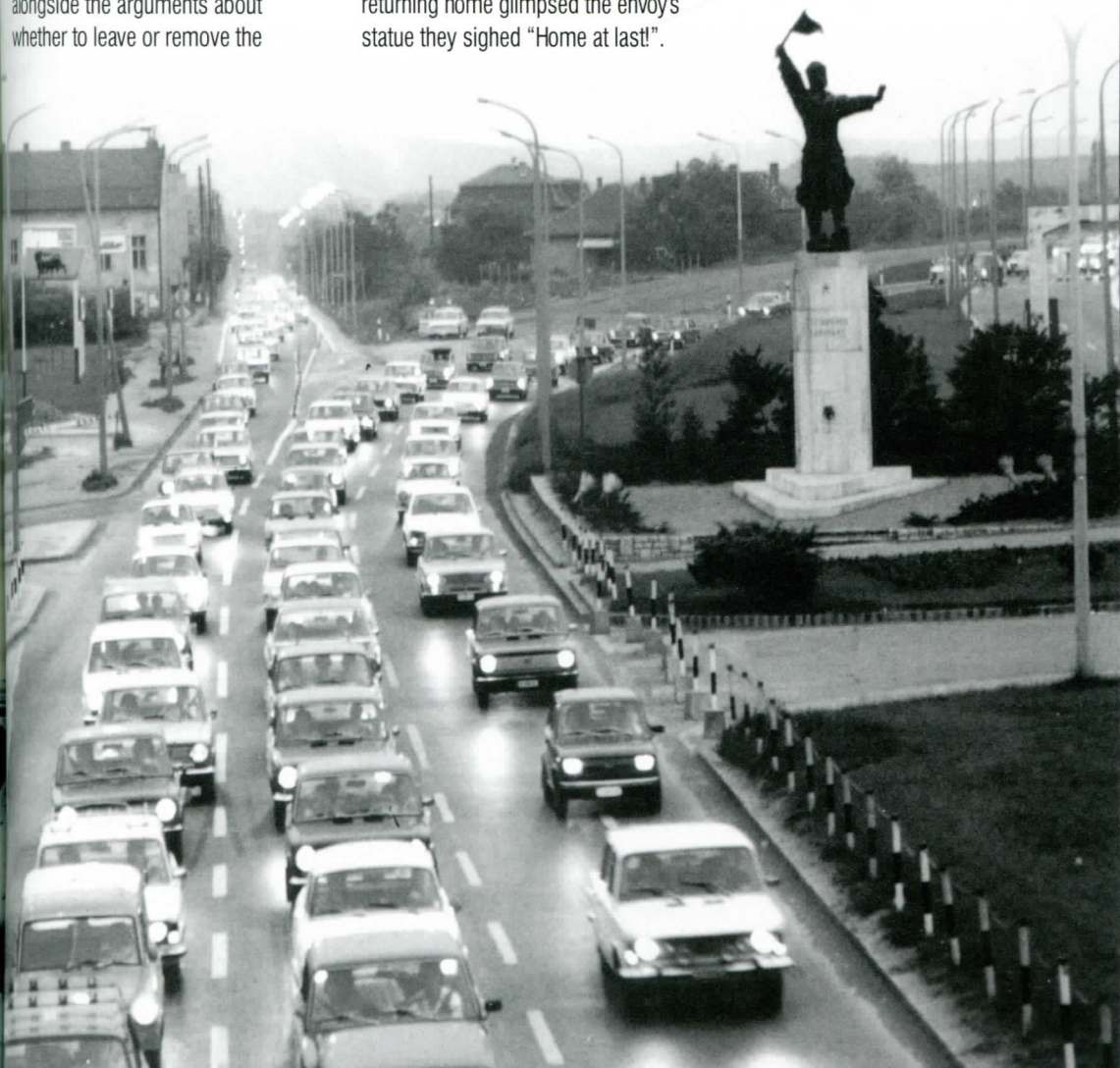
41. Ostapenko
(Jenő Kerényi, 1951, cast in bronze), 11th District, Budaörsi út – Balatoni út

At the beginning of the 1990's alongside the arguments about whether to leave or remove the

Liberation monument on Gellért Hill, probably discussions surrounding the fate of the statue of Ostapenko were the most heated. The work changed in its significance over time; it was transubstantiated. As a result of the advancement in motoring, those motorists heading to Lake Balaton or Vienna on the motorways newly built at the end of the 1960's set out from Budapest right where the statue stood. Young hitch-hikers heading for Balaton were recommended to stand by Ostapenko, and as those returning home glimpsed the envoy's statue they sighed "Home at last!".

In this way Ostapenko became the symbol of leaving and coming home, a landmark and a good friend. Or to put it another way, forgetting all of the political implications, people grew to like him.

In the end, they took the statue down, but this intersection and its bus and tram stops are still known by everyone who travels that way as Ostapenko.



