

# *A Yugoslavian show trial – The history of the Zagreb spy trial and its background*

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## **Introduction**

After the second world war, the Iron Curtain had divided Europe, and the Central-East European countries came under the influence of the Soviet Union. The satellite countries' communist parties took over the power by the help of Moscow, consequently, these countries lost their independence. The relationship between the Hungarian and the Yugoslavian Communist Party gradually improved because Josip Broz Tito's<sup>1</sup> policy was regarded ideal<sup>2</sup> by the Hungarian Communist Party, led by Mátyás Rákosi<sup>3</sup>.

The relationship between the two countries had turned upside down suddenly in 1948. Stalin<sup>4</sup> reckoned the socialist countries as a monolith block and he did not tolerate any divergence from the policy of Moscow. However, Tito attempted take independent action in the Balkans. The Soviet leadership didn't allow this independence, therefore by decision of the Cominform<sup>5</sup> in June 1948, the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Cominform by the decision of the other communist parties, and certainly, by the direct order of Stalin.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, Stalin anticipated the fall of the Tito regime, but it did not occur so.

Rákosi was one of the first communist leaders, who attacked Yugoslavia. Hungary had a long common border with the South Slavic country, therefore the conflict had a bigger impact on Hungary. After June 1948, border incidents became almost daily, and propagan-

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<sup>1</sup> Josip Broz „Tito” (7 May 1892 [officially 25 May] – 4 May 1980), Yugoslavian dictator, secretary general of the Non-Aligned Movement. During the second world war he was one of the leader of the partisan movement. Between 1945 and 1963 he was the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, until 1980 the President of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia.

<sup>2</sup> About the relations: Péter Vukman, *Barátból ellenség - ellenségből barát?*

<sup>3</sup> Mátyás Rákosi (9 March 1892 – 5 February 1971), „Stalin's best Hungarian student”. Between 1945 and 1956 the General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, later the Hungarian Working People's. Between 1952 and 1953 the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary.

<sup>4</sup> Josif Visszarionovic „Stalin” (18 December 1878 – 5 March 1953) Soviet dictator. General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>5</sup> Communist Information Bureau, international communist organisation, that worked between 1947 and 1956. It worked completely under Soviet control.

<sup>6</sup> About the conflict: József Juhász, *A Kominform és Jugoszlávia.*

da campaigns launched against each other and a serious secret agent war started in the background.<sup>7</sup>

Both Belgrade and Budapest tried to establish a wide agent network in the other country. In the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security one can find substantial amount of paper about presumed agents who came to Hungary by the order of the Yugoslavian State Security (Uprava Državne Bezbednosti, henceforth UDB). In most of the cases, it is quite hard to ascertain, which one of them was actually an agent or informant because the documents from that period are mostly conceptual, and unfortunately the state service archive documents are not researchable in the post-Yugoslavian countries yet.

### Road to the trial

Aranka Urban was a double landowner: she had lands both in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Since early 1948, she regularly travelled through the border to uphold her estates, and occasionally, she also smuggled cigarettes, and later gold and gemstones.<sup>8</sup> In 1947 she met Perl Ipoly, a former partisan, who was disappointed in the Tito regime.

In the summer of '48, Perl asked Urban to take a letter to Ferenc Kiss<sup>9</sup>, a border patrol officer. Kiss and the woman met in spring '48, and a love affair evolved between them. Kiss used Urban as an *ad hoc* informant and she eventually became a courier between the two men. In September, Urban was caught on the border when she smuggled cigarettes and the Yugoslavian authorities arrested her. She was sentenced to ten months in prison. She served three months in Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia) and five months in Rezsőháza (Kričadin, Serbia) where she worked at the labour camp.

In her cell, a UDB officer, named Nikola Kludjelović, visited her, and he promised, that he would help Urban, but she had to reveal her contacts in Hungary. Urban mentioned Ferenc Kiss, the border patrol officer. Two days later another UDB officer visited her, Stevan Čurin, who recruited her as an UDB agent. Later, during an interrogation Urban stated the followings: "*I declared, that I'm willing to come to Hungary as a UDB agent with any task*".<sup>10</sup> Earlier, she always strictly denied that the UDB roped her in.

