

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE DOSSIER
TRANSMITTED BY THE PERMANENT MISSION OF
HUNGARY TO DELEGATIONS AND THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL - 11 SEPTEMBER 1957.

File I. The Hungarian Mission wishes to prove in this file that the uprising had been systematically prepared in advance. Leaflets were sent allegedly to Hungary in 1956 through "the balloon campaign by the imperialist quarters of the United States of America".

Item 1. Four-page leaflet entitled "Free Hungary - National Resistance Movement"

Page 1. contains an attack on the "anti-worker and anti-peasant methods of the Communist Government of Hungary" and concludes in the following terms: "the last year showed that the system is incapable of realizing its programme, and to implement its decrees, the Hungarian people cannot continue to remain the victim of further Communist experiments".

Page 2. gives information on the participation of atomic scientists of Hungarian origin in the work of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, as well as on the role of certain Iron Curtain refugees outside in the Western world.

Page 2. at the bottom gives the schedule of broadcasts of "Radio Free Europe - the Voice of Free Hungary".

Page 3. analyses developments in the relations between East and West since 1949 and concludes by a reference to "the agreement between

Turkey and Pakistan, which was initiated by the United States". From a closer study of the context of the text it would appear that the leaflet was distributed in the year of the ratification of this agreement by the Turkish National Assembly which took place on the 10 June 1954. In this connexion attention is drawn to the claim of the Hungarian Delegation that the leaflet in question was "sent to Hungary in 1956".

Page 4. of the same leaflet contains four cartoons with the following inscriptions:

"With United Forces Against the Tyranny",

"Protect the People and not those in Power, Think of the Future",

"The Only Way",

"Instead of Production of Soviet Arms, Consumption Goods should be produced".

Item 2. A second leaflet of two pages is headed and signed by the "National Resistance Movement" and states that the Movement "considered the time ripe to take up the fight, with new, more efficient and lawful instruments for the freedom of the nation against Communism". The Movement claims that it expresses "the will of millions of Hungarians who cannot express themselves, and the true demands of the Hungarian people". The Movement states its demands in the following terms:-

- (a) the rights and freedoms of the individual should be protected by law;
- (b) legislation should be enacted by the lawfully elected representatives of the people;

- (c) the families of workers should have healthy and honest means of living;
- (d) the interest of the workers should be protected by free Trade Unions;
- (e) human life is based on private property, and the sanctity and inviolability of religious life;
- (f) the land belongs to those who cultivate it; the small artisan, the small tradesman and those belonging to liberal professions should be able to exercise their profession without disturbance;
- (g) intellectuals should be able to express their opinion in complete freedom;
- (h) the churches should be able to function freely;
- (i) all citizens should have equal rights to choose a career and cultivate themselves.

The leaflet further states that the "National Resistance Movement" summarized its demands in twelve points. The text of these twelve points are not given in the leaflet. The concluding part of it, however, contains the following text:

"We demand: Dissolution of the kolkhoses, the return of the land and equipment that was taken away!

The equal division of the common property of the kolkhos, the abolition of the debts to the State!

Assistance and long-term credits to all producers who are in need!

The return of the confiscated peasant lands, the annulment of the forced division of land!

The State should give land from the State-owned property to the landless peasants!

Stop calling certain agriculturists kulaks!

Protection of business interests; legal security for landholders!

Stop collectivisation!

Pending its complete abolition, the compulsory delivery of agriculture produce should be diminished!"

It should be noted that the demands listed above with the exception of one or two are in no way identical with any of the major demands put forward between 23 October and 28 October 1956 (see paragraphs 404 - 434 of the Report of the Special Committee).

Item 3. The third leaflet contains the names of six AVH officers and states that "when the critical hour comes, the AVH traitors cannot escape". This pamphlet was issued during the Rakosi period and there is no indication that it came from outside Hungary or had anything to do with Radio Free Europe.

Item 4. In addition to these three leaflets, File 1 contains a page with three photographs showing the alleged American balloons falling on Hungarian territory and exploding there.

