U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

January 16, 2025

MR. JOHN R. GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1482677-000
Subject: NAGY, FERENC

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The FBI has completed its review of records subject to the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) that are responsive to your request. The enclosed documents were reviewed under the FOIPA, Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find check boxes under the appropriate statute headings which indicate the types of exemptions asserted to protect information which is exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the enclosed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely and identify which exemptions were applied. The checked exemption boxes used to withhold information are further explained in the enclosed Explanation of Exemptions.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☑ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
50 U.S.C. §3024(i)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
	☑ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☑ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

19 pages were reviewed and 10 pages are being released.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

Based on the information you provided, we conducted a main and reference entity record search of the Central Records System (CRS) per our standard search policy. For more information about records searches and the standard search policy, see the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum General Information Section.

This is the final release of information responsive to your FOIPA request. This material is being provided to you at no charge. Duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

458 preprocessed pages are enclosed. To expedite requests, preprocessed packages are released the same way they were originally processed. Documents or information originating with other Government agencies that were originally referred to that agency were not referred as part of this release. This material is being provided to you at no charge.

Enclosed are cross-references that are identifiable with the subject of your request. Cross-references are defined as mentions of the subject of your request in files to other individuals, organizations, events, or activities. In processing the cross-references, the pages considered for possible release included only those documents that mention the subject of your request. Documents were not considered for processing if no information about your subject was in the body of the document.

Records that may be responsive to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request have been transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). If you wish to review these records, submit a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to NARA, Special Access and FOIA, 8601 Adelphi Road, Room 5500, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Please reference the file numbers: 105-HQ-16981 SER 36, 105-HQ-81321 SER 22, and 105-HQ-16981 SER 16.

For your information, a search of the indices to our Central Records System reflected there were additional records potentially responsive to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request. We have attempted to obtain this material so it could be reviewed to determine whether it was responsive to your request. We were advised that the potentially responsive records were not in their expected location and could not be located after a reasonable search. Following a reasonable waiting period, another attempt was made to obtain this material. This search for the missing records also met with unsuccessful results.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **"Part 1"** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **"Part 2"** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **"Part 3"** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Additional information about the FOIPA can be found at www.fbi.gov/foia. Should you have questions regarding your request, please feel free to contact foipaquestions@fbi.gov. Please reference the FOIPA Request number listed above in all correspondence concerning your request.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP's website: https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." If possible, please provide a copy of your original request and this response letter with your appeal.

You may seek dispute resolution services by emailing the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison at foipaquestions@fbi.gov. The subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified. You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769.

Sincerely,

Michael G. Seidel
Section Chief
Record/Information Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosures

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

(i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.

(ii) **Intelligence Records**. To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

(i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.

(ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

(iii) **Requests for Confidential Informant Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of confidential informant records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F) [5 U.S.C.§ § 552 (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F)] and Privacy Act exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C.§ 552a (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records would reveal confidential informant identities and information, expose law enforcement techniques, and endanger the life or physical safety of individuals. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

(i) **Record Searches and Standard Search Policy.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems, such as the Central Records System (CRS), or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. The CRS is an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. The standard search policy is a search for main entity records in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include a search for reference entity records or administrative records of previous FOIPA requests.

a. *Main Entity Records* – created for individuals or non-individuals who are the subjects or the focus of an investigation
b. *Reference Entity Records*- created for individuals or non-individuals who are associated with a case but are not known subjects or the focus of an investigation

(ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.

(iii) **Foreseeable Harm Standard.** As amended in 2016, the Freedom of Information Act provides that a federal agency may withhold responsive records only if: (1) the agency reasonably foresees that disclosure would harm an interest protected by one of the nine exemptions that FOIA enumerates, or (2) disclosure is prohibited by law (5 United States Code, Section 552(a)(8)(A)(i)). The FBI considers this foreseeable harm standard in the processing of its requests.

(iv) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;

(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;

(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;

(k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

(k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FBI/DOJ

This document is made available through the declassification efforts and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

The Black Vault

The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages released by the U.S. Government & Military.

Discover the Truth at: **http://www.theblackvault.com**

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Hungarians To Discuss Revolution

Dr. Ferenc Nagy, the last Non-Communist Prime Minister of Hungary, will speak at Irvine — Wednesday.

Three leaders of the Hungarian Revolution will discuss Hungary's role in the Cold War at the second of the Connaissance lectures in Irvine Auditorium at 8:00 p.m. Wednesday.

Dr. Ferenc Nagy, Hungary's last Non-Communist Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Kovago, Mayor of Budapest from 1945 to 1947, and Major General Bela Kiraly, Commander-in-Chief of the Budapest Garrison during the revolution, will speak on their past experiences and comment on present conditions in Hungary.

One of the founders of the Smallholders Party, which led the fight against Communism, Dr. Nagy was Prime Minister from 1946 until 1947, when he was exiled.

Jailed By Communists

Since that time he has participated in international conferences at various world capitals, and was Chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations last year.

Kovago was jailed by the Communists in 1950 after resigning from his position as Mayor of Budapest in 1947 when Hungary was taken over by the Communist Party. He was released in 1956, and was re-elected for four days by the reorganized City Council during the freedom fighters' brief victory. When the revolution was crushed he fled with his family to Austria. He now lives in Delaware.

Exhibits

Major General Kiraly spent five years in prison after the commutation of his death sentence for resisting the Bolshevization of the Hungarian Army. Since 1957 he has been the Executive President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation and a member of the Hungarian delegation to the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

An exhibit of photographs and books on the revolution will be displayed outside the auditorium, and papers giving the background of the situation will be distributed.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 The Daily Pennsylvanian
Phila., Pa.

Date: 10/7/63
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:

[redacted]

Classification:
Submitting Office: Phila.

b3
b7E

HUNGARIAN EMERGENCY REFUGEE PROGRAM

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1482677-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 9
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Page 11 ~ Duplicate;
Page 12 ~ Duplicate;
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Page 16 ~ Duplicate;
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FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
WASHINGTON FIELD	BUREAU	3/26/70	2/27 - 3/25/70

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
SANDOR KISS	SA LEONARD W. SPANGLER	csr
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	USIA	

CC TO: REQ. REC'D 8/19/81
AUG 24 1981
ANS. BY:
Re Sandor Kiss

REFERENCES: Bureau letter to Newark, dated 2/25/70;
Bureau airtel, 3/13/70.

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

With regard to Bureau airtel, dated 3/13/70, pointing out file references for WFO to review, it should be noted that this matter contained no additional pertinent information concerning the applicant.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED ☐ NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:
5 - Bureau
1 - WFO (151-3253)
0-7 to WFO
3/30/70

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

151-4218-7 REC-29

APR 1 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

55 APR 10 1970

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COVER PAGE

* GPO : 1968 O - 299-885

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA LEONARD W. SPANGLER
Office: Washington, D.C.
Date: 3/26/70

Field Office File #: 151-3253
Bureau File #:

Title: SANDOR KISS

Character: UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Synopsis: Applicant is currently being processed for unlimited purchase order use by the International Broadcasting Service of USIA. References and personal associates recommend. On 3/20/57, KISS testified before Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, regarding international Communism (revolt in the satellites). No additional information HCIS.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

EMPLOYMENT

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WFO 151-3253
JWS:kdb
1

U.S. Information Agency (USIA)

A security file for SANDOR KISS at USIA, reviewed on March 23, 1970 by SA JOSEPH W. SPEICHER, reflected that National Agency Checks (NAC's) were conducted on the applicant by USIA during February, 1957, April, 1958 and June, 1959 in connection with the use of articles written by the applicant on a purchase order basis for the Press and Publications Service of USIA. After each of these NAC's, the Office of Security, USIA, notified the Press and Publications Service that it had no objection to the applicant's use.

The file indicated that the applicant is currently being processed for unlimited purchase order use by the International Broadcasting Service (IBS) of USIA. The file listed the applicant's birthdate as March 19, 1918 at Vasarosnameny, Hungary and contained no additional pertinent information.

Miss CYNTHIA G. NEWBORN, Clerk, Office of Personnel and Training, USIA, advised that she could locate no record which indicated that SANDOR KISS had ever been a regular employee of USIA.

On March 23, 1970, Miss MARY ODOM, Clerk, Procurement and Property Utilizations Section, Administrative Office, Press and Publications Service, USIA, advised that she could locate no record of the purchase order use of the applicant's services during 1957-58 and 1959. She explained that inactive records are destroyed after approximately three years.

Miss RITA V. CANTU, Administrative Clerk, Administrative Office, European Division, IBS, USIA, advised that the applicant has not yet been used on a purchase order basis by the IBS.

WFO 151-3253
LWS:csr
1

REFERENCES AND PERSONAL ASSOCIATES

On March 24, 1970, ZOLTAN BEKY, President, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 3216 New Mexico Avenue, N.W., advised that he has been acquainted with the applicant for a number of years and considers him to be an old friend. He described the applicant as an outstanding man, personally, and an outstanding writer. The applicant, while in Hungary, was active in politics and because of this was arrested by the Nazis. After World War II, the applicant was again active in politics in Hungary, was a member of the Hungarian Parliament and a Director of the Hungarian Peasant Alliance. The applicant was also active in religious and youth work. He was subsequently arrested again, this time by the Communists because of his political activities. After his release from imprisonment by the Communists, the applicant was later active in the Hungarian revolution against the Communists and because of this, subsequently came to the United States in exile.

He knows the applicant on a personal basis stating that he is presently with the Free Europe Committee in New York, New York. He stated that he is aware that the applicant is under consideration for employment by the United States Information Agency.

BEKY described the applicant as a very fine gentleman in all respects stating he is intelligent and a man of excellent moral character and reputation. The applicant, as proven by his past conflicts with the Communists, is definitely anti-Communist and loyal to democratic principles. He highly recommended the applicant for a position of trust and responsibility. He further pointed out that applicant is hoping to become a United States citizen in the very near future.

On March 23, 1970, FERENC NAGY, Lecturer with office in the Woodward Building, and former Prime Minister of Hungary,

advised he has been acquainted with the applicant for many years both in Hungary and in the United States. He described the applicant as a very intelligent man, an outstanding writer and while in Hungary, the applicant was very active in politics. The applicant, during World War II, was arrested by the Nazis and after World War II, was a member of the Hungarian Parliament, leader of the Peasant Party and also National Director of the Hungarian Peasant Alliance. Mr. NAGY advised that while Prime Minister, he offered the applicant the position of Minister of Agriculture which the applicant turned down feeling he could do more for the country as head of the Hungarian Peasant Alliance. Because of his political activities, the applicant was again arrested, by the Communists in Hungary, and subsequently because of the revolution against the Communists in Hungary, the applicant came to the United States in exile.

He described the applicant as a fine gentleman, who is intelligent and well thought of. He is a person of excellent moral character and reputation and is loyal to democratic principles. He highly recommended the applicant for a position of trust and responsibility.

On March 19, 1970, Doctor ISTVAN CSICSERY-RONAY, [redacted] who is employed at University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, advised SA HAROLD J. MITCHELL he and the applicant were intimate friends in Hungary from about 1943 to 1956 when he and the applicant came to the United States after the Hungarian revolution. Since 1956, they have visited infrequently but have maintained regular correspondence as they have mutual interest in Hungarian literature. He considers the applicant a loyal and devoted friend of personal excellence, high ideals, whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty are exemplary and who is unquestionably suitable and highly recommended for a position of trust.

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WFO 151-3253
WAS:slb
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MICHAEL HOGYE, formerly known as MIHALEY HOGYE, political editor of the Hungarian Service Voice of America, was interviewed on March 23, 1970, by SA WILLIAM A. SCOBIE.