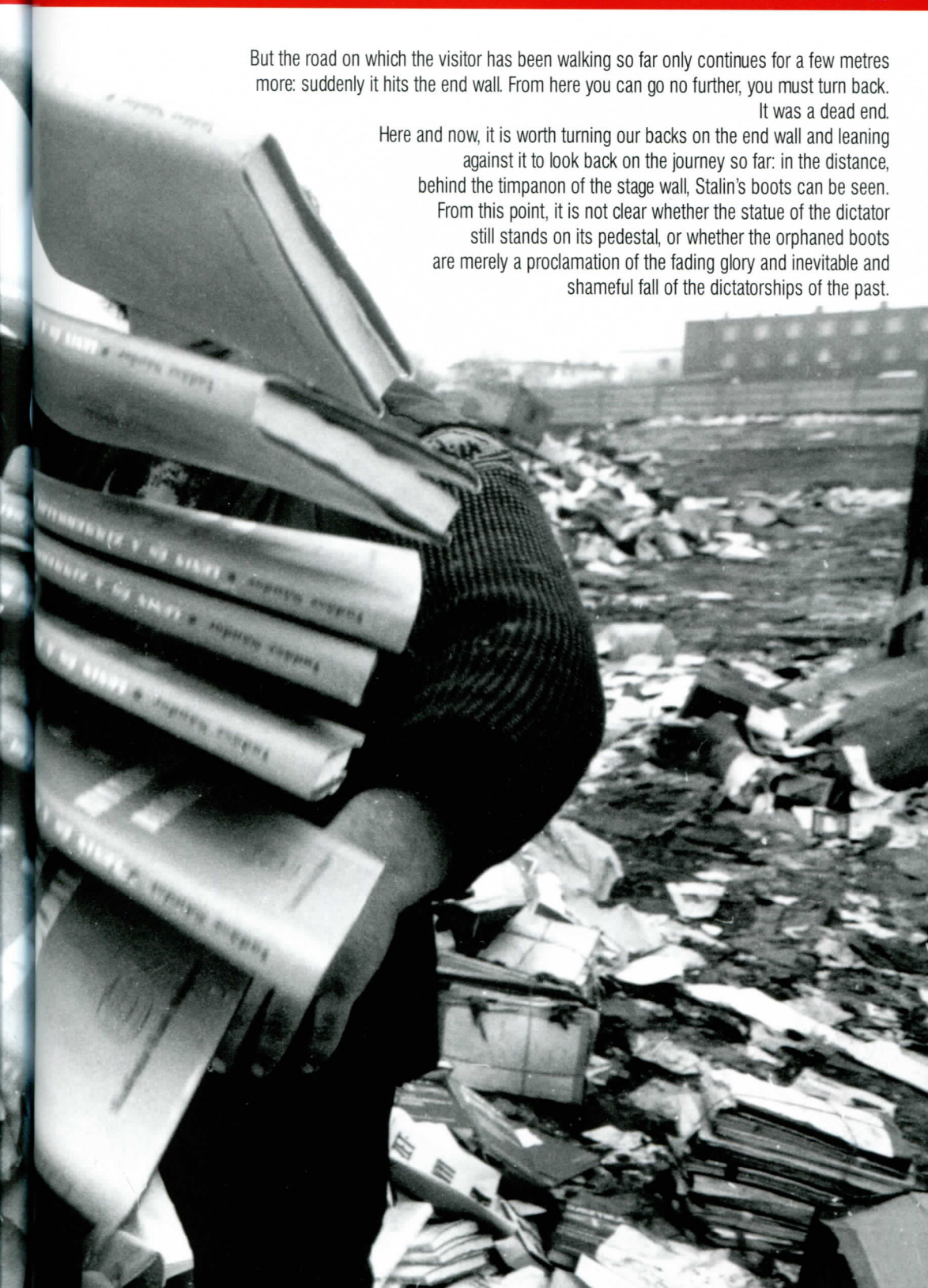


But the road on which the visitor has been walking so far only continues for a few metres more: suddenly it hits the end wall. From here you can go no further, you must turn back.

It was a dead end.