After Urbán became a UDB agent, Kludjelović and Čurin visited her several times in her home. She had a task to go back to Hungary, and get in touch with Ferenc Kiss. They obligated her to secrecy. In case if she couldn't get in touch with the Hungarian officer, she had to stay in Kisszállás and start to work. The Yugoslavian authorities instructed her that somebody would visit her there. She also had a blank registration form, which was false. Later in the trial of Urban, the Hungarian authorities used this form as a proof that the woman worked for the UDB.

Urbán escaped to Hungary on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1949,<sup>11</sup> and she met Ferenc Kiss. He gave a task to the women to go back to Yugoslavia and give a letter to Perl Ipoly. Urban fulfilled

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<sup>7</sup> About the "agent-war" between Yugoslavia and Hungary: László Ritter, *Titkos háború Magyarországon és Jugoszlávia között*.

<sup>8</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Kiss Ferenc (1920 Péterréve – †?) Hungarian border patrol officer. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 13.

<sup>10</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 173.

<sup>11</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

the work and later she visited Perl Ipoly three more times. She got hold of the UDB on every trip and she wrote reports and signed as "A-II".<sup>12</sup> From the latter statement of Radovan Luković we know that the UDB's plan was to rope in Kiss using Urban. From this statement we also know that the connection with Urbán was hold by Josip Jakubec „Boro”<sup>13</sup> UDB colonel and Milan Milenko<sup>14</sup> UDB captain.<sup>15</sup>

In November 1949, Urban was taken to Budapest from Kiskunhalas. In Budapest, the Military Counterintelligence recruited her, and she became a Hungarian agent too. Her task was to go to Yugoslavia and get in touch with Paravina Trivo, a KOS<sup>16</sup> officer in Zagreb.<sup>17</sup> Paravina is a key character in the Zagreb trial, because the first and second defendant was indicted based upon of his statement. In the followings, I will introduce three former KOS officer's story and I attempt to point out the connection between Aranka Urbán and the Zagreb trial.

Kolundia Bosko<sup>18</sup> KOS captain, Ante Rak<sup>19</sup> KOS lieutenant and Mrđenović Rade<sup>20</sup> KOS first lieutenant escaped to Hungary on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1948. Their goal was to travel through Hungary to the Soviet Union, but to accomplish this, first they had to prove to the

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<sup>12</sup> Idem. 20. p.

<sup>13</sup> Leader of the I<sup>st</sup> Subdivision of the UDB in Újvidék (Novi Sad). In 1943 he infiltrated into the Ustaša Movement. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903.

<sup>14</sup> Deputy leader of the I<sup>st</sup> Subdivision of the UDB in Vajdaság (Vojvodina). In 1950 he became the leader of the intelligence central in Szabadka (Subotica). ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903.

<sup>15</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Kontra Obavestajna Sluzba – Yugoslavian Military Counterintelligence.

<sup>17</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

<sup>18</sup> Kolundia Bosko (5 January 1923, Doljni Lapac – †?). He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1941. Until May 1942 he was a member of the SKOJ (youth movement), between 1942-1943 he fought as a partisan. His father was killed by the chetniks in 1945. In 1948 he committed himself to the Cominform. After this, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested him. His plan was to escape to the Soviet Union through Hungary. On 17 November 1948 he crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border, and later the Hungarian authorities roped him in. His alias was D-K/2. The Hungarian state Security sent him back to Yugoslavia with task. In a document, dated 18 August 1963 it stated that he worked as a professor in Budapest. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563.

<sup>19</sup> Ante Rak (2 February 1921, Dubrava – †?), Croatian. He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1942. In this year he fought as a partisan. In 1943 he joined to SKOJ and become a member of the Yugoslavian Communist Party. On 17 July 1948 in a fight he committed himself to the Cominform. After this, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested him, but later they released him. He met Mrđenović during his sentence. They planned to escape to the Soviet Union through Hungary. He crossed the border on 17 December 1948. The Hungarian authorities roped him in, his alias was D-R/5. Later he became a member of the Yugoslavian emigration in Hungary. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680.