HOGYE advised that he met the applicant while working in the underground in Hungary in 1944, and he has kept in close contact with the applicant since that time. He describes the applicant as an exceptional man, both mentally and as a human being. He has exceptional talents, well educated, and has high character and moral values. He is a forgiving man and a religious man. He has high ideals and everyone who knows him highly admires him. HOGYE considers the applicant to be loyal to this country. HOGYE describes the applicant as a very stable, trustworthy man who has deep convictions and is dedicated to these convictions. Mr. HOGYE has met the applicant's wife prior to her marriage to the applicant and was favorably impressed with her. He would highly recommend the applicant for a position of trust and responsibility.

WFO 151-3253
LWS:csr
1

MISCELLANEOUS

It should be noted that on March 20, 1957, SANDOR KISS testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 85th Congress, First Session, regarding international Communism (revolt in the satellites). KISS was identified as a leader of the Hungarian revolution who is now in the United States and indicated that KISS fled from Hungary to escape arrest after Red Army Reinforcements crushed the uprising in Hungary in November, 1956. He was further identified as Secretary General of the newly formed Hungarian Revolutionary Council comprised mainly of Hungarian freedom fighters.

The report of the above mentioned committee contained a "Curriculum Vitao of SANDOR KISS" which read as follows:

"Curriculum Vitao of SANDOR KISS"

"I was born on March 19, 1918, at Vasarosnameny, Hungary. From 1948 I lived in Budapest. I am a professor of philosophy and education. In 1937, I joined the so called 'March Front' movement, which - under the leadership of Hungarian writers aimed at the carrying out of a land reform and democratic reorganization of the Hungarian society. In 1943 I joined the anti-fascist resistance movement, and became the leader of one of the youth groups. I fought with ENDRO BAJASY-ZSILINSSHY, who was executed by the fascists. In December, 1944, I was arrested by the GESTAPO and after 3 weeks of torture I was sentenced to death. In 1945 I was elected president of the National Youth Organization, MADISZ. Seeing the aggressive methods of the Communists I resigned from this position and became the national director of the Hungarian Peasant Alliance, an organization representing the social and economic interests of the entire Hungarian peasantry. At the same time I was a member of the Hungarian Parliament as well as of the leadership and political committee of the Small Holders Party. In 1947 I was arrested, charged with conspiracy and sentenced for 3 years of prison. After my release from prison I was gaining my life by strenous physical work. In 1956 I joined the Revolution at its very beginning, was active in the Petefi Circle as well as

in the Revolutionary Committee of the Intellectuals and fought with arms. I took part in the general political negotiations as well as in the negotiations aiming at forming a government. At the same time I was an organizor of the Small Holders Party and leader of the Peasant Alliance. I knew the political history of the Revolution as an eye-witness and participant in the events. After the second Soviet aggression I fought again with arms until my escape from the country. At the Strasbourg Congress of the Hungarian Revolutionary Council I was elected its secretary general."

KISS'S testimony dealt with the revolution against Communism in Hungary, and the report contained no unfavorable information concerning KISS.

The files of the House Committee on Internal Security were reviewed by IC JOSEPH P. JODOIN on March 23, 1970, and no additional pertinent information was located concerning the applicant.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1443537-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 16
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Page 79 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 80 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 81 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 82 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 83 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 84 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 87 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 93 ~ Duplicate;
Page 94 ~ Duplicate;
Page 95 ~ Duplicate;
Page 96 ~ Duplicate;
Page 97 ~ Duplicate;
Page 106 ~ b3; b7E;
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STANDARD

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : E. A. TAMM

DATE: June 12, 1947

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT:

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mendenhall
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ASAC Belmont called from New York and advised that a Customs Agent at the La Guardia Airport had just advised an Agent of the New York Office, in strict confidence, that Ferenc Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, is scheduled to arrive at the New York Airport at 6:00 p.m. tonight on TWA.

Belmont advised that he has not verified this, that the arrival is apparently being kept extremely secret, but that he wanted to pass it on to the Bureau for its information.

DML:MJJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-14-83 BY [redacted]

SE 31

RECORDED

162-83632-1

32 JUN 13 1947

b6
b7C

EX-45

60 JUN 20 1947

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 6-20-47

FROM : SAC, Boston

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: PREMIER FERENC NAGY of HUNGARY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
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DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASSIFY ON 3/14/83

Mr. JOSEPH SCANLON, Research Director of the United Steel Workers of America and instructor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, advised on June 20, 1947 that he had just returned from Washington where he had met Premier FERENC NAGY of Hungary. Premier Nagy arrived in this country without any money at all. The only cash he had was a refund on part of the fare of his son who accompanied him. The Saturday Evening Post has purchased an article from him and this will be some source of revenue. Premier Nagy does not speak English. Premier Nagy will stay at the home of JOHN COYLE of the National Planning Board. Mr. Scanlon will be employed this summer by the National Planning Board and is well acquainted with Mr. COYLE.

It is felt that if the Bureau desires to interview Premier Nagy discreetly that arrangements could possibly be made through JOSEPH SCANLON.

Mr. SCANLON has also advised that CLINTON GOLDEN, former vice-president of the United Steel Workers of America, is being considered by President Karl Compton of MIT as a representative of this country to Greece in connection with the present aid to Turkey and Greece program.

Mr. Scanlon advised that CLINTON GOLDEN hates Communists and would not even speak to LEE PRESSMAN, general counsel of the United Steel Workers, when they worked together in Pittsburgh.

If the Bureau desires to interview Mr. Golden prior to leaving for Greece or upon his return, arrangements may possibly be made through Mr. Scanlon.

JFL:md

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DATE 7-25-47 RRR

Hungary - Foreign
Hungary - Int Rel - G

Rec'd DO/L
June 17, 1947

SECRET

Bern, June 3, 1947.

ACTION:
KUR

No. 15186

INFO:
OCD
FC
FR
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EUR/X
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Subject: Resignation of Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc NAGY.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

NR-0-0-0

With reference to my telegram No. 497 of June 1, 1947 and other communications (my telegrams No. 493 of May 31, No. 498 of June 2, 10 a.m., No. 501 of June 2, 3 p.m., and No. 504 of June 2, 6 p.m., and the Department's telegram No. 703 of May 31) on the subject of the recent resignation, while sojourning in Switzerland, of the Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc NAGY, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a memorandum from the Legation's Civil Air Attaché enclosing a signed copy (in Hungarian) and English translation of a secret report to the Hungarian Government from its Minister in Bern, Mr. Francois Gordon, on the developments leading up to the Prime Minister's resignation. The original of this report, the enclosed copy of which has been made available to the Legation by Minister Gordon in the strictest confidence, is being carried to Budapest by Dr. Joseph SZALL, Communist Secretary of the Hungarian Legation in Bern, who is also carrying with him Mr. Nagy's letter of resignation which was turned over to him yesterday by the Prime Minister at Buchs upon the safe arrival from Hungary of the latter's [redacted] [redacted] son.

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The Civil Air Attaché [redacted] report are set forth in numbered paragraphs [redacted] his covering memorandum, which contains also certain details of his conversation of June 1 with Mr. Nagy, the substance of which was communicated to the Department in my telegram No. 497 under reference. In this connection it should be stated that Mr. Deak's knowledge of the Hungarian language Mr. Nagy speaks no other - and his acquaintance with Mr. Nagy has made it possible for the Legation to be as completely informed as it has been on this subject.

In the

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Bern/June 3, 1947/ Des. No. 15186.

In the light of the chronology of events outlined in Minister Gordon's report, which makes it clear that the decision of Mr. Nagy to resign the premiership was not taken until May 30, it is interesting to note that the Associated Press reported from Budapest on the preceding day, May 29, that "a high Hungarian source" had stated on that date that the Prime Minister had already resigned and that his resignation had been accepted on the 29th during an emergency meeting of the representatives of the four principal Hungarian parties.

For the completion of the Department's records, there is also enclosed a memorandum of a conversation of May 29 between an officer of this Legation and the Counselor of the Hungarian Legation in Bern concerning the impending crisis in Hungary, the substance of which conversation was reported to the Department in my above cited telegram No. 493.

Respectfully yours,

Leland Harrison

Enclosures:
1-Memorandum from Mr. Deak with signed copy (in Hungarian) and English translation of report to the Hungarian Government.
2-Memorandum from Mr. Flitt, dated May 29, 1947.

File No. 800
EAP/SWRoad:hlc
Original and copies to the Department.

Copy to American Embassy, Moscow,
" " American Legation, Budapest.

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(Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 15186, June 3, 1947, from American Legation, Bern.)

SECRET

June 2, 1947.

From: Mr. Beam

To: The Minister
Mr. Pfitt.

Subject: Resignation of Hungarian Prime Minister NAGY.

(1) Pursuant to your instructions (DEPTEL No. 703, May 31), I saw Mr. NAGY on Sunday afternoon, June 1st. The Hungarian Minister at Bern, Dr. Francois GORDON was also present. The substance of the information given by Messrs. Nagy and Gordon was reported to the Department in the Legation's telegram No. 497, June 1st.

(2) Further details are available in Gordon's secret official report to the Hungarian Government dated June 1, 1947, which is being taken to Budapest by Dr. Szall, Communist Secretary of the Hungarian Legation at Bern today together with Nagy's resignation letter. Nagy left this morning with Szall for Buchs where his son is expected to arrive early this afternoon. (The son's arrival at Innsbruck yesterday evening was confirmed to Gordon by phone at 2:30 a.m. today). Gordon made available to us - of course in strictest confidence - a signed copy of his secret report to the Hungarian Government, the accuracy of which with the original was checked by us. The signed Hungarian text and a precise (but not very artistic) English translation thereof are attached as Annex 1(a) and 1(b).

(3) The following points appear clearly from the report and from statements made by Messrs. Nagy and Gordon:

(a) The crisis was precipitated by General SVIRIDOV in transmitting the "confessions" of Kovacs (in Soviet custody for several weeks) "implicating" Nagy.

(b) The ball was clearly carried for the Russians by Rakosi who obviously sought to hasten matters to create a fait accompli, in which endeavor he succeeded.

ENCLOSURE

An interesting and revealing commentary on the tactics of Communist control is furnished by that portion of the attached report in which Minister Gordon mentions that, in order to obtain access to funds held by the Legation and pertaining to the Prime Minister's office, appropriate instructions would have to be sent over the signature of Vice Premier Rakosi (leader of the Hungarian Communist Party) to Secretary Szall "who is jointly in control of the safe key".

(4) Nagy

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(4) Nagy believes that the whole crisis was carefully plotted and timed between Zhirnov, Pashkin and Rakosi. According to him, the Russians and the Communists knew at the time of his departure from Hungary, he being "implicated" through Kovacs' "confessions" but they did allow him to depart for two reasons: (a) in anticipation of Minister Schoenfeld's imminent departure which - as his enemies figured - would handicap prompt intervention on the part of the U.S.; (b) as a matter of strategy - namely, they were fearful of possible reaction to a repetition of the Kovacs affair (e.g. Nagy's arrest) and figured that Nagy being out of Hungary, they could manipulate the press according to their own taste and make it appear that Nagy "escaped."

(5) Both Nagy and Gordon should like to know whether they and their families could be admitted to the U.S. in case Switzerland should deny them asylum. Nagy seems particularly anxious to go to the U.S. (or England), believing that he could be of use in view of his intimate knowledge of Soviet and Communist tactics and procedures which he acquired during his more than a year in the office of Premier.

F. D.

FDeak:ilo

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Annex 1(b)

TRANSLATION

REPORT OF FRANCOIS GORDON, HUNGARIAN MINISTER AT BERN TO THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THE BACKGROUND AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN SWITZERLAND OF PRIME MINISTER FERENC NAGY'S RESIGNATION.