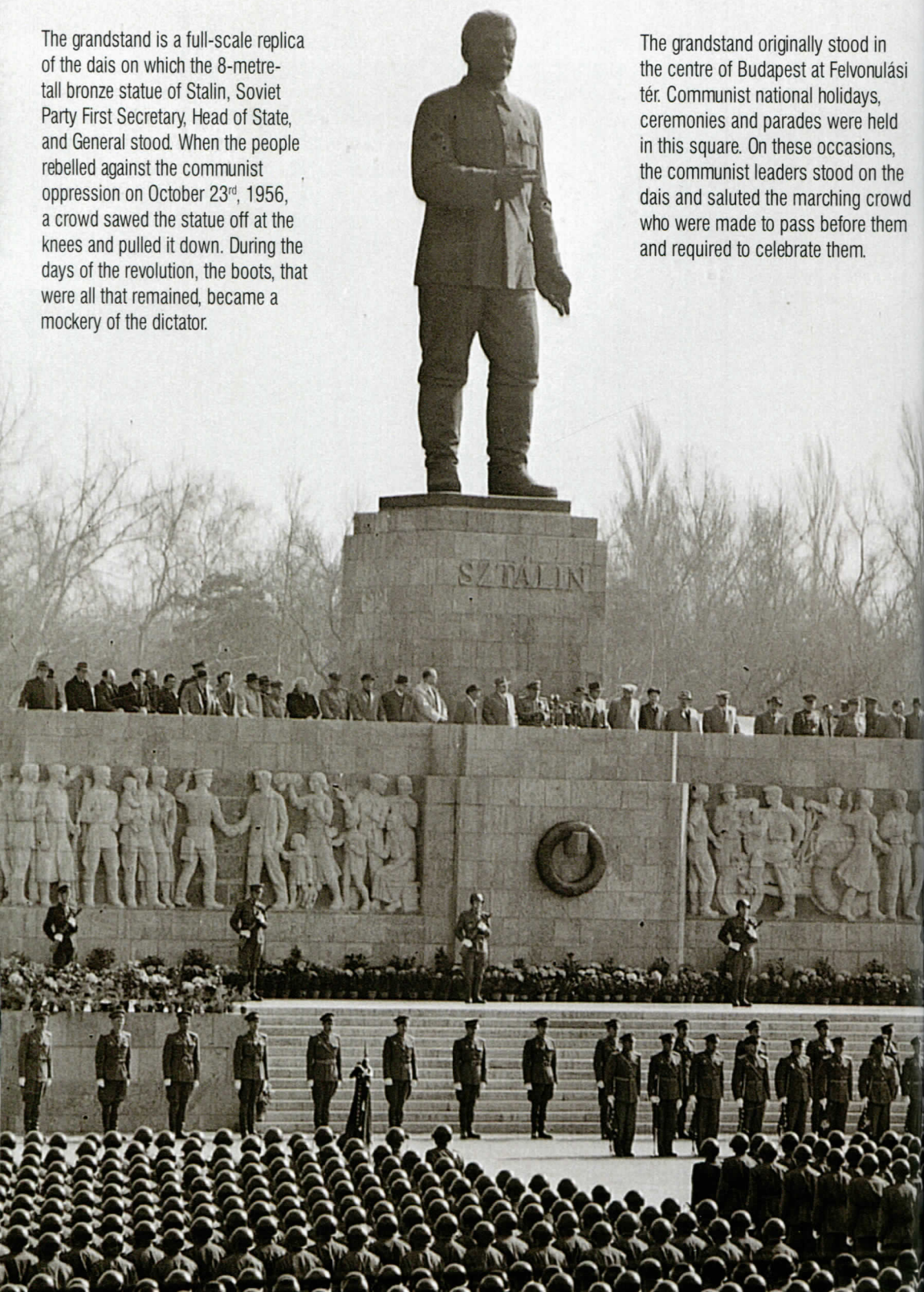
Here and now, it is worth turning our backs on the end wall and leaning against it to look back on the journey so far: in the distance, behind the timpanon of the stage wall, Stalin's boots can be seen.

From this point, it is not clear whether the statue of the dictator still stands on its pedestal, or whether the orphaned boots are merely a proclamation of the fading glory and inevitable and shameful fall of the dictatorships of the past.



The grandstand is a full-scale replica of the dais on which the 8-metre-tall bronze statue of Stalin, Soviet Party First Secretary, Head of State, and General stood. When the people rebelled against the communist oppression on October 23rd, 1956, a crowd sawed the statue off at the knees and pulled it down. During the days of the revolution, the boots, that were all that remained, became a mockery of the dictator.

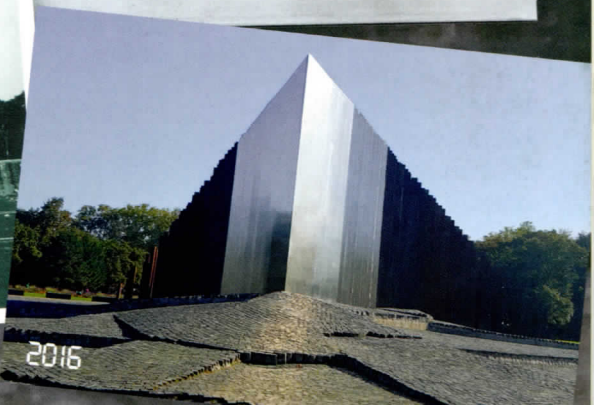
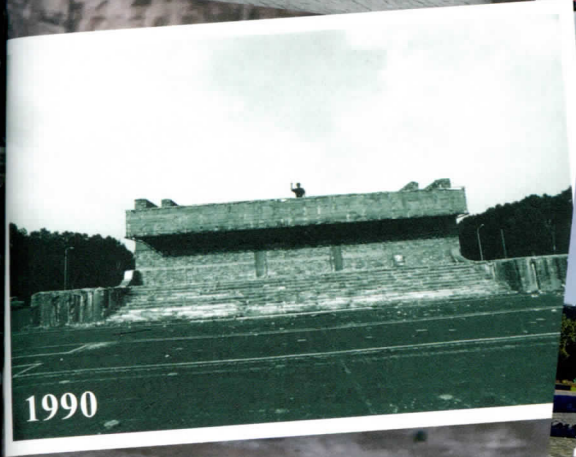
The grandstand originally stood in the centre of Budapest at Felvonulási tér. Communist national holidays, ceremonies and parades were held in this square. On these occasions, the communist leaders stood on the dais and saluted the marching crowd who were made to pass before them and required to celebrate them.





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The most frequently asked questions concerning the Soviet occupation of Hungary and Memento Park

Did Hungarians have to speak Russian during the Soviet occupation?