Item 4. The last paper in the file is an extract of an unsigned deposition of one Sandor Szabo dated 4 January 1957, in which he stated that he was "an active member of the so-called Loyalty Movement," the aim of which was that "when the time comes the Communists should be eliminated from Hungary and everyone should be given back his house, property and fortune". Szabo states that this movement was directed by two former officers in the Horthyist army of from 45 to 50 years of age, both of whom live at Sussen, Western Germany. No indication is given of the influence of this "Loyalty Movement", either among Hungarian emigrants in Western Germany or elsewhere, or on the support it might have

received from any of the Western countries.

The covering sheet of the Hungarian Mission to File 1 lists under 3 "A survey of the activity of counter-revolutionary elements in the Protestant churches". This document was not attached to the dossier.

The same note refers to an alleged letter by Tamas Pasztor which is contained in File V. Comments on this item will be included below in connexion with the contents of File V.

Conclusion: The contents of File 1 in no way prove "the role played by the imperialist quarters of the Western Great Powers in the preparation of the counter-revolution". No proof exists that the leaflets allegedly dropped on Hungarian territory were dropped in the course of 1956. The testimony of Mr. Szabo gives no reliable data on character and scope of the "Loyalty Movement" referred to incidentally by the Hungarian Mission as "German Nationalist" movement. Even if the authenticity of the letter of Dr. Pasztor were proven, it would only show that the person in question was in contact with American diplomats in Hungary before the spring of 1949, the date of departure of Mr. Cochran from Budapest.

File 1B.

The purpose of the file is to demonstrate that "Horthy-fascist counter-revolutionary strata living in Hungary have been organized".

Item 1. Memorandum on the counter-revolutionary organization called "White Partisans", which according to the Hungarian Mission was liquidated by the Government of Hungary in October 1954. No Hungarian text

of the memorandum has been attached. The alleged English translation of the non-existing memorandum contained statements which are not identifiable with sources of information at our disposal. One issue of a paper allegedly published underground entitled "The Journal of the U.N." in German, Czechoslovak, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian dated 1 August 1953 has been attached. This paper, a typewritten sheet, attacks Dobi and Rakosi, and states that after Imre Nagy came to power in 1953 "there is only a diminution of terror". In addition two leaflets were included signed "The leadership of white partisans in the name of the suffering Hungarian People", containing denunciation of Communism in general and Rakosi in particular. A third leaflet entitled "Appeal to the Hungarian People" states that the hour of liberation will still come with American direction through Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The leaflet pays tribute to President Truman who "recognized in time the great Communist danger". The leaflet was signed "the Party of Charity".

Item 2.

- a) An alleged programme written up in very poor English signed "The Saint Trinity Illegal Movement Leaders" which bears a seal with the date of 1945. The movement claims 300,000 members all over Hungary and states that after the "liberation" of the country, the movement would like to continue under the name of "the Party of Charity". The text asks for funds and requests a reply through the BBC.
- b) A photostatic copy of a form of oath stating that the member should be ready to do his duty "for his God, for his Fatherland, and for his family". The movement "Trinity" stands for the co-operation of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Item 3. The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association.

This item refers to the setting up of an organization in connexion with the uprising. The existence of the draft statutes of such an organization was announced over Budapest Radio during the revolutionary days and seems to be in line with similar organizations set up by war veterans in different countries of the world. A shield, which was apparently the covering page of the draft statutes of this organization is the classical Hungarian emblem but without the Holy Crown.

Item 4. A photostatic copy of a letter dated 2 November 1956 written by the Chairman and the Secretary of District 16 Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party in Budapest addressed to the Central Committee of that Party. The statement in that letter that "District 16 Organization began its activity two months ago and that this was then approved by a leading member of the Central Committee" would need further investigation. The Special Committee was in fact told by one or two witnesses that the one or two political parties started preliminary organizing work prior to 30 October when the one-party system was abolished. In this connexion it should be pointed out that apart from the Social Democratic Party which proclaimed its fusion with the Communist Party in June 1948, other political parties which had been active in Hungary after 1945 were not formally dissolved but entered the comprehensive organization of the Hungarian People's Independence Front at the beginning of 1949.