I received a telephone call on Thursday, May 29, 1947, at 9:30 a.m. from Prime Minister Nagy from Locarno. He informed me that he had previously talked over the phone with the President of the Republic and learned from him that a reply was received from General Svirideov to his - the Prime Minister's - request that the Russian occupation authorities release Mr. Bela Kovacs to the Hungarian judicial authorities. This reply was the subject of an extraordinary cabinet meeting of May 28 called for this purpose and which decided to request the Prime Minister to interrupt his holiday and return home at once. The substance of the Russian reply was that General Svirideov is in no position to comply with the Prime Minister's request since the investigation is not yet completed; however, he is putting at the disposal of the Hungarian Government the records of the investigation up to date. According to information, the confessions are strongly compromising Prime Minister Nagy. The Prime Minister, therefore, decided, he told me, that, in accordance with the request addressed to him by the extraordinary cabinet meeting, he will immediately proceed to Hungary and he desired to inform me about this fact and wished to say good bye to me.

Around 11:00 a.m., when the Legation was in telephonic communication on an official matter with the Hungarian Foreign Office, I requested that I be connected with Foreign Minister Gyongyosi. I informed him about the conversation I had had earlier with the Prime Minister, whereupon the Foreign Minister, invoking instructions he had received, charged me with locating Prime Minister Nagy somewhere in Switzerland and informing him that he should await here the Minister of Information, Mihalyffy, who was being immediately despatched to Switzerland in order to talk with the Prime Minister.

I immediately contacted Locarno by telephone and learned that the Prime Minister was about to leave with his car but he was stopped and I was able to talk with him while he was still in Locarno. I communicated Foreign Minister Gyongyosi's message to him, and the Prime Minister, after thinking over the matter briefly, decided to come to Bern and requested me to immediately contact President Tildy and inquire whether he concurred in the Foreign Minister's message.

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I immediately telephoned to the President, informed him of what had transpired and was advised that the President had knowledge of and concurred with Foreign Minister Gyongyosi's message above referred to.

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The Prime Minister arrived around 10:30 p.m. in Bern when I informed him that, pursuant to his request, I had talked with the President and obtained the above information. About 11:00 p.m. the telephone central of Bern inquired whether I would accept a telephone call from Budapest at 5:00 a.m. in the morning. Naturally I accepted and at 5:00 a.m. Under-Secretary Stephan Balogh called me on the phone.

The Under Secretary desired to speak with the Prime Minister. I informed him that the Prime Minister was in a hotel and I had no way of transferring the call to him. I asked whether he desired that I transmit a message. the Under Secretary agreed and told me the following. (It should be noted that the first part of his conversation was in such a low voice that I had to constantly ask the Under Secretary to repeat sentences. Nevertheless, I believe that I have correctly understood his message.)

The Under Secretary began his message by saying that on the previous day the Political Committee of the Small Holders Party had a meeting. While he naturally is bound to repeat the decision of the extraordinary cabinet meeting held on May 28, requesting the immediate return of the Prime Minister, he wishes to state that the opinion of the Political Committee of the Party is that the Prime Minister should address a letter to the President of the Republic in which, emphasizing his innocence, he should state that nevertheless with a view to the protection of the country's political peace and to assist a democratic evolution, he resigns the premiership. They (the Party) assure him and assume the obligation of sending his young son [redacted] to Switzerland at once and they will take care of his financial problems. b6 b7C

I called the Under Secretary's attention to the fact that the Prime Minister, in making his decision, obviously would be much influenced by the knowledge of the form in which the Hungarian people would be informed about his resignation and whether the publication of the text of his resignation letter could be guaranteed. The Under Secretary stated that he would discuss this matter but he believes that it can be arranged.

To my question whether in case the Prime Minister should decide, as he originally intended, to return, would it be possible for him to reach Budapest safely. The reply, after some hesitation, was that it is possible but certain disturbing circumstances may arise.

Having become convinced during my conversation with the Prime Minister and his wife the preceding evening that from their point of view the fate of their son left at home is decisive, I again raised this question and asked

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the Under Secretary whether the exchange of the child and the resignation letter could be simultaneous. The Under Secretary promptly replied that this obviously can be done but no one would think of connecting the two things. They will send the child out as a matter of course.

Finally I called the Under Secretary's attention to certain funds here at the disposal of the Prime Minister's office and pointed out that the presence of this fund would be the simplest way to solve the financial problem referred to. However, in order to make the necessary arrangements it would be necessary to also have the signature of Vice Premier Rakosi in order that Secretary Szall, who is jointly in control of the safe key, should be properly instructed.

The Under Secretary was heartily in agreement with the suggested method of solution and assured me that he would discuss these matters that morning with the competent officials.

I then suggested to the Under Secretary that the Prime Minister doubtless will desire to discuss these matters with him directly and asked when he could be called on the phone in the afternoon. He agreed that the Prime Minister would call the Under Secretary between 2 and 3 Swiss time on 123509.

The Under Secretary advised me that the Minister of Information Mihalyffy will not come to see the Prime Minister in Switzerland.

Finally, I agreed with the Under Secretary that I shall be again in my office from 11:00 a.m. in case he should have any further communications.

At 9:00 a.m. I called on the Prime Minister at his hotel and transmitted to him Under Secretary Balogh's messages. It was agreed that the Prime Minister would come to my residence at 2:00 p.m. to talk over the phone with Under Secretary Balogh in my presence. I asked the Prime Minister, in case I should be called from Budapest before 2:00 p.m., should I say anything in advance regarding his expected decision.

The Prime Minister authorized me, in such a case, to state that in the course of his whole public career he was always a man of compromises, that he had in view exclusively the best interests of the country and the people and, therefore, in this instance also his decision will be determined by these considerations.

Returning

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Returning to my office I learned that I had meanwhile received a telephone call from Under Secretary Balogh who apparently forgot the one hour difference between Swiss and Budapest time. I immediately tried to contact Budapest and finally succeeded after an unusually long waiting period. The Under Secretary asked me what impression I gained from the Prime Minister, whereupon I repeated the Prime Minister's above statement and confirmed that, according to the original understanding, the Prime Minister will call him between 2 and 3 p.m. and inform him about his decision. The Under Secretary remarked that he expects the fulfillment of the conditions which we discussed in the morning.

He then told me that he will have the call shifted to Vice Premier Rakosi, who desired to talk with me.

Vice Premier Rakosi asked me about the status of the matter and informed me about his position, namely, that the Prime Minister either should come home at once, resign in Budapest both the Premiership and his membership in Parliament, and should stand trial before a court or he should at once write his resignation letter. I advised Rakosi that the Prime Minister intended yesterday morning to go home and he decided to remain in Switzerland only as a result of information he received subsequently. I repeated to Rakosi the statement which the Prime Minister authorized me to convey, namely, "That throughout his whole public career he was always a man of compromises, that he had in view exclusively the best interests of the country and the people and, therefore, in this instance also his decision will be determined by these considerations."

I further informed Rakosi that, according to arrangements, the Prime Minister himself will talk about everything with Under Secretary Balogh between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. Vice Premier Rakosi again emphasized that he is bound to insist on the solution of the affair one way or another that afternoon in the interest of the State and requested me to inform him immediately about the results of the conversation between Nagy and Balogh.

The Prime Minister came to my house at 2:00 p.m. and a telephone connection with Under Secretary Balogh was soon established.

Balogh apparently repeated briefly to the Prime Minister what he told me in the morning.

The Prime Minister stated that, taking account of the existing circumstances, he has decided in principle to resign and that his letter of resignation will be approximately of the following contents: "On the basis of information I have in regard to the accusations leveled against me, I consider them absolutely groundless. I consider myself absolutely innocent both in regard to the charge of participation in the conspiracy and of any anti-coalition policy. Since, however, in my whole life I only wanted to be of use to the country and to the Hungarian people, I do not now want to put obstacles in the way of

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a solution to the crisis and, therefore, I am resigning the Premiership."

The Prime Minister stated emphatically that he is prepared to release this resignation letter only when his son arrives.

He further made the following conditions:

1. His honor should not be besmirched before the Hungarian people.

2. His secretary, Francis Kapocs, should be released and be allowed to come to Switzerland.

3. His chief of cabient, who accompanied him to Switzerland, should not be molested.

4. His property should not be confiscated since such a measure would imply treason.

I heard the Prime Minister ask Under Secretary Balogh what the charges were against him on the basis of the confessions. Naturally, I did not hear the reply.

When the Prime Minister completed his conversation I took over and asked Under Secretary Balogh, since he obviously took notes of the conversation, whether he would at once inform Vice Premier Rakosi, whom I would later call directly. Balogh told me that the Prime Minister's child will be sent by aircraft on Saturday morning.

I got a telephone connection with Vice Premier Rakosi around 4:00 p.m. Naturally he already knew the substance of the above telephone conversation from a report of Balogh's. He was highly displeased with the Prime Minister's intention of conditioning the delivery of his resignation letter on the arrival of his child in Switzerland. Rakosi repeated that in the interest of the country and the people, the timing of a political solution could not be conditioned on private matters of this character. Therefore, he must insist that either the Prime Minister proceed home at once or deliver his resignation letter immediately.

I at once contacted the Prime Minister, who, however, was unwilling to change his prior decision.

Meanwhile I learned that the Hungarian Press Agency (MTI) issued the following communiqué: "Francis Nagy appeared in Bern at the Hungarian Legation and informed the Minister, Francis Gordon, about his resignation from the Premiership with a view to transmitting this statement to the President of the Hungarian Republic."

Shortly

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Shortly thereafter Rakosi telephoned again and told me that the final solution of the matter could no longer be delayed.

I called the attention of Rakosi to the fact that the Hungarian Press Agency's communiqué above quoted did not correspond to the facts. The Vice Premier replied that the issuance of this communiqué was based on information from Under Secretary Balogh.

I informed Rakosi that I sent the following telegram to the Foreign Office: "Prime Minister Francis Nagy requested this afternoon the Hungarian Minister, Francis Gordon, to transmit the following telegram: 'My letter of resignation from the Premiership will be sent in the next days to the President of the Republic since I desire to inform him directly about my resignation.'"

Vice Premier Rakosi stated that this telegram is not sufficient but he demands that the following telegram should be sent: "Francis Nagy appeared at Bern at the Hungarian Legation and informed the Minister, Francis Gordon, that he resigned from the Premiership and requests that this be communicated to the President of the Hungarian Republic."

I called the Vice Premier's attention to the fact that such a communiqué did not correspond to the truth since the Prime Minister expressly conditioned the effective time of his resignation upon the moment of the arrival of his child in Switzerland. The Vice Premier most emphatically insisted that the above text be sent immediately and declared that he had a record made of the telephone conversation made in this sense and this record will be signed by the gentlemen present in his office and listening to the conversation as witnesses.

In conclusion he instructed me to consider his request to send the above quoted telegram as an order; that the telegram should be sent to the President, the Foreign Minister and himself as a clear telegram and should also be repeated "to the Foreign Office."

I immediately called the President, informed him of the substance of the above telephone conversation with Rakosi, whereupon the President declared that as far as he is concerned, he took note of the communiqué issued by the Hungarian Press Agency as above quoted and he took steps during the course of the day on the basis of that communiqué. He emphasized that he does not want to interfere in government affairs and he approves of the despatch of the telegram (which Rakosi requested).

Consequently,

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Consequently, I despatched the requested telegrams to the President, to the Foreign Minister and to Vice Premier Rakosi, as well as a code telegram to the Foreign Office which read as follows: "This afternoon in my presence Prime Minister Francis Nagy informed Under Secretary Stephan Balogh that he has resigned the Premiership and requested that this should be communicated to the President of the Republic." In the evening at 8:30 p.m. I telephoned Vice Premier Rakosi informing him about the despatch of these telegrams.

Saturday at 9:00 a.m. I phoned, upon the Prime Minister's request, to Under Secretary Balogh and inquired whether the child had departed. The Under Secretary informed me that to their great regret they were unable to obtain an aircraft and, therefore, the child will be sent by automobile and the child will depart within an hour, which fact will be confirmed by telegram.

At 12:30 p.m. I received a code telegram which among other things instructed me to "instruct Secretary Szall to proceed at once to Budapest with the Prime Minister's letter of resignation, the Prime Minister's child and nurse are proceeding with automobile."

