

Csaba BÉKÉS, Ph. D.

Founding Director, Cold War History Research Center, Budapest
(www.coldwar.hu)

Senior Research Fellow, 1956 Institute
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CURRICULUM VITAE/PUBLICATIONS

Name: Csaba BÉKÉS Ph. D.

Born: 1957 Nyírbátor, Hungary

Address: H-1039 Budapest
Kinizsi u. 38.

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Education:

1978–1983 József Attila University, Szeged, [Majors: History and English language and literature]

1983 M.A.

1989 University Doctor's degree [History]

1998 Ph.D. Janus Pannonius University, Pécs [History]

Positions:

1983–1987 Archivist, New Hungarian Central Archives, Budapest

1987–1991 Research librarian, National Széchényi Library, Budapest

1989–1992 Visiting lecturer in history, József Attila University, Szeged

1991– Senior Research Fellow and Research Coordinator (1991–2003), Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Budapest

www.rev.hu

1997– 2000 Coordinator, Hungarian Program, Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union [Based at the National Security Archive, Washington D.C.]

1998 – Founding Director, Cold War History Research Centre, Budapest
www.coldwar.hu

International Cooperation

From 1992 – I have been coordinating the Hungarian research projects of the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.

1996–2000 member of the international advisory board of the “Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union”, founded by the National Security Archive in Washington D.C.

From 2000 – I have been a member of the international editorial board of the journal *Cold War History* published by Frank Cass in London.

From 2000 – I have been coordinating the Hungarian research projects of the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (Washington–Zurich)

From 2001 I have been a member of the international editorial board of the *Journal of Cold War Studies* published at Harvard University.

2003–2005 member of the Academic Board of Balassi Bálint Institute in Budapest

From 2003 I have been a member of the international group of scholars working on the three volume book project: *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. I have written the chapter: East Central Europe from 1953 to the Aftermath of the 1956 Revolutions.(1953–1960). Among the 71 contributors I am the sole member from East Central Europe. The three volumes will be published in 2009-2010.

From 2004 I have been coordinating the Hungarian research projects of the international research project: “East Central Europe and the German Question”, 1956–1975 (Mannheim University)

From 2004 I have been an Associate Member of the Cold War Studies Centre at the London School of Economics.

Main interest:

Cold War History, East–West relations;
Hungary's international relations after World War II;
The role of the East Central European states in the Cold War
The history of European integration

Current book projects

Hungary and the Cold War, 1945–1989
The role of the East Central European states in the Cold War, 1945–1991

Fellowships

1990 London, Visiting fellow, Institute of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University [3 months]
Archival research in the Public Record Office, Kew

1992 United States, Research Fellow, Cold War International History Project, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. [3 months]

Archival research:

National Archives, Washington D.C.

National Security Archive, Washington D.C.

Eisenhower Library, Abeline, Kansas

Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University

United Nations Archives, New York

2001–2002 Center Fellow, Project on the Cold War as Global Conflict, International Center for Advanced Studies, New York University, New York [9 months]

2006–2007 Fulbright Visiting Professor, New York University, New York [9 months]

Study trips:

1991 London, Archival research in the Public Record Office, Kew [1 month]

1995 London, Archival research in the Public Record Office, Kew [1 month]

1997 Washington D.C., National Archives [2 weeks]

International conferences organized by me

Hungary and the World, 1956. The New Archival Evidence, (1956 Institute– Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. – National Security Archive, Washington D.C.)
Budapest, 26–29, September, 1996

European Archival Evidence on Stalin and the Cold War, (1956 Institute – Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.)
Budapest, October 3–4, 1997.

Political Transition in Hungary, 1989–1990, (Cold War History Research Center, Budapest – 1956 Institute – Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. – National Security Archive, Washington D.C.)
Budapest, 10–12 June, 1999

New Central and Eastern European Evidence on the Cold War in Asia,

(The George Washington University Cold War Group–Cold War History Research Center – 1956 Institute)

Budapest, October 31–1 November, 2003.

Participation at international conferences/seminars:

The Role of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the Collapse of the Soviet Communist System,
Budapest, 13–15 June, 1991

Paper presented: President Kliment Voroshilov's Telegram to Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain on the Soviet Intervention in Hungary on 4 November 1956.

1956 in Hungary and in Poland,

Budapest, December, 1991

Paper presented: The British Government and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Hungary 1956 – Finnish–Hungarian Seminar,

Tampere, Finland, 29–30 March, 1993.