No. Although Russian was the compulsory foreign language studied in schools, this was not applied to everyday life – there was nowhere that you needed to use Russian. Actually, it would have been impossible, since, in spite of the many years of study, almost no-one knew any Russian. This was maybe due to the low standard of language teaching, or possibly the lackadaisical attitude of the language teachers. It's also possible that the problem lay with the text-books and sentences like: "Alyosha, what's the ratio of peasants in your local communist party organisation?"

Were the Soviet soldiers free to roam the country?

No. In fact it was very rare that you met a Soviet soldier during everyday life, other than the transit officials at the international stations, or the closed convoys of soldiers on the roads. The Soviet barracks were a totally closed world, foot soldiers were not allowed out, the officers moved in their own circles and lived in closed apartments. Their children went to separate schools, and the soldiers' wives even did their shopping in their own separate shops. Of course, there were some escapes and a few atrocities, but these were very rare and always dealt with at a local level.

Was everybody an informer during Communism?

No. The so-called III/III department of the state police dealt with conflicts of "internal opposition". Its activities included data gathering on every aspect of life, and intelligence gathering about people. In addition to the several thousand employees of the organisation, a carefully built-up network of several hundred thousand informers gathered information. Very few volunteered for this responsibility. Most informers were blackmailed or threatened into regularly reporting on their acquaintances, colleagues or even their families. At the time of the fall of Communism, the III/III department was disbanded and a small number of the agents' files were destroyed, the majority, however, were placed into closed archives. However, this did not satisfactorily solve the problem, because many who were truly guilty were not called to account. From time to time there is a scandal surrounding one or other public figure that is found to have been involved.

What were the privileges of being a member of the Communist Party?

Not many. There couldn't really be, since in the heyday of the Party out of the 10 million strong population of Hungary, a phenomenal 900 thousand were Party members! Anyone who wanted a promotion or a leadership position had no choice but to join. Party members did not

have any extra rights; rather they just had access to more information than the simple citizen. In the eighties, for example, they always knew about coming price rises a few days ahead, this gave them a short opportunity to capitalise by buying up stuff before the price rise.

How did Communism Fall?

In Hungary, as in most of the other Central-Eastern-European countries, the change of regime happened peacefully between 1988-1990. The then leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev recognised that the earlier, isolationist social order could not be sustained. Moreover, the arms race was set to completely bankrupt the economy. Gorbachev foresaw the need for changes, and gave the countries of the Soviet block the freedom to choose their own way forward.

In Hungary in 1989, prominent members of the underground political opposition formed the Opposition Round Table. After prolonged discussions, they reached agreement with the Party representatives about a change to democracy. As a result of their agreement, in the spring of 1990 Hungary was once again able to hold parliamentary elections and the democratic renewal of the country could begin.

Personality Cult

Were the sacrifices of Communism compensated for?

Yes and no. There are two kinds of compensation: financial and moral. If anyone who had lost property to the communist regime (factory, land, shop, house, apartment, or anything else) could bring documentary evidence of prior ownership, they were given “compensation vouchers” that represented a value far less than a fraction of what they had owned. Later these could be exchanged for a simple life annuity or bank savings bonds. They also had the opportunity to buy property or land in the re-privatisation of state-owned property. Unfortunately, in these transactions, only those who were “quick off the mark” speculators did really well. So in reality there was never any real and complete financial compensation. All of those who suffered from significant infringement of their rights under the communist regime were awarded moral compensation – apologies – or were given a modest supplement to their pension. In extreme cases, their former convictions were revoked and their names were cleared. For anyone who “only” had their life ruined – they were prevented from going onto further education, they were not promoted, not allowed to develop their skills, who were continuously inconvenienced for no real reason, well, those people got no kind of compensation.



At the beginning of the 1950's, Mátyás Rákosi was the First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist party and the country's premier leader. He proclaimed himself to be Stalin's most faithful Hungarian disciple. They tried to project his personality within the following images: “thoughtful leader”, “wise commander of our people”, “the teacher of the country”, “the father of every Hungarian worker”. His portrait was hung between those of Lenin and Stalin, of course, a little lower than theirs, in every public building, workplace, shop, and school classroom.

On the Party National Days it was compulsory to parade with Portraits of Stalin and Rákosi, and as soon as their names were shouted aloud, everybody had to stand up and for long minutes, clap rhythmically shouting “Stalin, Rákosi! Long live Rákosi! Long live the Party!” You might be in

danger of losing your life if you didn't clap. Everything, from the standing up to the ovations to the chanting, was considered an obligatory part of the ceremony. The participants, for fear of the informants and the ÁVH officers, simply didn't dare behave out of line.

In 1952, in celebration of his 60th birthday, work competitions were announced across the country. It was compulsory for every Hungarian to do something for the big celebration: the kindergarten kids made drawings, the primary school kids submitted their first composition for it, and adults embroidered his name into their tablecloths. Schools, public offices, factories, sport and study competitions took on the name of Rákosi in honour of the occasion. Tons of paintings, exhibitions, poems, songs, films and printed materials were prepared about the celebrated leader.

The Iron Curtain

One of the most obvious methods that the communist countries used in their exercise of power was closing the population off from the outside world, and especially from the detrimental effects of other ideologies.