I requested Secretary Szall to call on Prime Minister Nagy, inform him about the new development and try to persuade the Prime Minister to accept it. Upon his return Szall informed me that the Prime Minister is only willing to go with Secretary Szall to Buchs and hand over to him his resignation letter when the child arrives at Buchs.

This fact was immediately telephoned to the Foreign Office. From the Foreign Office and from the Office of the Premier we shortly received the information that the child will depart from Budapest in the Prime Minister's automobile accompanied by his nurse and Secretary Florian at 6:00 p.m. and are expected to arrive about 10:00 p.m. in Vienna.

I transmitted this information to the Prime Minister and we agreed that at the proper moment he, the Prime Minister, will accompany Secretary Szall to Buchs where, according to the understanding, he will, upon the child's arrival, deliver his letter of resignation to Szall, who will take it then to Budapest.

Lastly I should like to remark that in the great number of telephone conversations there were a few short calls which however in no way affect or modify the substance above described and, therefore, they have not been specifically mentioned herein.

(Signed) GORDON
Hungarian Minister.

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to despatch No. 15[illegible] 3, 1947,
from Am[illegible] egation, Bern.)

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SECRET

MEMORANDUM

Bern, May 29, 1947

Mr. Veszprémy-Bangha, the Hungarian Counselor of Legation, came in to see me today and told me that on behalf of his Minister he wanted to let us know confidentially that the Hungarian Premier, Mr. Nagy, who had come to Switzerland recently on leave and was about to return to Hungary and who had called during his visit on Mr. Etter and Mr. Pettitpierre, had learned through sources available to him that following the arrest of Kovacs, the leader of the Smallholders Party, information had allegedly been discovered in Kovacs' files implicating Nagy in a conspiracy against the Communist-controlled government. Through Minister Gordon Mr. Nagy was informed that the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs wanted Mr. Nagy to remain in Switzerland until the arrival of the Hungarian Minister of Information, Mr. Mihalyffy, who is said to be already enroute here.

Mr. Veszprémy-Bangha said this information was being given to us so that we would know what is actually going on in Budapest with respect to Mr. Nagy, as it could be foreseen that press reports and other information reaching Switzerland from Hungary might portray a totally different situation. Mr. Veszprémy-Bangha said that up to Mr. Nagy's departure from Budapest he had kept Mr. Schoenfeld fully informed of developments and that upon Mr. Schoenfeld's arrival here, Minister Gordon would very much appreciate the possibility of seeing Mr. Schoenfeld.

E. A. P.

EAPlitt/aj/hlc

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ENCLOSURE

COMMUNISM THREATENS LABOR

COMMUNISM THREATENS AMERICA

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DATE 3-11-83 BY

LOUIS P. MARCIANTE

President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor

AND

HON. FERENC NAGY

Former Premier of Hungary

SPEAK IN

Waters Stadium-Perth Amboy, N.J.

JULY 31, 1947 - 7:45 P.M. SHARP

COME AND HEAR HOW COMMUNISM THREATENS LABOR AND THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.

COME AND HEAR THE INSIDE STORY OF HOW COMMUNISM HAS DESPOILED AND WRECKED THE NATIONS OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

EVERYONE INVITED TO ATTEND

ADMISSION FREE

Arranged and sponsored by Perth Amboy Central Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

Central Labor Union of Perth Amboy and Vicinity

AFFILIATED WITH

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND NEW JERSEY STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

Fellow Americans:

COMMUNISM IS A PRESENT AND IMMEDIATE DANGER TO OUR GREAT COUNTRY!

Its treacherous pawns, who flourish in our midst and serve Moscow, are now sowing the seeds of discord among our people and attacking and destroying the fundamental principles which have permitted this Country to become great.

Godliness, religion, freedom and democracy are all in extreme danger unless we, the American people, awake and realize that only we, informed and united, can drive this menace out of our land once and for all.

This Central Labor Union has arranged a mass demonstration of all those who desire to register their opposition to Communism.

The place: Waters Stadium, Amboy Avenue, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.
The time: July 31, 1947, 7:45 P.M. In the event of rain, the meeting will be held in Perth Amboy High School, State and Smith Streets.

THE HONORABLE FERENC NAGY, PRIME MINISTER OF HUNGARY, DRIVEN OUT OF HIS OFFICE AND HIS COUNTRY BY THE MERCILESS, POWER-CRAZED, ATHEISTIC COMMUNISTS, WILL TELL US AT FIRST HAND WHAT IT MEANS TO HAVE COMMUNISM TAKE OVER YOUR COUNTRY.

From an eye witness and a statesman, hear the truth how Communism, behind a solid mask of lies, despoils and wrecks the nations it engulfs.

Come out and demonstrate to the world that we are Americans; that we will not tolerate interference from abroad which threatens to destroy the American Way of Life; that Communism is not wanted in this Country.

You and your friends are cordially invited to be with us that evening and hear this internationally famous speaker.

Very truly yours,

NATHAN DUFF

Secretary of Committee

COMMITTEE

Thomas J. Kelly, President
Olga Moranski, Vice-President
William P. Mansfield, Secretary
Rodney Solt, Treasurer
John Boll, Trustee
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Patrick J. Reilly
Louis Horner
Rocco Faliero

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DATE 3-14-83 BY

August 8, 1947

Mr. W. L. Hauser
8104 Piney Branch Road
Silver Spring, Maryland

RECORDED

Dear Mr. Hauser:

Your letter dated August 3, 1947, together with enclosures, has been received. I would like to be of assistance but wish to advise that a long-standing policy precludes my making any comment on the matter you mention. I am sure you will understand my position in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

BHM:mbml

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DATE 3-14-83 BY [redacted]

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
AUG 9 - 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tam
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

282

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NAGY'S SON SEEKS PROTECTION IN THE U.S.

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Home Service, in Russian at Dictation Speed for the Provincial Press, May 31, 1947, 7:45 p.m. EST--L

(Text)

"Budapest, May 31--Szabad Szaj states that Nagy's behavior has confirmed the rumors about the real aim of his journey abroad. In Switzerland Nagy met one of the leaders of the anti-Republican plot, Deputy Szalai Kalyman who had escaped from Hungary. Nagy maintained his connections with foreign agents of the plotters through a member of the Hungarian mission in London, Sabo Thomas, who refused to return to his Fatherland despite the demands of the Hungarian authorities.

"In the light of these facts the speedy exit of Nagy's son to Washington becomes obvious. The former Premier found it essential to have his son, who was implicated in the plot, placed under the protection of the Hungarian Ambassador in Washington.

"This evening the members of the new Hungarian Cabinet took the oath. The Government will be presented to the National Assembly within the next few days and an extraordinary session of Parliament is being called in this connection.

"At today's meeting of the political bureaus of the Smallholders Party, Istvan Doby was elected chairman of the party. This post was hitherto held by Nagy.

"The Smallholder Party's newspaper HIRLAP appeared today without showing the name of Nagy as its Chief Editor."

Ferenc Nagy

Foreign Radio Broadcast #70
6/2/47

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INTERNAL SECURITY
F. B. I.

(Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 15194, June 4, 1947, from American Legation, Bern.)

TRANSLATION

To Zoltan Tildy, Esquire
President of the Republic,
Budapest.

Mr. President:

During my Swiss holiday I learned on May 28 that the Allied Control Commission has put at the disposal of the Hungarian Government records which would indicate my knowledge of the conspiracy. The Government, after receiving these records, has requested my resignation. While declaring most emphatically that I had no knowledge whatsoever of any conspiracy prior to its discovery by the police and that I have done nothing either by word or action against the Republic, against the coalition, or against the occupying power, I do not wish to obstruct the momentary evolution of Hungarian political life and, therefore, I put my office as Prime Minister at your disposal.

I am resigning with the conviction that I have not lost the confidence of either Parliament or the majority of the Hungarian people. I am resigning in the conviction that I am innocent; I am resigning because I desire to assist my country, my party and you, Mr. President.

I request of you, Mr. President, that you devote your personal attention to the fulfillment of one of the conditions I communicated to Under Secretary Stephan Balogh, namely, the release of my secretary, Ferenc Kapocs.

Praying for the Lord's protection for my country, I beg you, Mr. President, to take note of this communication.

Respectfully,

(Signed) FERENC NAGY

Bern, June 1, 1947, 12 noon

FD/hlc

Rec'd DO/I
June 17, 1947

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~~SECRET~~.

No. 15194.

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Subject: Resignation of Hungarian Prime Minister NAGY.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Supplementing my ~~secret~~ despatch No. 15186 of June 3, 1947 concerning the resignation in Switzerland of Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc NAGY, under cover of which there were transmitted to the Department a copy and translation of a ~~secret~~ report from the Hungarian Minister in Bern to his Government on the circumstances leading up to that resignation, I have the honor to enclose the translated texts of

1) Prime Minister Nagy's official letter of resignation, addressed to the President of Hungary under date of June 1, 1947, and

2) an accompanying personal letter, addressed by Mr. Nagy to President Tildy under date of May 31, 1947, in which the Prime Minister sets forth the considerations which motivated his decision to resign and to remain in exile.

A certified copy of the first letter (attested by the Hungarian Minister in Bern) and a photostatic copy of the handwritten original of the second were delivered to the Legation in the strictest confidence by Mr. Nagy, who has urged that, at least for the time being, they be used with the utmost discretion. These documents, from which the enclosed translations from the Hungarian have been made, are being retained in the Legation's files for whatever disposition the Department may deem appropriate.

As stated in my despatch under reference, Mr. Nagy's letter of resignation (together with the accompanying

personal

Bern/June 4, 1947/Des. No. 15194.

personal letter) was handed by him to the Communist Secretary of the Hungarian Legation on June 2 at the Swiss town of Buchs (St. Gallen), upon the safe arrival of the Prime Minister's young son from Hungary, for transmittal to the Hungarian Government.

Respectfully yours,

Leland Harrison

Enclosures:
1-Translation, Prime Minister Nagy's official letter of resignation.
2-Translation, Prime Minister Nagy's personal letter to President Tildy.

File No. 800
NWBond:hlc
Original and ozalid to the Department.

Copy to American Embassy, Moscow,
" " American Legation, Budapest.

(Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 15194, June 4, 1947, from American Legation, Bern.)

TRANSLATION

Mr. Zoltan Tildy
President of the Republic
Budapest.

Mr. President:

During my holiday I learned at Locarno on May 28, 6 p.m. that a reply was received from the Chairman of the Allied Control Commission regarding the release to the Hungarian authorities of Bela Kovacs, at present in Russian custody, which refused his release but transmitted the records made from his confessions, and that these records contain data which indicate my participation in the conspiracy.

My secretary, Ferenc Kapocs, my under secretary Istvan Balogh, Agriculture Minister Karoly Baranyos and Foreign Minister Janos Gyöngyosi requested me over the phone to interrupt my holiday and return immediately to Budapest. You, Mr. President, made the same telephonic request to me. The extraordinary cabinet meeting held on the same evening also decided to recall me; I was advised of this over the telephone by my secretary, Ferenc Kapocs, and also of the search made of the archives of the Prime Minister's office. I at once began preparations for my return home. The morning of the 29th, at the moment of my departure homeward, Minister Ferenc Gordon telephoned me from Bern and communicated to me Foreign Minister Gyöngyosi's message that, under no condition, should I leave Swiss territory until the arrival here of Minister Mihalffy, sent to enlighten me. I requested Minister Gordon to telephone the President of the Republic and inquire whether this was also his opinion? At the same time I informed him (Gordon) that I should pass through Bern for the reply before proceeding home because even then my intention was to return home. I arrived in the evening in Bern where Minister Gordon informed me that he had talked to you, Mr. President, and that you had declared that Gyöngyosi's warning was given with your knowledge.

Thereupon I decided that I should await in Bern Minister Mihalffy. On the morning of the 30th Under Secretary Balogh telephoned to Minister Gordon that it would be advisable for me not to return home but to send from here my resignation letter emphasizing my innocence.