Conclusion: The folder submits facts on two underground organizations which allegedly had been in existence in Hungary in the

period around 1953 and later. They do not supply any evidence as to the relations of these organizations to Horthy-fascist elements reportedly living in Western Germany.

The draft statutes of the proposed Association of Hungarian Freedom Fighters do not supply any evidence to counter-revolutionary activities outside the participation of its members in the uprising.

The question raised by the letter of the 16th District of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party would need further investigation.

File II.

The Hungarian Mission wishes to present evidence that during the uprising "Hungarian Fascist elements attacked the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic". The material contained in this file may be divided into the following groups:

1. Material relating to programmes and activities of small political groups established during the uprising:

Item 5. (listed as such by the Hungarian Mission on the covering sheet to File II) Programme of the Hungarian Independence Party.

First page of a letter addressed to the Council of Ministers by the above Party which was "destroyed by the Rakosi terror in 1947" and which was reconstituted on 31 October. The Council of Ministers is informed of the leadership and the programme of the Party and requests that Party communications be given publicity over the radio and authorization be granted to the Party to launch its paper "The Independent View".

Item 6. The programme of the Christian Hungarian Party which demands, among others, the immediate dissolution of Parliament, new elections, the implementation of human rights, free exercise of religion, obligatory teaching of religion, assurance for the

restoration of church schools and religious orders, the observance of Christian holy days, the restoration of the autonomy of the Catholic Church, the return of all family houses, the change of status in State enterprises, etc.

Item 4. The Fraternal Association of Hungarian Political Prisoners in a letter to the National Revolutionary Committee of 2 November 1956 requesting the Committee to grant authorization for the publication of their central newspaper which had already been in existence in April-May 1949 illegally. The names of the editors are also given.

Item 2. The National Association of Former Political Prosecutees in a letter addressed to the Council of Ministers of 3 November requesting the Government to grant a credit to the Association "to assure the continuity of its work as well as relief to its members".

Item 25. Excerpt from a signed deposition of Tibor Tormasy without date in which he gave an account of his reporting to duty on 31 October to the Revolutionary Defence Committee and giving the names of other officers formerly active in the Horthy army.

Item 12. Information on Antal Mayer, referred to as "one of the squad leaders of District 6 National Guard" who states that he had received a certain number of decorations from the German Army and from the SS during World War II.

2. Item 23

Extracts of the hotel record of Counts Apponyi and Festetich at Sopron on 2 November 1956. In this connexion Item 22, unsigned statement, allegedly made by Jozsef Bako, Chief Porter of the Sopron Hotel, in which he states that "On 25 or 26 October in the afternoon hours many persons from Western countries who, in my opinion, were

Austrians, French, Swiss, Italians, etc., came to the hotel where I worked in Sopron and stayed in Hungary respectively on the territory of the City of Sopron for one or two days." The covering note of the Hungarian Mission to this file states that this testimony attested "the influx of former Horthy politicals and agents of the Western Great Powers into Hungary between 23 October and 4 November 1956".

3. Items 13, 14 and 15

Four items of anti-Semitic character, one of which starts with the date of July 1956 and continues in March 1957, the other is dated May 1957 and contains a six-pointed star allegedly sent to "Jewish families", and two items without date including one containing the words "with Szalasi towards the construction of a Hungarist State". (Ferenc Szalasi was the Arrow-Cross Prime Minister of Hungary appointed by Hitler in the Spring of 1944 and fled to Germany after the defeat of the German Army, was returned by the Allied Commission to the Hungarian Government and was executed in 1945).

File III. The Hungarian Mission wishes to prove with the documentation submitted in this file that "the armed basis of the counter-revolutionaries was constituted by common criminals and these criminals played a leading role in the counter-revolution". The following relevant documents are contained in the file:

Item 2. - Report on 52 individuals referred to as "injured, treated in Budapest hospitals" and reported as "previously convicted persons". Many of the crimes allegedly committed by the persons listed in that

report seem to be of a political character, as in the case of Dr. Tamas Pasztor - sentenced to life-imprisonment for treason in 1949 and let out on parole in 1955. Many of the persons referred to in the report had been sentenced to two to three months for petty offenses, such as embezzlement and traffic court offenses.