Paper presented: The Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the Western Great Powers

Internal factors facilitating Communist takeover in East-Central Europe 1944–1948

Opcno, Czech Republic, 9–11 September, 1993.

Paper presented: The Interaction of the Internal and Foreign Policy of the Hungarian Communist Party During the Political Crisis in the Spring of 1946.

Prague 1968 and the World.

Prague, 3–5 March, 1994.

Paper presented: The International Background of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and that of the Prague Spring in 1968. A comparative analysis.

6th of March 1945: The Groza Government and Rumania's Communisation.

Bucharest, 3–4 March, 1995.

Paper presented: The Communist Parties and the National Issue in Central and Eastern - Europe [1945–1947] - An Important Factor Facilitating Communist Takeover in the Region.

Die ungarische revolution 1956. Austrian – Hungarian Conference,

Vienna, 6 April, 1995. [Collegium Hungaricum]

Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Great Powers.

V. World Congress for Central and East European Studies,

Warsaw, 6–11. August, 1995.

Panel XIV-9: 1956: Hungary in the light of new archival sources.

Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Great Powers.

Hungary and the World, 1956. The New Archival Evidence,

Budapest, 26–29 September, 1996.

Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and World Politics

The Suez War of 1956 after 40 Years.

Kairo, 29 October, 1996 [Al Akhram Institute for Strategic and Political Studies]

Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Suez Crisis.

The Paris Peace Treaty of 1947

Budapest, 27 March, 1997.

Paper presented: Initiatives of the Hungarian Communist Party prior to the Hungarian Government Delegation's Visit to Moscow in the Spring of 1946.

The New Cold War History

Athens, Ohio, 9–11 May, 1997.

Paper presented: New Findings on the Cold War in Hungary

Poland 1980–1982. Internal Crisis, International Dimensions

Jachranka, 8–10 November, 1997.

European Archival Evidence on Stalin and the Cold War

Budapest, October 3–4, 1997.

Paper presented: Stalin and Hungary 1944–1948.

The Czechoslovak February, 1948

Prague, 20–22 February, 1998.

The End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989: "New Thinking" and New Evidence,

Musgrove, St. Simon's Island, Georgia, May 1–3, 1998.

I was moderating Panel I.: The Emergence of Soviet "New Thinking in Eastern Europe

The Years of Transition, 1947–1949

Budapest, 10–11 September, 1998.

Paper presented: The Origins of the Cold War.

The Memory of the Cold War, [1956, 1968, 1989–1990]

Budapest, 9–10 October, 1998.

Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Soviet Bloc

Eastern European Perspectives on the German Question

Essen, 23–24 November, 1998.

Paper presented: Hungary and the German Question, 1949–1956.

Political Transition in Hungary, 1989–1990

Budapest, June 10–12, 1999.

Paper presented: East–West Relations and the Hungarian Transition

The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia. Its Preconditions, Course and Immediate Aftermath

Praha, October 14–16., 1999.

Poland 1986–1989. The End of the System

Warsaw–Miedzeszyn, October 21–23, 1999.
 Paper presented: Political Transition in Hungary, 1988–1990

New Cold War History: Historiography, Theory, and Methodology
 Moscow, 7–11 May, 2000.
 Paper presented: The “New Course” in East–West Relations, 1953–1956

Annual conference, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact
 Zurich, December 2, 2000.
 Paper presented: Hungarian archival sources on the Warsaw Pact.

Ten Year Anniversary Cold War Summit, Cold War International History Project
 Washington D.C., March 2–3, 2002.
 Paper presented: The Cold War History Research Center in Budapest.

Towards an International History of the War in Afghanistan.
 Washington, D.C., Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars,
 April 29–30, 2002.
 I participated at the conference as an observer.

*L’Europe en mutation. Le processus d’Helsinki: de l’Europe divisée
 au perspectives de la Grande Europe*
 Paris, Sorbonne III. 7–8 June, 2002.
 Paper presented: The Human Rights Issue in Hungary

Sawyer seminar
 International Center for Advanced Studies, New York University.
 New York, 27 September, 2002.
 Paper presented: Eastern Europe and the Cold War

Romania and the Cold War,
 Bucharest, October 3–6, 2002
 I was chair of the Panel: Romania and the Warsaw Pact, 1969–1989

Annual conference, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,
 Zurich, November 16, 2002
 Paper presented: New Hungarian archival sources on the Warsaw Pact.