Between the years 1948-1989, people in Hungary lived in spiritual and physical quarantine. Western radio programmes were interfered with using a huge technical apparatus, foreign newspapers, books and even simple postal packages and letters only got into the country via the censor. At the border posts, every news item, or piece of literature was confiscated. Often, western music records, or even goods that the border guards considered to be “unnecessary luxuries” were also taken away.

Until the beginning of the 1960's foreign travel was absolutely impossible, later it was only allowed under strict conditions. In the hands of the state, the passport was an important tool for manipulation. If someone wanted to travel abroad, not only did they have to fill out a special application and include their CV, but this also needed to be counter-signed by their boss, the local party secretary, the secretary of the union, and in the case of young people, the KISZ (Communist Youth Association) secretary.

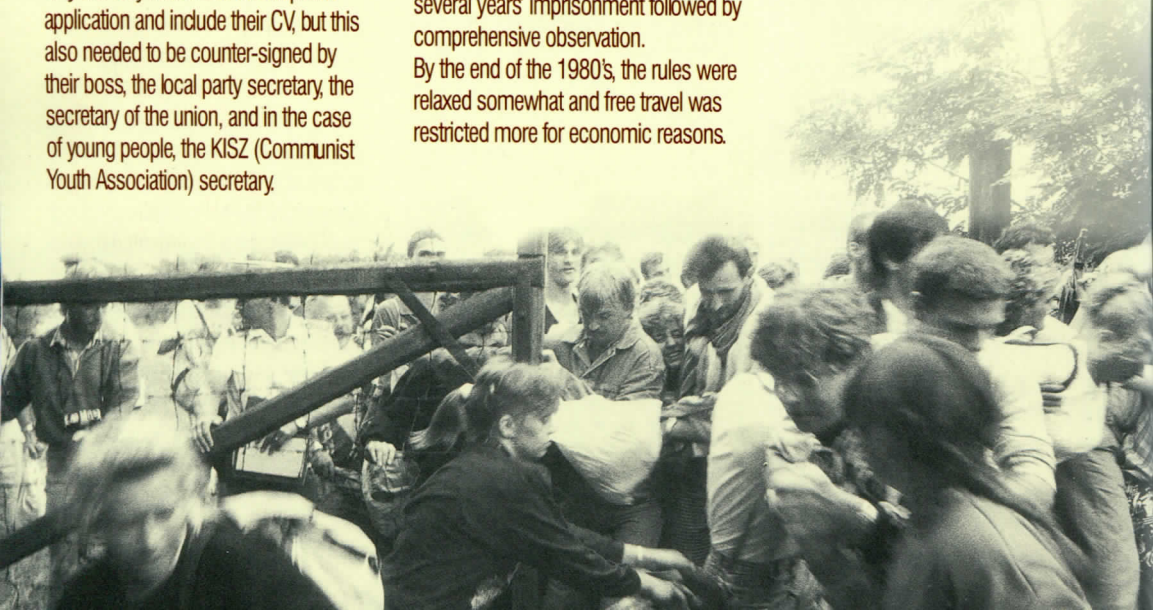
As you crossed the border it was impossible to avoid the body search, having all your belongings scrutinised, and often having totally innocent personal items confiscated. Those returning from non-communist countries, were subjected to a “conversation” with the police or the secret police and often made to write a report about their travels.

The western border of Hungary was enclosed not only by the usual border security but also by a mechanical border lock, the so-called Iron Curtain. According to the official explanation, this was in order to prevent the entry of foreign diversionists, spies and other enemies. The strict border controls, the complicated technical warning system, the barbed wire fence and the mined border region all served to ensure that no one could escape from the country. Of course, many tried, and up until the beginning of the 1980's, due to the order to open fire, many paid with their lives for their failed escapes. Those who were caught alive were subjected to several years' imprisonment followed by comprehensive observation.

By the end of the 1980's, the rules were relaxed somewhat and free travel was restricted more for economic reasons.

In the summer of 1989, refugees from the communist East Germany (GDR) who were trying to reach West Germany flooded through Hungary and Austria. At that time the Hungarian government was preparing for a division of power and in the face of the determined request of the GDR, didn't want to get involved in “German internal affairs”. Therefore, they made no attempt to prevent the crowds from the East from travelling on to the West. The result of this was that within the space of a few months the migration turned into a mass exodus.

On August 19th, 1989 civil organisations organised an official opening of the Hungarian-Austrian border entitled the “Pan-European Picnic”. This ensured that the tearing down of the iron curtain became inevitable. As a result of all these things, the confinement of Hungary and the other Eastern Block countries became nonsense and impossible to enforce. The processes that were initiated then soon led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany.



Were those who committed political crimes in the former regime brought to justice?

No. Most of the older leaders of the country and the Party retired from public life. There were others who underwent a 180 degree change and continued in politics – albeit now on the “other” side. Most of the younger ones found their places in economic life or within the new organisations that developed out of the ruins of the former communist party. So, after the fall of communism, politically motivated calling to account or criminal proceedings were not held in Hungary.

Are there any other similar collections anywhere else in the world?

There is no other similar collection within the other former Communist Block countries in Eastern-Europe. In the former Soviet Union – within Russia and the other republics – there are small and larger examples of statue collections. The best known of these is the Lithuanian “creepily entertaining” communist theme park.