From these warnings I was compelled to conclude that my personal liberty is in jeopardy in case I return to

Budapest.

Budapest. I would gladly sacrifice my personal liberty if thereby I could serve to the smallest extent my country. But there is every reason to fear that within a short time confessions from me would be produced against other bourgeois leaders of the Hungarian public life as were produced against me from Bela Kovacs' confessions and as a result all persons upon whom the Hungarian farmers and middle class could rely would gradually be incarcerated. I have, therefore, decided that, pursuant to the suggestions given to me from Hungarian Government quarters, I shall remain abroad with very deep regret. However, in order not to hinder the momentary evolution of Hungarian public life, I am hereby resigning from my office of Prime Minister. I resign with the conviction that I have not lost the confidence of either Parliament or the majority of the people but that I have against me the minority of the country in control of the armed police as well as the occupying power. I must emphasize that I have never had any knowledge whatsoever about any sort of conspiracy and that I have never said or acted either against the coalition or against the occupying power but that every phase of my policy was open to the public and I have never followed side paths.

I am attaching herewith my (formal) resignation letter to you, Mr. President, and, praying for the Lord's grace for my poor and unhappy country, I assure you, Mr. President, of my deep respect.

(signed) FERENC NAGY

Bern, May 31, 1947

FD/hlo

W. L. HAUSER
8104 PINEY BRANCH ROAD
SILVER SPRING, MD.

August 3, 1947.

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover,
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-14-83 BY
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My Dear Mr. Hoover :

Because of my knowledge of the Hungarian language I have been requested by Stephen Borsody, former Press Officer of the Hungarian Legation and Aladar Szegedy Maszak, former Hungarian Minister to Washington, to translate the public speeches of Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary now an exile in America.

I accepted and thus far appeared with Mr. Nagy on two occasions. At a Burlington Hotel luncheon, given by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C. and at Perth Amboy - as per announcements enclosed - at an open air rally sponsored by a branch of the American Federation of Labor.

I consider the dissemination of information about communism all important, at this stage of the game. Therefore, I look upon my role as my humble contribution to the fight your Bureau and other organizations and patriotic groups are waging for the preservation of our way of life.

My services to Mr. Nagy are gratis. But I would like to continue, provided, his activities are in line with America's best interests and are not a source of embarrassment to anyone in Washington.

This last is of especial importance as it is my understanding, a resolution will be introduced at the next American Federation of Labor convention - August 8th to August 13th - petitioning our government to recognize Mr. Nagy and his group as the exiled government of Hungary. If this resolution is introduced and carried, it will bring Mr. Nagy's activities into national - perhaps even international - focus. Hence this letter to you.

I ENCL

EX-56

I would appreciate a general outline of your opinion in this matter to serve as my guide in case I am asked to again appear with Mr. Nagy.

Awaiting your reply with interest, I am,

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Very truly yours,

W. L. Hauser

Enclosures.

W. L. Hauser

G. I. R. -9

EX-56

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Hungary Lt. Sec. C

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June 19, 1947 SECRET

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No. 15201

b6
b7C

Subject: Account of Recent Political Events in Hungary Leading up to Resignation of Prime Minister NAGY.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Pursuant to my telegram No. 527 of this date to the Department, and with reference to my ~~secret~~ despatches No. 15186 of June 3 and No. 15194 of June 4, 1947 on the subject of the resignation in Switzerland of Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc NAGY, I have the honor to enclose a copy of the original French text of a signed statement which has been handed to the Legation by the former Prime Minister in which there is set forth in detail his own account of recent political events in Hungary leading up to his resignation from the premiership. The signed document from which the enclosed copy has been made is being retained in the files of the Legation for whatever disposition the Department may deem appropriate.

The Legation regrets that this document was received too late to permit of its translation in time to be sent forward in the next pouch, but believes that the early receipt of its text by the Department is of sufficient importance to warrant its transmission in the original French.

Respectfully yours,

Leland Harrison.

Enclosure:

Copy, Original French
text of signed statement
of Mr. Nagy.

File No. 800
NWBond/hlc
Original and ozalid
to the Department.

Copy to American Legation, Budapest.

(Enclosure to Despatch No. 15201, dated June 6, 1
from American Legation at Bern, Switzerland)

Compte-rendu des événements récents politiques récemment survenus en Hongrie exposé par Monsieur François NAGY, Président du Conseil des Ministres hongrois démissionnaire.

Aprés une crise politique de six mois, le 11 Mars 1947 un accord fut conclu entre les quatre partis politiques de coalition. C'est à ce moment-là que j'ai déjà songé à prendre mes vacances après un travail acharné de quinze mois. Cependant puisque le Gouvernement avait l'intention d'accélérer l'élan du soulèvement économique du pays, il fallut mettre un terme aux délibérations concernant le projet économique triannuel. Personnellement, j'ai dirigé et suis arrivé à ce qu'un accord soit conclu entre les partis. L'accord conclu, je pus songer à la réalisation de mes projets de vacances de trois semaines que je désirais passer en Suisse. J'avais toutes les raisons d'y songer d'autant plus que j'ai laissé la Hongrie dans un calme politique apparemment parfait. Comme lieu de villiégature je choisis la Suisse qui, de par sa neutralité, m'offrait une influence appaisante et l'occasion de satisfaire mes passions personnelles en y étudiant les hautes cultures agricoles. Après l'accord du 11 Mars, le Parti Indépendant des Petits Paysans dont je fus le Président, subit un essort très marqué. Chaque dimanche 100 à 200 assemblées populaires se tinrent dans tout le pays au cours desquelles le Parti faisait connaître son programme et faisait occuper les positions économiques arrachées au prix de gros efforts. J'ai présenté mes intentions de passer mes vacances en Suisse au Président de la République, au Conseil des Ministres, au comité de mon Parti et à la Commission de Contrôle interallié de Budapest. Pour la durée de mes vacances j'ai chargé Monsieur Rakosi, Ministre d'Etat et vice-président

du

du Conseil des Ministres, de remplir mes fonctions officielles de Président du Conseil. J'ai prié le Président de la République d'exercer un contrôle actif sur les travaux gouvernementaux. J'ai confié la direction de mon Parti à Monsieur l'Abbé Béla Varga, vice-président administrateur du Parti, Monsieur Jean Gyongyosi, l'aîné des ministres du Parti, Monsieur l'Abbé Etienne Balogh, secrétaire général du Parti et à Monsieur Emerio Oltvanyi, ancien Ministre des Finances. Puis le 14 mai en traversant l'Autriche je me rendais en Suisse. Avant mon départ, J'ai communiqué au Président de la République que je n'acceptais pas le projet de la nationalisation des banques proposé par Monsieur Rakosi. Au cours de la deuxième semaine de vacances je me suis enquéri auprès de Monsieur Zoltàn Tildy sur la situation générale en Hongrie qui me répondit en m'assurant que je pouvais continuer mon congé en toute tranquillité étant donné que la situation politique de mon pays était rassurante. Néanmoins, en même temps, mon secrétaire, Dr. Francois Kapocs, m'apprit par téléphone que des manifestations avaient lieu à Budapest contre la hausse des prix, manifestations dirigées par les partis ouvriers. Je compris immédiatement qu'il s'agissait de manifestations ayant pour but d'appuyer l'intention de nationaliser les banques.

Le 28 Mai, dans l'après-midi, je recus un téléphone de mon secrétaire, Dr. Francois Kapocs, qui me priait instamment de rentrer immédiatement à Budapest, à cette demande se joignirent celles de Monsieur Jean Gyongyosi, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Monsieur Charles Baranyos, Ministre de l'Agriculture et Monsieur l'Abbé Etienne Balogh, sous-secrétaire d'Etat à la Présidence du Conseil. Je voulus savoir les raisons de cette

demande

demande il me fut communiqué qu'une réponse était arrivée de la part du Général divisionnaire soviétique Sviridov à ma demande officiellement présentée antérieurement concernant la remise de Monsieur Béla Kovacs, ancien secrétaire général de mon Parti aux autorités hongroises. On me communiqua que le Général divisionnaire Sviridov avait refusé ma requête mais qu'il tenait à disposition les procès-verbaux contenant les dépositions de Monsieur Béla Kovacs dans lesquelles plusieurs détails semblaient chargeant pour moi. J'appris encore par même téléphone que Monsieur Rakosi avait convoqué à ce sujet le Conseil des Ministres en séance extraordinaire. Je répondis que je donnerais immédiatement l'ordre de faire les bagages et que je me mettrais en route pour la Hongrie dès le lendemain matin après avoir lancé un coup de téléphone à Budapest pour connaître les décisions de cette séance extraordinaire. Le même soir mon secrétaire, m'informa de la décision du Conseil des Ministres qui était d'interrompre mes vacances et de rentrer immédiatement à Budapest. Puisque Monsieur Rakosi se trouvait à côté de l'appareil au moment de notre conversation il m'apprit lui-même dans des termes menacants que les accusations qui étaient portées contre moi étaient très sérieuses et qu'en conséquence il me conseillait de rentrer au plus vite. Le même soir, à 23 heures, je recus un téléphone de la présidence du Conseil des Ministres que mon secrétaire, Dr. Francois Kapocs, avait été arrêté par la Police politique hongroise et que mes archives officielles et toute ma correspondance avaient été fouillées et saisies. Dans la matinée du 29 mai, avant mon départ, j'ai appelé par téléphone Monsieur Zoltàn Tildy, Président de la République, afin de m'informer de la situation. Lui aussi me conseilla de

rentrer

procès-verbaux envoyés par le Général Sviridov on pouvait déduire que j'étais instruit de l'existence du complot dirigé contre la démocratie hongroise. Au nom de mon Parti il me pria de démissionner en faveur du dénouement de la crise. Ma réponse fut la suivante: "Bien que les accusations sont à mon avis simplement ridicules et manquent de tout fondement, mais qu'après les avertissement recus un retour pour moi est impossible et que je suis contraint de démissionner sous pression mais que ma démission comporte des conditions."

La première condition résultant d'une considération humaine élémentaire fut de pouvoir reprendre mon fils [redacted] b6 b7C an laissé à la maison; la seconde de ne pas me priver de mon honneur vis-à-vis de mon peuple, puisque même ceux qui ont dirigé les accusations contre moi savent bien que je suis innocent; la troisième condition fut de mettre en liberté mon secrétaire, Dr. Francois Kapocs et qu'il lui soit possible de me rejoindre en Suisse. La quatrième fut qu'il ne soit causé aucun ennui à mon Chef de Cabinet, Conseiller ministériel Henri Hives, qui m'avait accompagné dans mon voyage en Suisse. La cinquième de ne pas confisquer les quelques hectares que je possède ni mon mobilier et objets personnels qui ensemble ne représentent pas une grande valeur, puisque une confiscation de ce genre donnerait un caractère de haute trahison. Enfin, la sixième et dernière condition fut qu'il soit donné à mon fils qui est diplomate à Washington six mois de vacances.