Between East and West: Hungarian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century
 Indiana University, Bloomington, March 29, 2003.
 Paper presented: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Superpowers

Annual conference, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,
 Vienna, October 11, 2003.
 Paper presented: New Hungarian archival sources on the Warsaw Pact.

New Central and Eastern European Evidence on the Cold War in Asia,

George Washington University Cold War Group–Cold War History Research Center,
Budapest, 31 October – 1 November, 2003.

Paper presented: Hungarian mediation during the Vietnam War, 1965–1966.

“Hatvanas évek“ konferencia, [“The sixties”]

Budapest, October 17–18, 2003.

Paper presented: “Magyarország és az Európai biztonság, 1966–1970” [Hungary and European security, 1966–1970]

Külpolitika és nemzeti érdek. Folytonosság és diszkontinuitás a 20. századi magyar külpolitikában. [Foreign policy and national interest. Continuity and discontinuity in 20th century Hungarian foreign policy]

Teleki László Intézet, Budapest, Külpolitikai Tanulmányok Központja, [Center for Foreign Policy Studies]

December 8, 2003.

Paper presented: Magyar külpolitika a szovjet szövetségi rendszerben, 1968–1989. [Hungarian foreign policy in the Soviet alliance system, 1968–1989]

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Intra–Bloc Conflicts

Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies, Kent State University

April 23–24, 2004.

Paper presented: Why Was There No „Second Cold War” in Europe? Hungary and the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan in 1979.

The Helsinki Process: a historical reappraisal

University of Padova, June 7, 2004.

Paper presented: Hungary and the CSCE Process, 1965–1970

Annual conference, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Urbino, October 1–2, 2004.

Paper presented: Hungarian archival sources on the Warsaw Pact.

Eastern Europe and Western Europe in the Cold War [1965–1975]

Münster, October 23–23, 2004 [University of Duisburg-Essen and the University of Paris IV-0Sorbonne].

Paper presented: The Warsaw Pact and the Helsinki Process

The Warsaw Pact: From its Founding to its Collapse, 1955–1991,

Washington D.C., 2005. május 26–27.

Előadás: Warsaw Pact Coordination and the CSCE process, 1965–1970

The Helsinki Process and the Demise of Communism

Prague, 2005 június 5–7.

Paper presented: Hungary and the Making of the CSCE process, 1965–1970

At the roots of the European security system: thirty years since the Helsinki Final Act

Zurich, September 8-10, 2005

Paper presented: The Warsaw Pact and the Preparation for a European Security Conference, 1964–1970

Conference for the Creation of an International History of the Cold War. The Origins and Early Development of the Cold War, 1945-1962. (Workshop for the forthcoming 3 volume Cambridge History of the Cold War)

March 30 to April 2, 2006, The Truman Presidential Museum & Library, The Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs and the University of Missouri – Kansas City

Paper presented: East Central Europe from 1953 to the Aftermath of the 1956 Revolutions

Teaching experience:

1989 –

1992: Szeged University; Visiting lecturer
The Foreign Policy of Hungary, 1945–1956

1994: Turku University, Finland, Visiting lecturer
The History of Hungary in the 20th century
[In English]

1995: Vendéglátóipari Főiskola, Budapest [College of Commerce and Catering Trade]
Visiting lecturer
The History of Hungary, 1945–1989
[In English]

1995: Budapesti Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem, [Budapest University of Economics]
Visiting lecturer
The history of the Cold War, [1953–1963]
[Ph.D. course]

2003: Corvinus Collegium, Budapest
Visiting lecturer
Diplomatic history in the 20th century

Besides, as a guest lecturer I gave lectures at Columbia University and at New York University in 2002.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

A magyar kormány békepropaganda tevékenysége 1945–1946-ban - Kísérletek a külföld felvilágosítására a párizsi béketárgyalások előtt. Bölcsészdoktori disszertáció, József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged, 1988, 245 old. [Hungarian Initiatives before the Paris Peace Conference in 1946] [Doctoral dissertation]

"Az 1956-os magyar forradalom helye a szovjet kommunista rendszer összeomlásában"- Az 1991. június 13-15-én Budapesten az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban megtartott nemzetközi konferencia jegyzőkönyve, [ed.] Budapest 1993 155 p. ["The Place of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the Collapse of the Soviet Communist System" - Papers of the International Conference held in Budapest on 13-15 July 1991].

Az 1956-os magyar forradalom a világpolitikában [The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and World Politics]. 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 1996.