Item 5. Police records of Szabo and Dvorcsak referred to as "counter-revolutionaries whose photographs were published in the Western press". There is no information available to us as to the identity of these two persons as well as their role in the uprising.

Items 11 to 13. - Criminal records of four individuals, of whom three had been condemned for petty crimes in 1952 and 1953 for short term imprisonment, and the fourth was sentenced to two years imprisonment for counter-revolutionary activity. Three unidentified items being the signed depositions of three individuals regarding participation in the uprising, including references to "criminal offenses" committed by other persons during the uprising. As "criminal offenses" were listed arrests and disarming of AVH officers and Soviet soldiers. In one case robbery has also been included. Two unidentified items, one containing the composition of the Revolutionary Committee of Ujpest, made up of 19 members, among them 7 listed as having committed minor or major crimes. The other item contains the composition of certain Revolutionary Committees of Borsod and Szolnok counties. Among the top persons listed, one was "previously convicted". Items 1, 3 and 5 listed in the covering note are not included.

Conclusion: None of the persons referred to in this file played "a leading role" in the uprising. Most of the so-called "criminals" referred to in the file had been convicted some time ago and for minor offenses; some of them for political offenses. There is no evidence in the file that "criminals" referred to in it had been released specifically at the beginning of the uprising, though it is known that with the release of "political prisoners" many common law criminals managed to escape.

File IV. In this file the Hungarian Mission endeavours to provide evidence of the alleged intervention of "Imperialist quarters of the Western Great Powers" which reputedly sent groups to Hungary "with the task of acting as spies, to cause damages to the Hungarian economy ... to overthrow the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic".

Items 2, 4 and 6 are signed "confessions" of three alleged American agents who admit having arrived in Hungary during the "counter-revolution" to undertake various illegal activities during and after the "counter-revolution".

Items 1, 7, 8 and 12 refer to the activities of representatives of Radio Free Europe during and after the uprising.

Item 9 is a signed statement by a soldier of the Frontier Guards who testifies that "during the counter-revolution, armed groups entered Hungarian territory from abroad".

Item 15 is a signed confession by a Catholic Priest concerning negotiations he conducted outside Hungary partly on behalf of Cardinal Mindszenty. The text is in no way conclusive. Attached

to this item is a "report on the activities of Cardinal Mindszenty during and after the uprising".

Items 18 and 19 are signed statements concerning the activities of a Mr. Deny, an alleged member of the staff of the British Legation in Budapest. Also included is an unlisted item regarding the role of Col. Cowley of the British Legation during and after the uprising. An unnumbered item containing accusations against representatives of Caritas (International Catholic relief organization) who allegedly offered armed weapons during the uprising to the freedom fighters.

Item 14 - Photostatic copies of a Hungarian Information Bulletin, Hirado, published during the uprising outside Hungary referring to assistance both material and armed to be given to the freedom fighters.

Item 22 listed "leaflets printed abroad and sent to Hungary after the counter-revolution". a) Appealing to "Hungarian people, students, worker-peasant-youth" denouncing the Kadar Government; b) a leaflet issued by the Popular Republican Movement of France for use in France giving information on developments during the Hungarian uprising.

Item 24. Leaflet "Hungarians, remain united in the power and spirit of the glorious revolution! Whoever supports the traitor Kadar regime, is an enemy of the Hungarian people. All spies will be punished." On the same sheet is a signed statement by a Peter Renner of 26 April 1957 who admits that he brought in these "counter-revolutionary leaflets from Vienna for distribution inside Hungary." Items 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21 and 23, listed in the covering vote, are not included in the file.

Conclusion: There is some evidence that groups outside Hungary

have been active in trying to maintain a revolutionary movement.