<sup>20</sup> Rade Mrđenović (24 February 1925, Zut – †?), Croatian. He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1942. In November 1941, he joined SKOJ, in June 1942 he started to fight as a partisan. On 10 January 1943 he joined the Yugoslavian Communist Party. Until November 1948 he worked as a KOS. After the conflict evolved between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, he planned to escape to Hungary. On 17 December 1948, he crossed the border. The Hungarian authorities roped him in, his alias was D-M/2. He travelled to Yugoslavia with a task. He became the first defendant at the Zagreb spy trial. He was sentenced to death. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-862. [“D-M/2”].

Hungarian authorities that they were true communist. They could do it, if they accept a task and go back to Yugoslavia and rope in a KOS officer in Zagreb.<sup>21</sup> Kolundia and Mrdenović accepted to do so. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1949 the two former KOS officer started their travel to the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border through Szekszárd and Pécs, as newly recruited Hungarian agents. Four Hungarian officers travelled to the border with the two Yugoslavian. Kolundia and Mrdenović crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border at Old-Eperjes on 24<sup>th</sup> March.<sup>22</sup> Their task was to collect information about the Yugoslav agents who work against Hungary, their names, networks, addresses.<sup>23</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> March they arrived back to Hungary. Their only success was that they roped in Stojan Nježić<sup>24</sup>, the party secretary of the artillery school of Zagreb. They gave him the task to gather information from the KOS school of Zagreb. Kolundia and Mrdenović also wrote a detailed report about their trip. The Hungarian authorities found some strange sign about this report. For example, they moved too easily through the border. In Zagreb, they went to the officer's school and knocked on the door, without fearing to be caught. According to the reports, they visited Kolundia's wife and the Hungarian state security find it strange, that the Yugoslavian authorities didn't arrest her.<sup>25</sup>

In the whole *“about the work of Kolundia and Mrdenović, the Hungarian authorities had extreme expectations both in quality and in temporal way. The information they brought was negligible”*.<sup>26</sup>

The Hungarian state security wanted to send the two officers to Yugoslavia with a task again, but they refused to do so, but they suggested Ante Rak instead of themselves. Rak accepted the task to escape back to Yugoslavia and get in touch with Stojan Nježić, the new informant of the ÁVH in Zagreb. Rak had to take with him a letter and bring back the information that Nježić would send. He crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslav border on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1949 at Torjanc (Torjanci, Croatia). He went to the house of Mrdenović's brother and asked him to fulfil his mission because Rak was afraid of to be get caught. The brother travelled to Zagreb on 26<sup>th</sup> April and got in touch with Nježić. After he completed the task, he travelled back to Rak, who arrived back to Hungary on 29<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>27</sup> Nježić sent information about the military school of Zagreb. After Rak completed the task, he came back to Hungary, but he refused to go again to Yugoslavia.<sup>28</sup>

In summer of 1949, Stojan Nježić roped in two officers, Milan Rudić major general from Belgrade and Trivo Paravina KOS first lieutenant from Zagreb. After four month of work, Nježić quitted from the network.<sup>29</sup> After his disappearance, the Hungarian state security had to find out, how to continue the correspondence with the two newly roped-in officers, so they sent Ivan Matić political emigrant to Milan Rudić and Aranka Urbán to Trivo Paravina.

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<sup>21</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. [“D-K/2”] 7.

<sup>22</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. 5.

<sup>23</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. p.

<sup>24</sup> The life of Stojan Nježić is unknown until this point.

<sup>25</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 9-23.

<sup>26</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 8.

<sup>27</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 4.

<sup>28</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 4.

<sup>29</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 296.

On 4<sup>th</sup> November 1949, the Hungarian state security sent Urbán to Paravina Trivo as a courier. With this action the Hungarian authorities sent to Zagreb a person, who was earlier roped in by the UDB. Until December 1950, she had met Paravina five times. Paravina told Urbán, that the information he sent to Hungary was false. He also told her that the whole operation was overseen by the Yugoslavian state security because the Rajk-trial was hold in Hungary at the same time. In December 1949, Urbán took a radio to Paravina. On this trip of Urban, Milan Milanko, Josip Jakubec „Boro” and Zmajić KOS officers spent one or two days with the woman. The Hungarian state security asked Paravina, what he knew about the Yugoslavian army. When she arrived to Szabadka, she always called her UDB contacts. According to Urban’s statement, in December 1950, her relationship with the UDB came to an end. After this date, the Yugoslavian state security never visited her again in Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