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and World Politics. Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., September, 1996. Working Paper No. 16. [<http://cwihp.si.edu>]

The Hidden History of Hungary 1956: A Compendium of Declassified Documents. Csaba Békés, Christian F. Ostermann, Malcolm Byrne [eds.]. The Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution [Budapest] - The National Security Archive [Washington D.C.] 1996.

Rendszerváltozás Magyarországon 1989–1990. Dokumentumok. [Political Transition in Hungary. Documents] Főszerk.: Békés Csaba, Malcolm Byrne, Szerk.: Kalmár Melinda, Ripp Zoltán, Vörös Miklós, National Security Archive, Hidegháború-történeti Kutatóközpont, 1956-os Intézet, 1999

Political Transition in Hungary, 1989–1990. A Compendium of Declassified Documents and Chronology of Events, Eds. Csaba Békés, Malcolm Byrne, Melinda Kalmár, Zoltán Ripp, Miklós Vörös, National Security Archive, Cold War History Research Center, 1956 Institute, 1999

Cold War, Détente and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Working paper No. 7, Project on the Cold War as Global Conflict, International Center for Advanced Studies, New York University, 2002

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution. A history in documents. Csaba Békés, Malcolm Byrne, János M. Rainer [eds.] CEU Press, Budapest–New York, 2002, 598 p.

Európából Európába. Magyarország konfliktusok keresztjében, 1945–1990. [From Europe to Europe. Hungary in the Crossfire of Conflicts, 1945–1990] Budapest, 2004, Gondolat

ARTICLES

A békét a győztesek kötik. A magyar kormány békepropaganda tevékenysége (1945–1946) *Aetas*. 1990. 1–2. sz. 29–56. o. [Hungarian Initiatives before the Paris Peace Conference in 1946]

Dokumentumok a magyar kormánydelegáció 1946. áprilisi moszkvai tárgyalásairól. *Régió*, 1992. 3. sz. 161-194. o. [Documents on the Hungarian Government Delegation's negotiations in Moscow in April, 1946].

Brit követi jelentések a világ különböző országaiból az 1956-os forradalommal kapcsolatos helyi reakciókról. *Holmi*, 1991. 10. sz. 1312-1332. [British Diplomatic Reports from all over the World on local reactions on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution]

A brit kormány és az 1956-os magyar forradalom [The British Government and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution] In: *Évkönyv*, 1992, 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 19–38. [Yearbook, 1992, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution]

New Findings on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, *Bulletin*, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., Fall 1992, pp.1-3. [<http://cwihp.si.edu>]

President Kliment Voroshilov's Telegram to Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain on the Soviet Intervention in Hungary on 4 November 1956, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, Volume 71 Number 1 January 1993 pp. 126–129.

A magyar kérdés az ENSZ-ben és a nyugati nagyhatalmak titkos tárgyalásai [1956 október 23 - november 4] - Brit diplomáciai dokumentumok. In: *Évkönyv*, 1993, 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 39–71. [British Diplomatic Papers Relating to the Hungarian Issue in the United Nations and the Secret Negotiations of the Western Great Powers [23 October – 4 November 1956] Yearbook, 1993, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution]

Demokratikus eszmék és nagyhatalmi érdekek. Egy megvalósulatlan amerikai javaslat az 1956-os magyar forradalom megsegítésére. *Holmi*, 1993/10. sz. - [An Unrealized American Plan to Support the Hungarian Revolution in 1956.]

Anglia és az 1956-os magyar forradalom I-III. *Köztársaság*, 1993. augusztus 7, augusztus 14., augusztus 21. - [Great Britain and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution I-III.]

Bibó István távirata az amerikai elnökhöz. *Magyar Hírlap*, 1993. október 22. - [Minister of State István Bibó's telegram to President Eisenhower on 4 November, 1956.]