Je n'ai posé aucune condition politique considérant qu'en suite de mon exclusion de la Hongrie le total du pouvoir glissait aux mains des communistes lesquels ne sont que les

exécuteurs

rentrer à Budapest et me dit qu'il croyait que la crise politique actuelle pouvait être aplanie; à quoi je répondis également que je mettais en route. Au moment du départ le Ministre de Hongrie à Berne, Dr. Francois Gordon, me transmit par téléphone le message de Monsieur Gyongyosi de ne pas quitter la Suisse avant l'arrivée de Monsieur Mihalyffy, Ministre de l'Information hongrois. Après ce revirement inattendu je priais Monsieur Gordon de se mettre en contact avec le Président de la République afin de savoir s'il se joignait à la proposition de Monsieur Gyongyosi, et qu'en route pour la Hongrie, je chercherais la réponse à Berne même. Je partis dans la ferme décision de rentrer à Budapest et de tirer au clair les accusations portées contre moi. Ce fut au cours de la soirée que j'arrivais à Berne, là Monsieur Gordon me communiqua que le Président de la République a déclaré que la proposition de Monsieur Gyongyosi mentionnée ci-dessus a été faite avec son consentement préalable. Le lendemain dans la matinée le sous-secrétaire d'Etat Monsieur Balogh communiqua à Monsieur Gordon le désir des cercles gouvernementaux de présenter ma démission depuis la Suisse. Il ajouta que mon fils [redacted] sera envoyé en Suisse et qu'ils se chargeront, matériellement, du séjour de ma famille en Suisse. Le Ministre Gordon posa la question suivante à Monsieur l'Abbé Balogh: Qu'au cas où le Président du Conseil ne renoncait pas à son retour, pourrait-il arriver à Budapest sans danger? Le sous-secrétaire d'Etat répondit qu'il est possible que oui mais qu'il était également possible qu'il surgisse des difficultés. Au cours de la journée je parlais moi-même avec Monsieur Balogh délibérant au nom du Gouvernement qui m'exposa que des

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procès

démissioné et ajouta qu'il prend ses mesures conformément à ce fait. Il a également souligné qu'il ne se mêlait pas dans les questions gouvernementales mais qu'il approuve de son côté également l'envoi de ce télégramme ne correspondant pas à la réalité au sujet de ma démission. A la suite de ces discussions Monsieur Gordon envoya un télégramme conformément aux ordres du nouveau Président du Conseil Monsieur Dinnyes et à la demande du Président de la République à Budapest dans lequel il était communiqué ma démission. En réalité, à ce moment-là, ma lettre de démission n'était pas même écrite car je j'ai rédigée 2 jours après, le 1er Juin, et ne l'ai transmise au fonctionnaire du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères que le 2 juin à la frontière Autriche-Suisse en échange de mon enfant. Malgré ce fait le 31 Mai déjà le nouveau Président du Conseil Monsieur Dinnyes a été nommé par le Président de la République. C'est le même jour, le 31 mai, que le chantage avec mon enfant commença à Budapest. Le ministre François Gordon reçut un télégramme de la capitale hongroise qu'il devait ordonner à Monsieur Joseph Szal, secrétaire de Légation à Berne, membre du Parti communiste de Hongrie, qu'il se rende immédiatement à Budapest avec ma lettre de démission rapportant ensuite avec lui mon enfant en Suisse. Quand jepris connaissance de cela je répondis que je n'étais d'accord qu'avec une solution: que je donnerai ma démission qu'au moment où je prendrai possession de mon enfant à Buchs (frontière suisse). C'était le 2 Juin que ma voiture amenant mon fils est arrivée à Buchs et ce fut là que j'ai transmis ma lettre de démission datée du 1er Juin. A la même occasion j'ai exigé des fonctionnaires communistes agissant au nom du Gouvernement de donner une déclaration d'après laquelle le Gouvernement hongrois n'aurait pas accompli ma

exécuteurs de la volonté de l'Union soviétique et que par conséquent il est impossible de les considérer comme parti délibérant. Monsieur Etienne Balog me fit espérer l'accomplissement de mes conditions citées ci-dessus y ajoutant encore qu'il désirait se charger de mon soutien matériel à titre amical.

Peu après Monsieur le Ministre Gordon s'est mis en contact téléphonique avec le vice-président du Conseil Rakosi à qui il rapporta mes conditions et qui de son côté exprima son mécontentement d'avoir attaché ma démission à des conditions. Il est intéressant de remarquer que cette fois-ci Rakosi n'avait pas exigé mon retour à tout prix, il n'insista que sur ma démission. Il m'a laissé dire par le Ministre Gordon de transmettre immédiatement ma lettre de démission. Je répondis fermement que cela ne se ferait pas en tout cas avant l'arrivée de mon fils cadet.

Ensuite Rakosi tenta de contraindre Gordon d'expédier un télégramme de Berne d'après lequel j'aurai déclaré à la Légation de Hongrie que je renonce à mes fonctions. A l'avis de Monsieur Gordon un tel télégramme était contraire à l'accord conclu avec moi. Rakosi répliqua que ce désir doit être considéré comme un ordre et que le télégramme rapportant ma démission soit envoyé sans délai au Président de la République, au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et à lui-même. Monsieur Gordon n'envoya pas le télégramme immédiatement car il voulait connaître l'avis du Président de la République s'il pouvait envoyer un télégramme ne correspondant pas à la réalité. Monsieur Tildy dans sa réponse considéra comme facteur essentiel le rapport de l'agence télégraphique hongroise selon lequel Monsieur François NAGY aurait déjà

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condition concernant la mise en liberté de mon secrétaire François Kapocs. Ils se mirent immédiatement en contact téléphonique avec Budapest puis déclarèrent en écrit que cette condition n'avait pas été remplie par le Gouvernement. Il m'était inutile d'insister sur l'accomplissement de mes autres conditions car mon Chef de Cabinet par suite d'une information confidentielle venue de Budapest a lui aussi renoncé de rentrer en Hongrie, mon fils François qui sert à Washington a quitté le service diplomatique et le fonctionnaire communiste des Affaires Etrangères de Hongrie Monsieur Jean Florian amenant mon fils cadet m'avait donné la déclaration que mes conditions concernant la défense de mon honneur personnel et la réquisition de mes biens ont été respectées de la part du Gouvernement jusqu'à ce moment.

C'est la courte récapitulation de l'histoire des événements survenus en Hongrie en rapport avec ma personne.

Par conséquent, il me faut constater que la crise politique hongroise éclata à cause des agissements du Général divisionnaire Sviridov président soviétique de la Commission interalliée de Contrôle à Budapest par l'envoi au Gouvernement hongrois des procès-verbaux contenant les dépositions faites sous pression des accusés du complot détenus par les autorités militaires soviétiques. Cétait sur la base de ces dépositions que les Ministres communistes portèrent des attaques acharnées contre moi dans mon absence; c'est par ces dépositions que les principaux dirigeants de mon Parti ont été menacés et intimidés ainsi que le Président de la République et qui ensuite prirent

part à la décision illégale de m'éloigner par des raisons incommensurables pour moi. Je dois constater que le Parlement hongrois n'a jamais voter contre mes initiatives ou celles de mon Gouvernement, il n'a jamais exprimé sa méfiance contre ma personne et je dois également constater que personne n'a questionné le peuple hongrois s'il désirait ma démission ou non, mais au contraire, que la circonstance qui avait toujours le plus menacé ma popularité politique c'était d'avoir toujours freiné les sentiments et les actions de la majorité du Parlement et du peuple même devenant de plus en plus anti-communiste et anti-soviétique.

Je dois encore constater que c'étaient les cercles gouvernementaux qui voulèrent me persuader à émigrer en mentionnant les graves et dangereusses conséquences de mon éventuel retour. Puis je dois constater que l'Union soviétique et le Parti communiste de Hongrie ont décidé mutuellement que dans le délai qui s'étend jusqu'à la ratification des traités de paix il faut écarter ces quelques personalités hongroises de la voir de la totale influence communiste, sans la chute desquels il serait impossible de forcer le peuple hongrois sous le joug communiste. Je dois constater que le Parti communiste avec le concours de l'Union soviétique désire abolir par l'écartement des principaux dirigeants et par la terreur accentuée cette différence politique qui discerne la Hongrie des autres pays de l'Europe du sud-est en faveur de la politique anti-marxiste. Je dois constater que la création d'un total effondrement on s'efforce de contraindre le peuple de se soumettre aux nouvelles élections dont le résultat dépendant de l'activité du Ministre et communiste de l'Intérieur Monsieur Rajk et de sa

police était faile à prévoir. Enfin je dois constater que par cette direction de la position politique de la Hongrie la question du sud-est de l'Europe est unilatéralement résolu et il n'y a plus de faceurs politiques dans cette partie de l'Europe qui après la ratification des traités de paix pourrait efficacement représenter l'idée de la démocratic occidentale.

Je suis obligé de m'occuper de mes affaires personnelles; celles-ci sont hélas, inséparablement liées à la si tuation politique actuelle en Hongrie et dans le sud-est européen. Comme chef de la coalition je devais mener évidemment une politique de compromis. C'était le seul moyen d'assurer la collaboration de quatre partis de diffrents idéologies. Il m'était impossible de repousser des crises de politique intérieure qui éclataient de temps à autre dans le sens de ma propre politique. Simplement nous étions occupés et il me fallait prendre toutes les mesures afin qu'on puisse éviter un effondrement tant que le pays ne regagnera pas sa souveraineté. Aprés la retraite des armées occupantes j'ai voulu assurer tour à tour l'ordre constitutionnel et égaliser l'équilibre des forces qui se déplacèrent pendant l'occupation. J'ai conçu une ferme décision de nous arrêter sur la voie de la nationalisation et également que lorsque les armées occupantes se retireront nous abolirons les institutions révolutionnaires et les organes transitoires et nous reconstitueront les autonomies par la libre volonté du peuple.

Si je n'avais pas été forcé de céder ma place à cause du dernier coup d'etat, ce programme aurait été facile à réalisér. Considérant que mon Parti ainsi que l'opinion publique

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anti-communists se fortifiait de jour en jour.

Pourquoi, donc, ai-je démissionné?

1. Je n'aurai pu retourner dans mon pays car - basé sur les avertissements et sur les cas antérieurs - je me suis rendu compte qu'en cas de retour la police des armées occupantes m'aurait arrêté sans autres. Or si j'avais été au-devant de cette arrestation cela m'aurait coûté un sacrifice inutile du point de vue des intérêts du peuple hongrois. Mais je ne doute guère qu'en cas de mon arrestation que sous peu de temp les autorités occupantes n'auraient pas réussi à produire des dépositions de ma part compromettantes pour les autres dirigeants politiques non-marxistes.

2. Si n'aurai gardé la position de Président du Conseil en dehors des frontières du pays cette attitude aurait évidemment accrû les souffrances de mon peuple. Attardé le dénouement signifierait causer des luttes interieures, peut-être même la guerre civile.

3. Par ma démission je devais sussi reprendre mon fils laissé à la maison et assurer en même temps la liberté de mes collaborateurs les plus proches.

4. Cela aurait éeé un manque de tact de ma part envers le Gouvernement suisse m'accordant le droit d'asile, si j'avais continuer la lutte en contre-gouvernement contre l'actuel gouvernement hongrois d'autant plus que ce gouvernement a jusqu'à présent une représentation diplomatique à Berne.

Il est utile à mon avis de fixer mes observations en ce qui concerne les accusations portées contre moi. On m'a accusé de ne pas être un vrai démocrate et de m'etre allié aveo la réaction. De ma part, il est indispensable que j'ajoute que je suis né d'un pére qui était un pauvre paysan ne possédant que quelques hectares. Ses conditions ne m'ont permis que de fréquenter les écoles primaires. Ce ne fut que de ma propre force et par la confiance de mon peuple que j'ai pu tenir une place dans la vie publique hongroise. Pendant quinze ans j'ai été membre de l'opposition parlementaire, adversaire résolu du gouvernement germanophil hongrois. A cause de mon activité politique je devais passer six mois dans les prisons de la Gestapa. Pendant la guerre j'ai été l'un des souscrivants d'un mémorandum dans lequal un

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petit groupe de politiciens avaient exigé de la Hongrie mettre fin aux hostilités, de supprimer la persécution des Juifs, de faire face aux fascistes. C'est en considération de mon passé démocratique que je fus élu Président et leader de mon parti et ce fut en considération de mon passé démocratique que je fus persuadé par Messieurs Zoltan Tildy, Mathieu Rakosi, et Arpad Szakasits durant des semaines à accepter le poste de Président du Conseil.