For the Hungarian state security it was necessary to prove the connection between Urbán and Paravina. The UDB started to investigate after Paravina, because Urbán reported to the UDB that she took information from Paravina. After the Yugoslavian state security interrogated Paravina, he spoke about Mrđenović. This is how Mrđenović became the first defendant at the Zagreb trial.<sup>31</sup>

### The Zagreb trial

On 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1950, Rade Mrđenović and Antun Kopic political emigrant went to Yugoslavia the third time to rope in counter-Titoist officers. Before their trip, Trivo Paravina and Stojan Nježić gave detailed information about Mrđenović to the UDB, so the Yugoslavian state security kept under continuous observation his friends and relatives. When Mrđenović and Kopic wanted to visit one of the relative of Mrđenović, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested them. According to the testifies, the Yugoslavian agents wanted to hide at the houses of Ignac Balikić and Tadia Prikić, but the two civilian reported it to the Yugoslavian authorities. When the military officers tried to check the identification of Kopic, he through a grenade among them, and four people were wounded.<sup>32</sup>

The proof against the agents were their weapons and the information Paravina gave to the authorities. The charge against the first defendant, Mrđenović were the followings: “*On 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1948 he escaped to Hungary [...] He got tasks from the Hungarian state security to work against the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia [...] He delivered military and state secrets. [...] According to his task, he had to come to Yugoslavia, set up a spy network, gave a radio to the network’s leader.*”<sup>33</sup>

The second defendant was Stojan Nježić. According to the Hungarian documents, the Yugoslavs didn’t charge Major General Milan Rudić because “*it wouldn’t have been political*”.<sup>34</sup> The charge against Nježić was that he fulfilled the tasks that was given to Paravina and Rudić.

The third defendant was Antun Kopic, who was in Yugoslavia three times with task. He was charged with spying and with the help he gave to Mrđenović. The fourth and fifth de-

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<sup>30</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903. 213.

<sup>31</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 299.

<sup>32</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 271.

<sup>33</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

<sup>34</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

defendant were Júlia Hatvalic and Stojan Drača Yugoslavian civilians.<sup>35</sup> The Hungarian agents were hidden in their houses. Moreover, Stojan Drača was a relative of Mrđenović.<sup>36</sup>

The trial got big publicity, the Yugoslav radio reported from the trial several times a day. By contrast, during our research we didn't find a single report in the Hungarian press. However, the *Associated Press* reported from the trial and lot of article appeared about it in the newspapers in the United States.

In the „Trial of Hungarian spies” the prosecutor was lieutenant colonel Ahmed Hajrović, the defence attorney was major Tlaker. The chairman of the court was Major Djuro Polak. In the indictment the prosecutor, Ahmed Hajrović said that the Zagreb trial was fit in with the other trials was held in Nis, Skopje, Belgrade and Subotica.<sup>37</sup> These trials proof that the socialist countries want to destroy the Tito regime. Other goal of the trial was to respond to the Rajk trial in Hungary.<sup>38</sup> Hajrović said: *“the Hungarian leaders can't hide their aggressive and non-peaceful policy in front of the whole world and our people by holding an untrue and conceptual Rajk-type trials”*.<sup>39</sup>

The Rajk trial was a counter-Tito show trial, the real defendant was Tito. At the Zagreb trial, the prosecutor charged not only the former KOS officers, but the Hungarian leader, Rákosi too: *“The Hungarian authorities are those, who threat the independence and freedom of the Yugoslavian people. The fact that they do it because of the Soviet suggestions don't reduce their responsibility in front of the world, the history and their own people. The Hungarian people are enslaved and the policy of Rákosi took their freedom and independence.”*<sup>40</sup>

The defendants didn't deny their guiltiness during the trial. On the first day the court interrogated Mrđenović and Nježić, on the second day (27<sup>th</sup> March) Anton Kopic. Kopic stated that after he escaped to Hungary he lived in a safe-house where the leaders of the Yugoslavian political emigrations interrogated him. They gave him tasks. In Budapest a lot of interrogation was leaded by Žarko Ljubojev. Gojko Trbović and Milutin Velimir<sup>41</sup> evaluated the quality of the information that Kopic brought from Yugoslavia.<sup>42</sup> Because the names of the Yugoslavian emigrant leaders appeared during the trial, we have reason to think that the prosecutor wanted to charge the political emigrants in Hungary in a transferred way.