Az Egyesült Államok és a magyar semlegesség 1956-ban In: *Évkönyv*, 1994, 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 165-178. pp. - [The United States and the Neutrality of Hungary in 1956. Yearbook, 1993, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution]

- Mad'arská politická krize na jare 1946, *Suodobé Dejiny* [Praha], 1994. No. 4-5. pp. 509- 513.
- Mikor lehet belőle történelem? *Népszabadság*, 1994. október 22. [When can 1956 become history?] [With Melinda Kalmár]
- The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and World Politics. *The Hungarian Quarterly* Vol. 36. 1995 Summer, pp.109-121.
- The Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the Western Great Powers. In: Paula Hihnala, Olli Vehvillainen [eds.] *Hungary 1956*. [Based on the presentations given at the conference on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in Tampere in March 1993.] Tampere, 1995, 34-47. pp.
- The Communist Parties and the National Issue in Central and Eastern Europe [1945–1947] An Important Factor Facilitating Communist Takeover in the Region. In: 6. Martie 1945: Incepturile comunizarii Romaniei. Editura Enciclopedia, Bucuresti, 1995, pp. 245-253.
- The International Context of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution In : *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Reform, Revolt and Repression 1953–1963* [ed.] György Litván. Longman, London-New York, 1996 [a monograph written by an authors' team of the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Budapest].
- Die Ungarische Revolution von 1956 und die westlichen Grossmächte In: Hans Henning Hahn und Heinrich Olschowsky [Hg.] Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1996, 98-107. pp.
- A magyar kérdés az ENSZ-ben. *Rubicon*, 1996. 8-9. sz. 20-22. pp. [The Hungarian Issue in the United Nations, 1956-1962]
- Optimizmusra szükség van - de illúziók nélkül. Volt-e esély 1956-ban? - A Kádár a forradalom nélkül nem tudott volna kádárizmust csinálni. *Népszabadság*. 1996. október 22. [Optimism - without Illusions. Was there a Chance in 1956? Without the Revolution Kádár would not have been able to Create Kadarism] - [with Melinda Kalmár]
- Mad'arská revoluce 1956. *Suodobé dejiny* [Praha], 1996. No. 4. pp. 455-473. [The 1956 Hungarian Revolution] - [with Pál Germuska and János M. Rainer]
- A magyar semlegesség 1956-ban In: *Semlegesség - Illúziók és realitás*. [Neutrality -Illusions and Reality] Biztonságpolitikai és Honvédelmi Kutatások Központja, [Bp., 1997] 111-130. pp. [The Neutrality of Hungary in 1956]
- The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Great Powers, *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol 13 June 1997, No. 2, Special issue: Hungary 1956 - Forty Years on, Frank Cass, London, pp. 51-66.
- Hidegháború, enyhülés és az 1956-os magyar forradalom, *Évkönyv V. 1996-1997, 1956-os Intézet*, Budapest, 1997, 201-213. pp. [Cold War, Détente and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution]
- Soviet plans to establish COMINFORM in early 1946. New evidence from Hungarian archives. *Bulletin*, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International

Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., issue 10, March, 1998, 135-136. pp.
[<http://cwihp.si.edu>]

A Kádár-korszak külpolitikája 1956–1968, *Rubicon*, 1998, No. 1. 19-22. pp. [Foreign Policy in the Kádár era, 1956–1968]

Napló elvtársaimnak [Rákosi Máttyás: Visszaemlékezések, 1940-1956. 1-2. köt. Budapest: Napvilág, 1997. c. könyvének ismertetése] [Diary for my Comrades. Book review on Máttyás Rákosi's memoirs] *Élet és Irodalom*. 42. évf. 1998. márc. 6. 10. sz. 14.p

Magyar–szovjet csúcstalálkozók, 1957–1965, [Hungarian–Soviet Summit Meetings. Documents] *Évkönyv*, 6. 1998 /szerk. Litván György. Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1998. 143-183.pp.

Die ungarische Revolution von 1956 und die Grossmächte., Das Internationale Krisenjahr, 1956: Polen Ungarn Suez. Im Auftrag des Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes. Hrsg. von Winfried Heinemann und Norber Wiggerhaus. München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999. 353-374. pp.

A hidegháború kezdete, [The Origins of the Cold War] *Évkönyv*, 7. 1998/ szerk. Rainer M. János, Standeisky Éva, Budapest, 1956-os Intézet, 1999. 217-226.pp

Vissza Európába. A magyarországi rendszerváltás nemzetközi háttere, 1988–1990. [Back to Europe. The International Context of the Political Transition in Hungary, 1988-1990.] In: A rendszerváltás forgatókönyve *A rendszerváltás forgatókönyve. Kerekasztal tárgyalások 1989-ben [The Script if the Transition. Roundtable talks in 1989]* 7. kötet, Szerk.: Bozóki András, Új Mandátum, Budapest, 2000. pp. 792-825.

The Hungarian Question on the UN Agenda. British Foreign Office Documents from 1956. *The Hungarian Quarterly*, Spring 2000, pp.103-122.