On m'accuse aussi d'avoir eu connaissance du complot. Mais en ma qualité de Président du Conseil contre qui aurais-je pu conspirer? Contre la République même ou contre le Président de la République? Tout le monde sait en Hongrie que c'était moi qui a décidé en décembre 1945 dans un seul discours que la Hongrie doit être une République et dans un autre en Janvier 1946 que c'est Zoltan Tildy qui doit être le Président de la République. Est-il possible que j'aie été un conspirateur contre cette forme d'Etat inaugurée par moi-même et contre la personne du Président de la République choisi par moi? En tout cas cette accusation dirige la lumière sur le problème pourquoi Béla Kovacs, Alexandre Kiss, Ladislas Vattai, Jean Horvath, Tibor Ham et d'autres députés, d'excellents Hongrois et les héros légendaires de la résistance contre les Allemands, sont déclarés comme conspirateurs.

Il y a une autre allégation touchant à mon honneur directement. On affirme que j'aurai transféré une fortune de plusieurs containes de mille francs en Suisse. Outre un terrain de quelques hectares je n'ai jamais possédé de fortune pas plus que maintenant. Par mon travail de quinze ans dans la

vie publique je n'ai gagné que le mobilier pour un logement de 5 pièces. Je n'ai désiré d'emporter avec mon enfant qu'une partie de la garde-robe de ma famille.

Affaire de famille mais pourtant porté comme argument politique contre moi que ma fille, étudiante en Suisse, aurait épousé Monsieur Colman Salata accusé en fuite de la conspiration. Au contraire de cette affirmation la vérité est telle qu'entre ma fille et mon secrétaire François Kapocsi il s'est formé des projets et il est vraisemblable que c'est pour cette raison que François Kapocs fut arrêté pendant mon absence pour donner une forme plus vraisemblable au soit-disant mariage de ma fille avec Monsieur Saluta.

La situation en Hongrie est déséspérée, c'est le sentiment de peur qui domine. Après la démission de Monsieur Gyongosi la disparition de l'Abbé Varga, l'écartement de Joseph Kovago, maire de Budapest on peut s'attendre à l'éloignement et le soupçon de tous les dirigeants politiques antimarxistes encore en liberté. Bientôt tous ceux qui ont pris part à la reconstruction de la Hongrie démocratique, ceux qui représentent la démocratie occidentale, et tous ceux qui furent surpris à l'étranger par les événements et qui purent exprimer librement leurs opinions seront en prison ou en émigration. Monsieur Aladar Szegedi-Maszak, Ministre hongrois à Washington, Monsieur François Gordon, Ministre de Berne firent déjà opposition aux ordres du nouveau Gouvernement.

La débauche des communistes dans la puissance ne connaît plus de bornes. La situation est pareille à ce qu'el le était sous le gouvernement Szalasi. La terreur de la

minorité elle aussi ne connaît pas de limites. S'il ne se présente aucun changement dans la situation l'Indépendance de la Hongrie ne pourra plus être assurée même pas par la ratification des traités de paix. Pour effectuer un tel changement les forces intérieures du pays ne sont plus sufficantes. La dernière résistance de la politique anti-marxiste du sud-est européen disparaîtra si le contre-poids des Grandes-Puissances ne restituent pas l'équilibre de la politique hongroise.

Genève, le cinq Juin mil neuf cent quarante-sept.

(Signed) NAGY

TRANSLATION FROM THE

(Enclosure to Dispatch No. 15201, dated June 6, 1947 from American Legation at Berne, Switzerland)

Report on the political events which recently took place in Hungary told by Mr. Ferenc Nagy, President of the Council of Hungarian Ministers, who resigned.

* * * * * * *

After a political crisis of six months, on March 11, 1947 an agreement was concluded among the four political parties of the coalition. It was at this time that I considered taking a vacation after 15 months of strenuous work. Meanwhile, since the government had the intention of accelerating the tempo for the economic restoration of the country, it was necessary to set a time on the deliberations pertaining to the triannual economic plan. I personally conducted and succeeded in bringing about the conclusion of an agreement among the parties. Now that the agreement had been made, I was able to consider the realization of my vacation plans for three weeks and I wanted to spend them in Switzerland. I had every reason to consider this so much more so because I left Hungary in apparently perfect political calm. As a vacation spot I chose Switzerland which, because of its neutrality, offered me a soothing influence and the opportunity to satisfy my personal passions to study its high level farm cultivation. After the March 11 agreement, the Independent Party of Small Peasants of which I was the President, underwent very marked strides. Every Sunday 100 to 200 popular assemblies were held throughout the entire country during which the Party made its program known and occupied the economic posts seized through their great efforts. I presented my intention to spend my vacation in Switzerland to the President of the Republic, to the Council of Ministers, to the Committee of my Party and the Budapest Interallied Control Commission. For the duration of my vacation, I entrusted Mr. Rakosi, Minister of State and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers to take over my official duties as President of the Council. I begged the President of the Republic to exercise active control over governmental works. I entrusted the administration of my Party to Abbe Bela Varga, Vice-President administrator of the Party, to Mr. John Gyongyosi, the senior member of the Ministers of the Party and to Mr. Emeric Oltvanyi former Minister of Finances. Then on May 14, crossing through Austria, I reached Switzerland. Before my departure, I advised the President of the Republic that I would not accept the proposal to nationalize the banks suggested by Mr. Rakosi. During the second week of my vacation I inquired on the general situation in Hungary from Mr. Zoltan Tildy who answered assuring me that I could continue my leave in perfect tranquillity since the political situation of my country was reassuring. Nevertheless at the same time, my secretary, Dr. Francois Kapocs, informed me by telephone that demonstrations were taking place in Budapest against the increase in prices, demonstrations sponsored by the workers parties. I immediately understood that it was a question of demonstrations whose purpose was the nationalization of the banks.

On the afternoon of May 28, I received a telephone call from my secretary, Dr. Francois Kapocs who instantly begged me to return to Budapest immediately; to this request were added those of Mr. John Gyongyosi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Charles Baranyos, Minister of Agriculture and the Abbe Etienne Balogh undersecretary of State at the Presidency of the Council. When I wanted to know the

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ENCLOSURE

EX-14

reasons for this request, I was advised that an answer had arrived from Soviet Major General Sviridov to my question officially presented beforehand to the Hungarian authorities regarding the resignation of Mr. Bela Kovacs, former secretary general of my Party. I was advised that Major General Sviridov had refused my request but that he had at his disposal the official reports containing the provisions of Mr. Bela Kovacs in which several details seemed incriminating for me. I also learned through the same telephone conversation that Mr. Rakosi had called together the Council of Ministers in extraordinary session on this subject. I answered that I would immediately order my bags packed and would leave for Hungary on the next morning after having made a telephone call to Budapest to learn the decisions made by this extraordinary session. The same evening my secretary informed me of the decision of the Council of Ministers which was to interrupt my vacation and immediately return to Budapest. Since Mr. Rakosi was standing close to the telephone at the time of our conversation he himself informed me in threatening terms that the accusations brought against me were very serious and that as a result he advised me to return as quickly as possible. The same evening at 11 PM I received a telephone call from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers that my secretary, Dr. Francois Kapocs had been arrested by the Hungarian Political Police and my official files and all my correspondence and been searched and siezed. On the morning of the 29th, before my departure, I called Mr. Zoltan Tildy, President of the Republic by phone so as to inform me of the situation. He too advised me to return to Budapest and he told me that he believed that the present political crisis could be smoothed; to which I answered that I would start immediately. At the moment of my departure the Hungarian Minister in Berne, Dr. Francois Gordon transmitted to me by phone, Mr. Gyongyosi's message not to leave Switzerland before the arrival of Mr. Mihalyffy, Hungarian Minister of Information. After this unexpected turn of events I begged Mr. Gordon to contact the President of the Republic so as to know if he agreed with Mr. Gyongyosi's proposal, and that en route to Hungary I would look for the answer in Berne. I left with the firm decision to return to Budapest and bring to light the accusations made against me. That evening I arrived in Berne and there Mr. Gordon advised me that the President of the Republic stated that Mr. Gyongyosi's proposal mentioned above was made with his preliminary consent. On the morning of the next day the under-secretary of State, Mr. Balogh advised Mr. Gordon of the desire of government circles that I present my resignation from Switzerland. He added that my son [redacted] would be sent to Switzerland and that they would undertake the material costs of my family's stay in Switzerland. Minister Gordon posed the following question to the Abbe Balogh: In the event the President of the Council did not giveup the idea of his return, could he arrive in Budapest without any danger? The under secretary of State answered that it was possible but that it was also possible for difficulties to arise. During the day I myself spoke to Mr. Balogh who, deliberating in the name of the government, showed me that in the official reports sent by General Sviridov it could be ascertained that I was aware of the existance of the plot directed against the Hungarian democracy. In the name of my Party, he begged me to resign so as to bring about the solution of the crisis. My answer was as follows: "Although the accusations are simply ridiculous in my opinion and are without any foundation whatsoever, and after warnings received a return in impossible for me, I am forced to resign under pressure but my resignation demands certain conditions".

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The first condition resulting from an elementary human consideration was to be able to have back my [redacted] son who had been left at home; the second,

not to deprive me of my honor before my people, since even those who hurled these accusations against me know full well that I am innocent; the third condition was to set my secretary, Dr. Francois Kapocs at liberty and that it be made possible for him to join me in Switzerland. The fourth was that no anxiety be caused the Head of the Cabinet, Ministerial Councillor Henri Hives who accompanied me on my trip to Switzerland. The fifth was not to confiscate the few hectares which I own nor my furniture and personal objects which together did not amount to any great value, since a confiscation of this kind would present the appearance of high treason. The sixth and last condition was that my son who was a diplomat in Washington be given a six month vacation.

I posed no political condition considering that following my exclusion from Hungary all power would fall into the hands of the Communists who are nothing more than the executors of the will of the Soviet Union and consequently it was impossible to consider them as the deliberative party. Mr. Etienne Balogh let me hope for the fulfillment of my conditions mentioned above adding that he desired to undertake the burdens of my material welfare as a friendly gesture.

Shortly after Minister Gordon contacted the Vice-President of the Council Rakosi telephonically, and he referred my conditions to him and expressed his own displeasure at having attached my resignation to any conditions. It is interesting to note that this time Rakosi did not demand my return at any price, he insisted only on my resignation. He had Minister Gordon tell me to send my letter of resignation immediately. I answered in no uncertain terms that this would not be done at any rate not before the arrival of my youngest son.

Then Rakosi tried to compel Gordon to send a telegram from Berne according to which I would have stated at the Hungarian Legation that I was resigning my office. In the opinion of Mr. Gordon, a similar telegram was contrary to the agreement reached with me. Rakosi answered that this desire should be considered as an order and that the telegram giving an account of my resignation should be sent without delay to the President of the Republic, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and to himself. Mr. Gordon did not send the telegram immediately for he wanted to know the opinion of the President of the Republic as to whether he could send a telegram not corresponding to the truth. In his answer, Mr. Tildy considered as an essential factor, the report of the Hungarian telegraphic agency according to which Mr. Ferenc NAGY had already resigned and added that he took measures in accordance with this fact. He also pointed out that he did not interfere in governmental questions but on his part, he too approved sending this telegram which did not correspond to the truth on the subject of my resignation. Following this discussion Mr. Gordon sent a telegram to Budapest in conformity with the orders of the new President of the Council, Mr. Dinnyes and on request of the President of the Republic, which telegram announced my resignation. In reality, at this time, my letter of resignation had not yet been written because I composed it two days later on June 1 and I did not turn it over to an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until June 2 at the Swiss-Austrian border in exchange for my young son. Despite this fact, on May 31 the new President of the Council, Mr. Dinnyes was appointed by the President of the Republic. On the same day, May 31 blackmail with regard to my son began in Budapest. Minister Francois Gordon received a telegram from the Hungarian capital that he should order Mr. Joseph Szal, Secretary of the

Legation in Berne, a member of the Hungarian Communist Party to go to Budapest immediately with my letter of resignation, then return to Switzerland with my young son. When I learned of this, I answered that I agreed with one solution only: that I would turn over my letter of resignation at the very moment when I would have my child returned to me in Buchs (Swiss frontier). It was on June 2 that my car bearing my son arrived in Buchs and it was there that I turned over my letter of resignation dated June 1. On the same occasion I demanded from the Communist officials acting in the name of the Government, to release a statement according to which the Hungarian Government had not fulfilled my condition regarding the release of my secretary, Francois Kapocs. They immediately contacted Budapest by telephone then stated in writing that this condition had not been fulfilled by the Government. It was useless for me to insist on the fulfillment of my other conditions since the Head of my Cabinet, as a result of confidential information which had come from Budapest, also refused to return to Hungary, my son Francois who was in Washington resigned the diplomatic service and the Communist official of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jean Florian accompanying my youngest son, had given me a statement that my conditions regarding the defense of my personal honor and the requisition of my assets had been respected on the part of the Government up to this time.