Who does the collection belong to, how does it operate and who provides for its upkeep?

The site of the Memento Park, its statues and buildings all belong to the state and the local government. The park is operated by a company who rent the space, the running costs are covered by the income they generate. This income is composed of the sale of entrance tickets and other activities including the profit made from the sale of souvenirs.

Why are there only this many statues in the park and are there likely to be more?

Only statues that were once found on the streets of Budapest are to be found in the park – with only a few exceptions, they were all removed after the fall of communism. Works from the countryside can be found in local exhibitions, or are currently in storage awaiting a place in various local history collections and museums. A few of the Budapest statues have remained in their original places or have been moved to new locations, for example they have been placed onto the tombs of World War II Soviet soldiers. The statue park is a memorial reference to a one-off and unrepeatable historical event – the moment of the fall of communism. Because of this, no more statues can be added to the collection.

How many visitors do you have each year?

Annually the park has between 60-70,000 visitors, about half overseas visitors, half Hungarians. The Hungarians are most curious to see what happened to the well-known statues, or they want to show their children and grandchildren these reminders of the previous era. More and more school groups are showing an interest and including a visit as part of history or art history syllabuses. The majority of tourists come from countries that were geographically and politically protected from the “east winds”. Nowadays, this is perhaps one of the only opportunities to relive the atmosphere of life in Eastern-Europe behind the iron curtain.

What do visitors think about the Memento Park?

On the basis of the evaluation questionnaires and the guest book on the internet, the majority of our visitors agree with us that the statues should have been preserved. The fact that, according to our surveys, a large proportion of our visitors come on the recommendation of others also supports these conclusions.

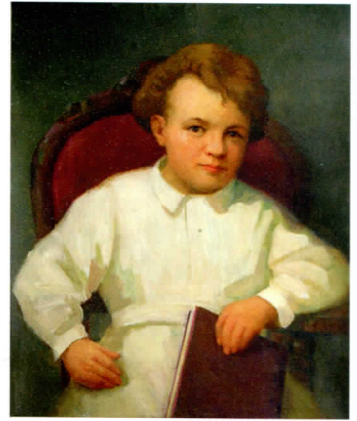
Are there any political events or memorials held in the Park?

No, because these would not be compatible with the concept of the park. The statue park is not an action ground, but primarily a museum. Occasionally we have some filming or other non-political events, as long as they do not interfere with the ongoing operation of the park. A few scenes from a number of Hungarian and foreign films have been filmed here (Megint Tanú, Redline). It is also a popular place for filming music video clips (Webb Brothers, Beatrice, The From, Zorall, etc.)

Where can I find up-to-date information about the opening hours of Memento Park, the entrance fees and other practical information?

On our website in Hungarian and English: <http://www.mementopark.hu>

Lenin as a child



With his funeral ceremony on 27 January 1924, the cult of Lenin took off.

The period of Real Socialism saw statues and monuments erected in honour of Lenin, streets and public squares named after him, poems and songs devoted to his praise,

and even the highest peak of the Pamir Mountains bore the name of Lenin. Cities were also renamed: Saint Petersburg was called Leningrad between 1924 and 1991, while Tiszaújváros in Hungary was known by the name of Leninváros from 1970 until 1991.

The cult that formulated around his person elevated him to an almost divine status, for which purpose his body was preserved and placed in the Lenin's Mausoleum in Moscow, which was meant to literally realize immortality.

The creators' real goal with the Lenin cult was ensuring power, with Lenin's later successors using him as a reference point and regarding themselves the true followers who would carry on the legacy of the Leninist ideology. This is how Leninism became a "state religion", with a founder as a supernatural leader and prophet who created the holy texts that could be constantly reinterpreted and thus, applied to any and every situation.

When constructing the Lenin cult, one target audience was the youth, who were not only taught about the adult Lenin as the "patron of us all", but they also attempted to bring closer to young people Lenin as a child. One of the tools used in this propaganda was popularizing the



image of Lenin as a child, a figure taken out of its context and so, partly false. Wall posters, badges and statues were all produced based on a photograph taken of the future leader of the proletariat, at the age of 4. The curly blond hair, the innocent looks and the figure that was yet undeveloped in gender symbolized pureness and the faith in a happy future.

The work within the Tribune of the Memento Park is a real rarity: The statue once stood in the centre of the Soviet Pioneers' camp in Balatonszemes, Hungary, where child holidaymakers would salute to it as part of their daily routine.

The "Sputnik" Pioneers' Camp was a strictly closed institution, where no one but children from the Soviet Union were allowed to spend their holidays.

No inhabitant of the establishment protected by military guards was able to get in touch with Hungarians, and neither were they allowed to leave the area of the camp.



1956 – The Hungarian Revolution

Memento Park's Most Popular book

On October 23rd, 1956 an uprising broke out in Budapest against the communist dictatorship, the state terror and the Soviet occupation. The uprising soon grew into a war of independence, which the communist powers, helped by the Soviet army, quickly crushed. Despite the failure, this series of events caused the first hairline cracks in the building of the Proletariat Dictatorship, which later led to the fall of the communist world order.