On the third day, 28<sup>th</sup> March, the prosecutor held his final speech. According to Hajrović, the trial proved that Mrđenović and Kopic were agents of the Hungarian state security services, and they accomplished various missions for them. The trial also proved that Nježić collected information for the Hungarian authorities between 4<sup>th</sup> May 1949 and 1<sup>st</sup> January 1950. The two civilians, Hatvalic and Drača hided the agents and they know that the spies work for the Hungarian authorities. On 29<sup>th</sup> March at 17.00 the judgement was de-

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<sup>35</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

<sup>36</sup> *The Evening Sun*, Baltimore, 29 March 1951. 2.

<sup>37</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 280.

<sup>38</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 156.

<sup>39</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 285.

<sup>40</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 285.

<sup>41</sup> The three persons were the collective leadership of the Yugoslavian emigration in Hungary between 8 June 1949 and 13-14 May 1950. Vukman Péter: *„Harcban Tito és Rankovics klikkje ellen.”* 271.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 276.

livered. Mrđenović was sentenced to death by firing squad. Antun Kopic̄ was sentenced to twenty,<sup>43</sup> Nježić to fifteen, Stojan Drača to four, Júlia Hatvalic to one and a half years. In the archival documents it is mentioned that Trivo Paravina was executed after the trial, but we cannot prove this statement from other sources yet.<sup>44</sup>

### The trial of Aranka Urbán

The Hungarian state security started an investigation of Aranka Urbán in May 1951. In the autumn of 1951, the authorities roped in Zoltán Farkas<sup>45</sup>, the common-law husband of her. His task was to collect information about Urbán.<sup>46</sup> He was roped in by ideological basis, but he proved to be not a trustable person for the security services. In February 1954, he was arrested, because he didn't tell the authorities that he knew that Urban worked for the Yugoslavs. Furthermore, he told Urban that his task was to investigate after her.<sup>47</sup> Urbán was arrested on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1953.<sup>48</sup> She was interrogated by János Kujalek twenty-eight times between 27<sup>th</sup> November and 11<sup>th</sup> December 1953. From the documents we can follow through her state of mind, because her cellmate was an agent and she reported about her. The interrogations had a bad impact on Urban's mood.<sup>49</sup> Kujalek was a tough and insensitive interrogator, Urban had fear of dying, she couldn't sleep and she had some serious nervous breakdowns, she cried hysterically. Kujalek once told stories to her about the procedure of the hanging. On the other hand, according to Urbán, Kujalek was simple-minded, unexperienced and sadistic. On a report, somebody wrote that "*Comrade Kujalek! Review your own technic, I believe, that in this period of the interrogation, it's pointless to stretch the strings.*"<sup>50</sup> Even in light of the archival documents it is hard to reconstruct what Urbán did exactly, and what were those things that she confessed, if any, because of the way she was interrogated.

On 11<sup>th</sup> June 1954, Urbán's closed trial was held on the military court of Budapest. According to the charge: "*Urbán was spying for the Yugoslavs between September 1949 and December 1950. Because of her actions, the Zagreb trial was held in Zagreb and the UDB arrested officers and civilians and sentenced them.*"<sup>51</sup> The evidence, which meant to proven her association with UDB, against her were the following: the blanc registration form, which she got from the Yugoslavs, a Doxa watch, which she got as a present from the

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<sup>43</sup> In other place there is 25 years. Vukman Péter: „*Harcban Tito és Rankovics klikkje ellen.*” 269.

<sup>44</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 204.

<sup>45</sup> Zoltán Győző Farkas (Zalaszántó, 31 January 1926 – ?). In 1952 he became member of the Hungarian Working People's Party. The Hungarian Military Court sentenced him to twelve years in prison. On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1957, the Supreme Court of Hungary released his sentence. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704.

<sup>46</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704. 4.