Retour en Europe", *Guerre mondiale et conflits contemporains* [Paris] [La Hongrie dans les conflits du XXe siecle], octobre 2001, pp. 115-137.

Győzhetett volna-e a magyar forradalom 1956-ban? Mítoszok, legendák, illúziók.
[Could the Hungarian Revoution of 1956 been victorious?. Myths, legends, illusions].
Rubicon, 2001 december.

Győzhetett volna-e a magyar forradalom 1956-ban? Mítoszok, legendák, illúziók. [Could the Hungarian Revoution of 1956 been victorious?. Myths, legends, illusions].
In: Romsics Ignác [szerk.] *Mítoszok, legendák, tévhitek a 20. századi magyar történelemről.* [Myths, legends and misconceptions on the 20th century history of Hungary.] Osiris kiadó, Budapest, 2002, pp. 339-360

Back to Europe. The International Context of the Political Transition in Hungary, 1988–1990 In: András Bozóki [ed.], *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy.* Budapest-New York: CEU Press, 2002. pp. 237-272

A magyar külpolitika néhány kérdése 1945 után. [On Hungarian foreign policy after 1945] In: Püski Levente-Valuch Tibor [szerk.]: Mérlegen a XX. századi magyar történelem. Jelenkortörténeti Műhely III. Debrecen, DE Történelmi Intézet-1956-os Intézet, 2002.

Political Transition in Hungary in 1989. Selected Documents. *Bulletin*, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., Issue 12-13, 2002 Winter. pp. 73-87 [with Melinda Kalmár] [<http://cwihp.si.edu>]

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Superpowers, *Hungarian Studies*, Vol 17. No. 1, 2003, 65–77. pp.

Titkos válságkezeléstől a politikai koordinációig. Politikai egyeztetési mechanizmus a Varsói Szerződésben, 1954–1967 [From secret crisis management to political coordination. Political coordinating mechanism in the Warsaw Pact, 1954-1967] In: Múlt századi hétköznapok. Tanulmányok a Kádár rendszer kialakulásának időszakáról. [Everydays in the past century. Essays on the period of the emerging of the Kádár regime] Szerk. Rainer M. János, Budapest, 1956-os Intézet, 2003, 9-54 p.

Hungary and the Warsaw Pact, 1954–1989. Documents with an Introduction, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, web site: www.isn.ethz.ch/php, [250 p.] 2003.

Miért nem lett második hidegháború Európában? A magyar pártvezetés és az 1979. évi afganisztáni szovjet intervenció. Dokumentumok. [Why was there no “Second Cold War” in Europe?] In: Évkönyv 2003. Magyarország a jelenkorban, 1956-os Intézet. Szerk. Rainer M. János, Standeisky Éva, Budapest, 1956-os Intézet, 2003, 223-256

Why was there no “Second Cold War” in Europe? Documents from Hungarian Archives on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. *Bulletin*, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., Issue 14-15, Winter 2003–Spring 2004, 204–219. [<http://cwihp.si.edu>]

Magyarország és az európai biztonsági konferencia előkészítése, 1965–1970. [Hungary and the preparation of the CSCE process, 1965–1969] In: Évkönyv 2004. 1956-os Intézet. Szerk. Rainer M. János, Standeisky Éva, Budapest, 1956-os Intézet, 2004, 291–309.

Magyar külpolitika a szovjet szövetségi rendszerben, 1968–1989. [Hungarian foreign policy in the Soviet alliance system, 1968–1989] In: Gazdag Ferenc–Kiss J. László (szerk.) Magyar külpolitika a 20. században. [Hungarian foreign policy in the 20th century] Budapest, Zrinyi Kiadó, 2004, 133–172.

Hungarian foreign policy in the Soviet alliance system, 1968–1989. *Foreign Policy Review* [Budapest], Vol. 3, No. 1 (2004), 87–127.

The Records of the Warsaw Pact Deputy Foreign Ministers (eds.) Csaba Békés, Anna Locher, Christian Nuenlist, Introduction by Csaba Békés, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, web site: www.isn.ethz.ch/php, 2005.

Hungary and the making of the CSCE Process, 1965–1970. In: Carla Meneguzzi Rostagni (ed.) The Helsinki Process: a historical reappraisal, CEDAM, Padova, 2005, 29-44 pp.

Das sowjetische Moment. *Schweitzer Monatshefte*, No. 2. 2006. 22-24. pp. (Ungarn 1956/2006)

WORKS ACCEPTED

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