The book presents the most important incidents of the revolution in chronological order. The publication is illustrated by many previously unseen original photos. There are short explanations which help the reader to follow the chain of events. Short biographies of the martyred prime minister, Imre Nagy, and also the later leader of Hungary János Kádár are also included. You can find out what a Molotov Cocktail is made from and what it is used for, what happened during the legendary Hungarian-Soviet water polo match at the Melbourne Olympics, or how the iron curtain was torn down decades later.

This very readable and attractive book describes one of the most beautiful periods of Hungarian history – the fight for national independence and freedom.



The book in English is available for purchase on Google Play and will soon be published on Amazon, too. Find it under the title 'The Hungarian Revolution 1956'.



October 23, Tuesday
● National Day, the daily newspaper of the communist "Munkás" announces the demonstration scheduled for the anniversary of the revolution with the Polish workers.
● The government delegation comes from their talks in Great Poland. To calm the cities, they immediately go to the street to call for the stopping of the Hungarian Workers' Party.
● 12:12 Radio Kossuth, the state radio station, announces a bulletin in which the Department of the Interior bans the demonstration.
● During the course of the day more and more officials of the government to join the demonstration. They also take part in other military confrontations to prevent the building of the installations.



October 27, Saturday
● A few, open conversations take place in the streets of Budapest. The atmosphere is tense, although the situation is still calm. The government delegation comes from their talks in Great Poland. To calm the cities, they immediately go to the street to call for the stopping of the Hungarian Workers' Party.
● 12:12 Radio Kossuth, the state radio station, announces a bulletin in which the Department of the Interior bans the demonstration.
● During the course of the day more and more officials of the government to join the demonstration. They also take part in other military confrontations to prevent the building of the installations.



The Life of an Agent –

Secret police training films from the communist era (film DVD)

In the days of Communism, the Home Office had its own film studio. Between the years 1958-1988 more than one hundred training films and feature films were produced. These films were used to train the secret police in state defence.

In 2004, the director Gábor Zsigmond Papp created edited highlights from these films. With the help of this film, we get a glimpse behind the once "strictly forbidden" scenes. Here we can see the methods used not only by the secret agents and informers who were often blackmailed into their roles; but also the activities of the commanding officers and state security experts who controlled them.

The most interesting excerpts from these earlier films are combined to give a unique perspective on the operation and mindset of one of the law enforcement organisations run by the Kádár regime.

The film is divided into four 10-15 minute sections:

1. Where bugging devices should be positioned.
2. Introduction to conducting a house-search.
3. Recruitment methods
4. Effective networking

A Hungarian language DVD with optional English subtitles, region code 2; or a region code 0 option with fixed English subtitles are both available.

The Life of an Agent

Secret police training films
from the communist era

Hungarian language, English subtitles



Directed and produced by
Gábor Zsigmond Papp

In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots

Visitors' Guide to Memento Park

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Editing: Judit Holp

Typography and makeup: Zoltán György (Orange Design)

English version: Erika J. Füstös, Helen Kovács and Hungarolingua

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A helyzet reménytelen de nem komoly – Politikai vicceink 1945-től maig – Katona Imre, Móra Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1994), Website of the Institute for the History of the 1956 Revolution - www.rev.hu, A magyarok krónikája – Officina Nova, Budapest 1995, Budapest köztéri szobrai és emléktáblái 1985-1998 – Szöllösy Ágnes és Boros Géza, katalógus, Budapest Galéria 1998, Egy letűnt korszak hajdani emlékművei – Póto János, kézirat, 1993, Emberek és Szobrok – Kisfaludy Strobl Zsigmond, Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadó Vállalata, 1969, Emlék/Mű – Boros Géza, Enciklopédia Kiadó, Budapest, 2001, Emlékművek, politika, közgondolkodás – Póto János, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest 1989, Köztéri szobraink – Wehner Tibor, Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest 1986, Krónika 1956, Kossuth Kiadó – Tekintet Alapítvány, Budapest 2006., Hungarian Biographical Encyclopedia (1000-1990) on the Internet – Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest – mek.oszk.hu, Hungarian Virtual Encyclopedia on the Internet – sponsored by Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Science – www.enc.hu, Magyarországi munkásmozgalom 1867-1980 – Borsányi György - Kende János, Kossuth Kiadó, Mitoszok és legendák – Litván György, 1956-ról Evkönyv VIII. 205-218. o. – 1956-os Intézet, Budapest 2000, Munkásmozgalomtörténeti lexikon – Kossuth Kiadó, 1976, Politikai vicccgyűjtemény – Ember Mária, magánkiadás, Budapest 1989, Recsk – Bösörényi Géza, Széphalom Könyvműhely 2005, Hungarian Electronic Library, Szoborhistoriák – Prohászka László, Városháza Kiadó 2004, Szoborpark – Boros Géza, Városháza Kiadó, Budapest 2002, Website of the Memento Park – www.mementopark.hu, Szoborsorsok – Prohászka László, Kornétás 1994, Szocreál – Prákalvi Endre, Sik Kiadó, Budapest 1999, Történelem IV. – tankönyv, Cégér Kiadó, 1994, 40 év köztéri szobrai Budapesten 1945-1985 - Katalógus, Budapest Galéria 1985 as well as original documents from the collections of the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, Budapest Gallery, Szabó Ervin Library of Budapest, Museum Kiscell, Hungarian National Museum, Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Science, Petőfi Museum of Literature and from private collections.