<sup>47</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704. 4.

<sup>48</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 16.

<sup>49</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 200.

<sup>50</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 203.

<sup>51</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 205.

Yugoslav state security. Also, Tibor Garai,<sup>52</sup> Lajosné Bodoglári,<sup>53</sup> Zoltán Farkas and Ferencné Stocker<sup>54</sup> testified against her.<sup>55</sup>

The court found Urbán guilty in spying and sentenced her to death by hanging as the main punishment and complete confiscation of property as side-punishment.<sup>56</sup> On 31<sup>st</sup> July the Presidential Council changed her punishment from capital punishment to sentence to life. One year later, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1954 the Presidential Council released the remaining years. Unfortunately, the archival documents do not enable us to reconstruct the further life of Aranka Urbán.

### Summary

Finally, I would like to raise some issue. From the archival papers we can reconstruct the complete story about the Zagreb trial and the role of Aranka Urbán in it. However, if we take a closer look to the events, there are more questions than answers. We don't know if Aranka Urbán really committed the crimes that she was sentenced for because her final statement was the result of a long term interrogation. If we assume that she worked as a UDB spy, the question also arises that maybe Paravina Trivo was an UDB agent from the beginning and the whole action was just a provocation against Hungary. In this way Mrđenović and Nježić weren't get caught because of her and the charge against Urban was not true. We can't be sure about the story of the three KOS officers neither. There is a possibility that they arrived to Hungary as Yugoslav agents. It is possible that Mrđenović was sacrificed for sake of the trial. Furthermore, we can't find any paper that the judgement was executed. We hope that our further research will give answers for these questions.

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<sup>52</sup> Tibor Garai (Palánka, 1913 – ?).

<sup>53</sup> Lajosné Bodoglári, (born Neorsics Irén, Kishegyes, 1925 – ?). She was cousin of Aranka Urbán. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1.

<sup>54</sup> Ferencné Stocker (born Teréz Neorsics, Subotica, 6 September 1924 – ?). She was a cousin of Aranka Urbán. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1.

<sup>55</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

<sup>56</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 217.



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### **Parodies de procès de Yougoslavie – L’histoire du procès d’un espion de Zagreb et son arrière-plan**

A l’époque de la guerre froide, après que le système bipolaire a commencé à se développer, le conflit entre Josip Broz Tito et Joseph Staline a causé une rupture dans le bloc monolithique des États satellites est-européens et de l’Union soviétique. Le 28 juin 1948, les pays socialistes ont « excommunié » la Yougoslavie du Kominform. Mátyás Rákosi, « le meilleur élève hongrois de Staline » était l’un des premiers leaders communistes qui a offensé la Yougoslavie de Tito : au début, seulement par des mots, mais le conflit entre le leader hongrois et le leader yougoslave s’est aggravé rapidement en une situation quasi-guerre. Les incidents frontaliers sont devenus quotidiens et les services secrets des deux États ont fait une guerre réelle en arrière-plan. Un chapitre oublié de cette guerre des espions était le procès d’espion à Zagreb qui a eu lieu entre le 26 et le 28 mars 1951. Le premier accusé était un ancien officier du KOS, Rade Mrđenovic, qui avait déserté de l’armée yougoslave et avait fui en Hongrie avec deux autres officiers. Mais plus tard, il a retourné en Yougoslavie avec une mission complotée : les autorités yougoslaves l’ont capturé. Le procès a eu cinq accusés et tous ont été déclarés coupables avec Mrđenovic, condamné à mort.

Trois mois plus tard, l’Autorité de protection de l’État hongrois (ÁVH) a commencé à examiner l’une de ses anciennes agentes, Aranka Urbán qui semblait être une agente double. En 1954, trois ans après le procès, les examens de l’ÁVH ont découvert une relation plus profonde entre Urbán, le procès de Zagreb et l’officier du KOS yougoslave. Pendant l’auto-enquête à l’intérieur de l’ÁVH, il s’est aussi révélé que la police secrète hongroise a fait beaucoup de fautes. Dans ma communication, je voudrais présenter brièvement le procès d’espion et le réseau des agents doubles. Je voudrais aussi parler des enquêtes intérieures de l’ÁVH et de leurs résultats.