File V. provides some documents of certain witnesses questioned by the U.N. Special Committee.

Item 1. referred to in the covering note of the Hungarian Mission as "Note on the political police record and past political activities of some of the witnesses" is not attached to the file.

Item 2. Membership card of an alleged witness, Janos Bene, in the Hungarian National Socialist Party carrying the date of admission to the party of 24 April 1948. (Note: Many former members of the Hungarian National Socialist Party after the defeat of that Party in 1944 entered the Communist Party where some of them became important functionaries, e.g., the presiding judge of the Mindszenty trial was a wellknown member of the Hungarian Nationalist Socialist Party three or four years earlier).

Item 3. An affidavit signed by a well-known Hungarian actor stating that Count Gyorgy Szechenyi persecuted the actor's wife because of her Jewish descent. (Note: Count Szechenyi had no connexion whatsoever with the Committee).

Item 4. An alleged letter (undated) of Dr. Tamas Pasztor to Ferenc Nagy, the Prime Minister of Hungary in 1946/7 giving an account of his relations with Cardinal Mindszenty and two members of the American Legation in Budapest. The following are extracts of the attached letter:

"In December of last year I organized a society of restricted membership. We decided that we should start activities for enlightenment and resistance - at the beginning by means of whispering propaganda - later on in a more concrete form. We had no active or former politicians among ourselves as we did not know who were

under observation. Each member of the group of 8 or 10 persons agreed to organize a further 8 or 10 persons by himself . . . Among those who were organized were some members of the staff of Ministries, city officials, industrial leaders, former soldiers, small artisans, police officers, clergymen, etc. We also had many women among ourselves. As you will remember I always had some capacity for organization and therefore I was quite pleased that we were able to set up this group in somewhat difficult circumstances. No members were captured at any time. Prior to the 15th of March about 3,000 typewritten leaflets were distributed . . . When the structure of the movement became clear I established contact with the U.S. Legation. I was received on several occasions by Mr. Cochran, the Deputy of Mr. Chapin, and I remained in systematic contact with him ever since January. I was able to answer several of his questions. They obtained information about me and established contact with Washington to find out about the direction of our further activities and as to the support which we might be able to receive.

I presented Mr. Cochran with a memorandum giving details of the organization, its purpose and direction, and I assumed that you were given information about this matter through Washington . . . my intention was always to follow the instruction of the Legation as well as any ideas you might wish to transmit to me and to harmonize your activities with ours. I informed Mr. Cochran that I would like to issue a periodic pamphlet called "Resistance" and therefore I would need paper, and the ways and means of producing the publication. Unfortunately several months had passed and I have not received any further encouragement in starting this publication, in spite of the fact that I am deeply convinced that such a pamphlet would have a great impact on public opinion here. Finally when I last talked with Mr. Cochran, he told me that he had authority to give me support for the publication of the first number . . . but from now on I must insist on the strictest collaboration with you. Mr. Cochran was kind enough to agree to transmit to you one or two letters and also hand me the replies. Please answer this letter through the Legation . . .

The people here in Hungary are quite conscious that a change would come as soon as possible. People, however, are quite in the dark as to the transformation which such change would bring about. One of the questions which is very much on people's minds is to know what would be the position outside the country regarding the future constitutional status of Hungary, whether it would become a kingdom or a republic, and whether the constitutional status should be decided by plebiscite or depend on a general European settlement. In my opinion, there is a good deal of support for the re-establishment of the monarchy and in my opinion the plebiscite would bring about such a result."

(Note: Mr. Chapin referred to in the above text was in

charge of the U.S. Legation in Budapest with the rank of Minister from 10 April 1957 to October 1949. Mr. Cochran also referred to was Counsellor at the same Legation from 4 November 1947 to April 1949. The Hungarian Mission in File III states that Dr. Tamas Pasztor was sentenced to life imprisonment for treason in 1949 and was let out on parole in 1955.

The assumption is that the above letter, if authentic, must have been written in 1949).

Conclusion: The file provides no data that are in any way relevant to the work of the Special Committee.