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Visitors' Guide to Memento Park

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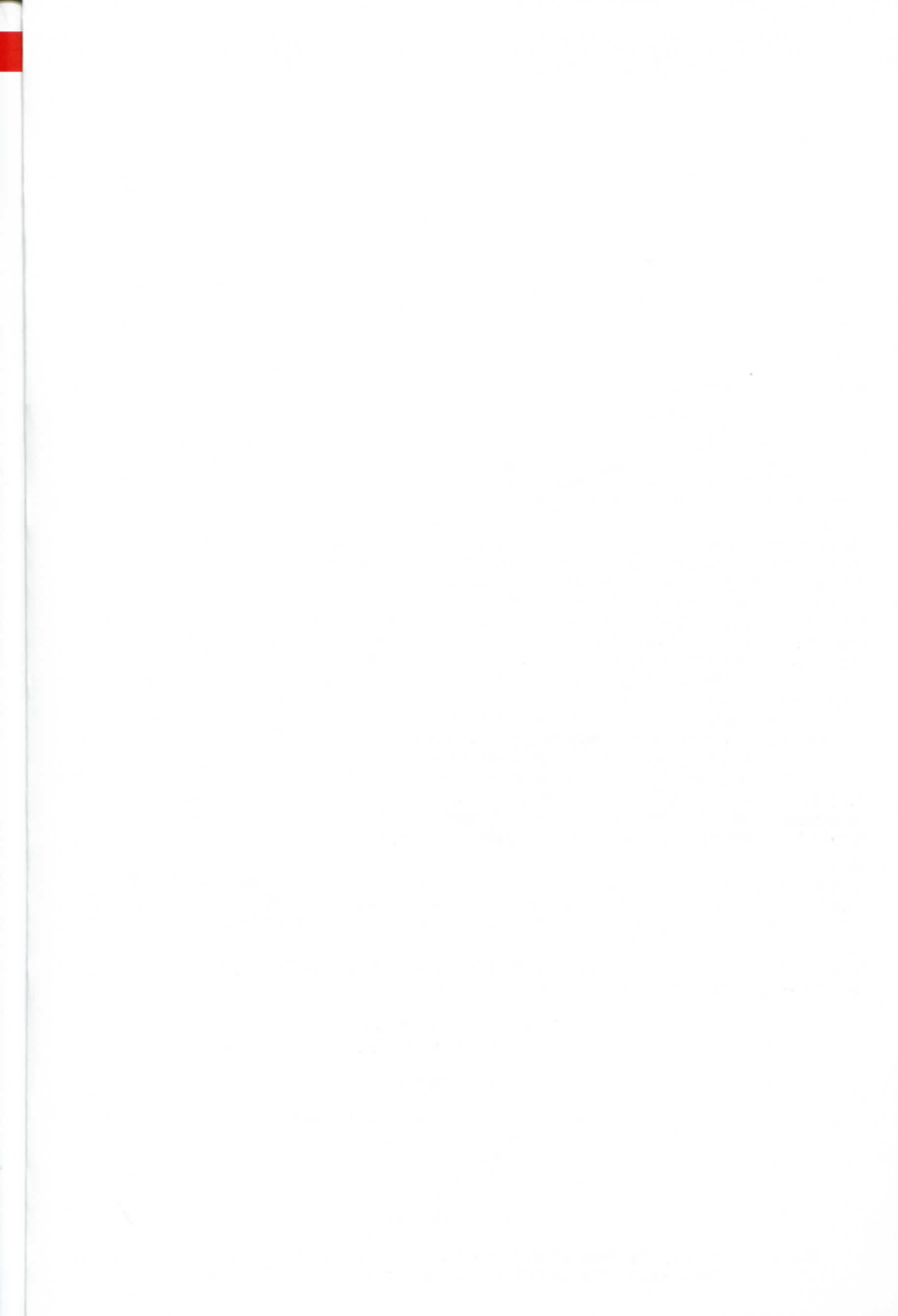
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IN THE SHADOW OF STALIN'S BOOTS

VISITORS' GUIDE TO MEMENTO PARK

Thankfully, today, memorials of Lenin and Stalin, the proletariat dictatorship, commune, the pioneer movement, the Soviet take-over, communist state terror, personality cult, concentration camp, workers' militia, counter-revolution, Hungarian Socialist Republic, five-pointed red star, the underground communist movement, the one-party state, terrorisation, the iron curtain, ideological warfare the concepts of the recent past are all things of the past – the stuff of historical text books.

Not so long ago, all of these were the well-accustomed apparatus of the “living socialism”, and a part of the everyday life of millions. In the same way, on the streets and in the squares, the sight of these oversized memorials to the autonomy and eternal truths of communism that were a requirement of the dictatorship belonged to the picture of city life in the Eastern Block, behind the Iron Curtain.

On the scale of history, all these disappeared in a flash, but for those who came afterwards, they serve as a lesson that is not without its traces: within the statue park that has been created in Memento Park, everybody can see the public works of art of this dangerous era and can feel the atmosphere of oppression that radiates from them.

The themes and history of these statues help us to understand the reasons why the communist dictatorship developed in Hungary, its history and its most important events and key figures, as well as all the connections that artificially kept the regime alive, and that finally forced its downfall.



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