This is a short summary of the story of the events which took place in Hungary with respect to my person.

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Consequently, I must state that the Hungarian political crisis broke out because of the machinations on the part of Major General Sviridov, Soviet President of the Budapest Interallied Control Commission through his transmission to the Hungarian Government of official reports containing testimony given under pressure by those accused of the plot and held by the Soviet Military authorities. It was on the basis of this testimony that the Communist Ministers brought fierce attacks against me in my absence; through this testimony the principal leaders of my Party were threatened and intimidated as well as the President of the Republic, who as a result took part in the illegal decision to remove me through reasons that were inadequate in my opinion. I must state that the Hungarian Parliament never voted against my undertakings or those of my Government, it never expressed its distrust toward me and I must also state that no one asked the Hungarian people if they desired my resignation or not, but on the contrary, the circumstance which always threatened my political popularity most was always to have had to restrain the feelings and actions of the majority of Parliament and the people themselves from becoming more and more anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

I must state again that it was the government circles who wanted to persuade me to emigrate by mentioning the grave and dangerous consequences of my eventual return. Then too I must state that the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Hungary decided by mutual agreement that in the period of waiting for the ratification of the peace treaties it was necessary to remove a few Hungarian personalities from the path of complete Communist influence, without whose downfall it would be impossible to force the Hungarian people under the Communist yoke. I must state that the Communist Party, with the help of the Soviet Union desired to abolish, by the removal of the principal leaders and by an accentuated terrorism, this political difference which distinguishes Hungary in favor of the anti-Marxist policy, from the other countries of southeastern Europe. I must state further that in bring about total collapse, one would try to force the people to submit to new elections, the results of which

would depend on the activity of the Communist Minister of Interior, Mr. Rajk and his police, and would be easy to foresee. Finally I must state that through this administration of the political situation of Hungary, the question of south-eastern Europe is solved unilaterally and there are no more political factors in this part of Europe which could effectively represent any idea of Western democracy after the ratification of the peace treaties.

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I am forced to attend to my own personal affairs; alas, these are inseparably bound to the present political situation in Hungary and southeastern Europe. As head of the coalition I evidently had to conduct a compromise policy. It was the only way to assure the collaboration of four parties of different ideologies. It was impossible for me to repulse the internal political crises which broke out from time to time as to the judgment of my own policy. We were simply very busy and it was essential that I take all measures to avoid total collapse to such an extent that the country could not regain back its sovereighty. After the retreat of the occupying armies, I wanted to guarantee constitutional order by turns and equalize the balance of forces which were displaced during the occupation. I conceived a firm decision to stop on the road to nationalization and too as the occupying armies would withdraw, we would abolish revolutionary institutions and transitory organs and we would reconstruct automomies through the free will of the people.

If I had not been forced to cede my place because of the last coup d'etat, this program would have been simple to realize, considering that my Party as well as anti-communistic public opinion were becoming stronger and stronger every day.

Why then did I resign?

1. I could not have returned to my country because - based on warnings and previous cases - I took into consideration the fact that in case I returned the police of the occupying armies would have arrested me immediately. Now, if I had exposed myself to this arrest, it would have cost me useless sacrifice from the point of view of the interests of the Hungarian people. But I have no doubts whatever that in the event of my arrest the occupying authorities could not have succeeded in producing testimony compromising to me in the eyes of the other political non-Marxist leaders.

2. If I had not respected the position of the President of the Council outside the borders of the country, my attitude could evidently have increased the sufferings of my people. To delay the solution would mean to cause domestic strife and perhaps even civil war.

3. Through my resignation I succeeded in having back my son who had been left at home and at the same time in guaranteeing the freedom of my closest collaborators.

4. It would have been lack of tact on my part toward the Swiss Government which was giving me refuge, if I had continued the struggle of opposition government against the present Hungarian government so much more so since this government has a diplomatic representation in Berne up to the present time.

In my opinion, it is useful to set down the observations regarding the accusations made against me. I accused of not being a true democrat and of being allied to the reaction. On my part, it is unavoidable that I add that my father was a poor peasant who only owned a few hectares of land. His position permitted me to attend a elementary school only. It was through my own efforts and the confidence of my people that I was able to occupy a place in Hungarian public life. For fifteen years I was a member of the Parliamentary opposition, a decided adversary of the Hungarian Germanophile government. Because of my political activity I had to spend six months in a Gestapo prison. During the war I was one of the underwriters of a memorandum in which a small group of politicians demanded that Hungary put an end to the hostilities, suppress persecution of the Jews and face the fascists. It was in consideration of my democratic past that I was elected President and leader of my Party and it was in consideration of my democratic past that I was persuaded by Messrs. Zoltan Tildy, Mathieu Rakosi and Arpod Azakasito to accept the post of President of the Council after weeks of persuasion

I was also accused of having had knowledge of the plot. But in my position as President of the Council against whom could I have conspired? Against the Republic itself or against the President of the Republic? Every one in Hungary knows that in December 1945 it was I who decided in a single speech that Hungary should be a Republic and In January 1946 in another that it was Zoltan Tildy who should be President of the Republic. Is it possible that I was a conspirator against this form of State inaugurated by me and against the person of the President of the Republic chosen by me? In any event this accusation casts a light on the problem of why Bela Kovacs, Alexandre Kiss, Ladislas Vattai, Jean Horvath, Tibor Ham and other deputies, excellent Hungarians and the legendary heroes of the resistance against the Germans, were named as conspirators.

There is another allegation touching my honor directly. It was stated that I transferred a fortune of several hundred thousand francs into Switzerland. Except for a few hectares of land I have never had a fortune, now less than ever. For my 15 years of service in public life I never earned more than to be able to furnish a five room house. Besides my child I did not wish to take with me any more than part of my family's wardrobe.

Only a family matter yet it was brought up as a political argument against me that my daugher, a student in Switzerland, had married Mr. Colman Salata later accused of the conspiracy. Contrary to this statement, the truth is such that between my daughter and my secretary, Francois Kopacs plans had been made and it is probable that for this reason Francois Kopacs was arrested during my absence in order to give a more realistic form to thessupposed marriage of my daughter to Mr. Saluta.

The situation in Hungary is desperate, a feeling of fear prevails. After the resignation of Mr. Gyongyosi, the disappearance of the Abbe Varga, the dismissal of Joseph Kovago, Mayor of Budapest one can expect the removal of and distrust for all anti-Marxist political leaders still at liberty. Soon all those who have taken part in the reconstruction of a democratic Hungary, those who represent western democracy and all those who were surprised by events abroad and can freely express their opinions will be in prison or emigrants. Mr. Aladar Szegedi-Maszak, Hungarian Minister in Washington and Mr. Francois Gordon, Minister of Berne were already in opposition to the orders of the new Government.

The debauchery of the Communists in power no longer knows any bounds. The situation is similar to that of the Szalasi Government. The terror of the minority knows no bounds. If there is no change in the situation, Hungarian Independence will no longer be assured not even by the ratification of the peace treaties. In order to carry out a similar change, the internal forces of the country are no longer sufficient. The last resistance of the anti-Marxist policy of southeastern Europe will disappear if the counterbalance of the Great Powers does not restore the equilibrium of the Hungarian policy.

Geneva, June the fifth, nineteen hundred and forty-seven

(signed) NAGY

Translated by:
M. G. Macaluso
Sept. 13, 1947
rls

File

FERENC NAGY

Hungary-Pol

RADIO NEW YORK AIRS QUARTET OF EXILES

Moscow, in Bulgarian to Europe, July 12, 1947, 11:30 a.m. EST--L

(Article, "The Quartet of His Majesty the Dollar").

(Text)

"On July 3, 1947 the new quartet made their debut on Radio New York in a special broadcast to Hungary. The members of this quartet were Macek, Gavrilovio, Gemeto (G. M. Dimitrov--Ed.) and Nagy, traitors of their mother-land.

Foreign Radio Broadcasts #100 - 7/15/47

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File

"The program consisted of a declaration of the leaders of the agrarian parties from eastern Europe and was dedicated to the independence, freedom, and economic reconstruction of the European countries.

"The main obstacle, according to them, for the peaceful development and prosperity of Europe is the new order in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and in some other countries. The traitors and their American sponsors do not at all like this new order, and their first performance began with the old calumny of the 'totalitarian regime and lost independence' of those countries. They went even further and accused the present democratic governments of these countries with the responsibility for the destroyed economies in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Hungary.

Traitors and Betrayers

"Macek was one of the first instigators and organizers of the joining of the tripartite pact by Yugoslavia in March 1941. Former Premier of Yugoslavia Gavrilovic, who ran away from his country when she was in danger, encouraged the traitors to fight against their own people and helped, from London, the traitor Draza Mihailovic to get in touch with the Hitlerites. The Bulgarian people's foe, the so-called Gemeto, organized a passionate struggle against the new people's authority after the September rising in Bulgaria and after the fascists were driven away.

"Nagy betrayed his people as Premier of the Hungarian Republic and was the head of a reactionary conspiracy aiming at puttings into power the former feudal barons and fascists. Therefore in the joint concert of these leaders of the agrarian parties there is no mention whatever of land except general terms concerning freedom of the peasants. These reactionary solists told their listeners in their address that, 'We trust that the democratic countries will not allow the oppression of such Nations which for many centuries were independent and which had their own cultural life.'

Europe on the American Model

"Last spring Gemeto had sent a letter to his friends in Bulgaria in which he clearly outlined his reactionary plans about the reconstruction and peaceful settlement of Europe. He dreams of destroying the people's authorities in Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania and afterwards in the Soviet Union, and wants to organize everything on an American and English model. Suffering Greece in Europe is an example of such an American and English model.

"When they talk about the United States of Europe, in their mind is first of all the campaign against democracy and independence of the peoples. In order to please the organizers and instigators of the quartet they say, 'We shall justify the trust placed in us. Our single actions failed but with joint efforts we shall win.

"In America difficulties are made for Wallace and other progressive leaders to propagate their views but traitors are allowed to speak on Radio New York. The quartet, Macek, Gavrilovic, Gemeto, Nagy, judging the program on its first performance can rightly claim the name, 'The quartet of his majesty the dollar.'"

Ferenc NAGY

NAGY'S WARM RECEPTION PROVES U.S. TIES

Moscow, in English to the United Kingdom, June 24, 1947, 1:30 p.m. EST--L

(Commentary by Ata Belskaya on Hungary)

(Excerpts)

"The exposure of Nagy, who fled to Switzerland and later went on to the United States, produced undisguised irritation in certain Anglo-Saxon circles. The new democratic government of Hungary had no sooner been formed than the reactionary press of the Anglo-Saxon countries let loose a campaign of slander against it. It used all the familiar formulae--the hand of Moscow, the Communist crew, of which Nagy was supposedly the victim, and all the rest of it. The purpose of all these lies was to justify the world reactionaries' determination to interfere in Hungarian affairs. That is very evident from what happened when Nagy was exposed.

Ferenc Nagy

G.L.R.

RECORDED & INDEXED 131 35 SEP 6 1947 F B I

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53 SEP 13 1947

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 87 6/25/47

Demands for Investigation

"A spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Eaton, at once demanded that the American Government should exclude Hungary from the program of aid to European countries. Next the press reported that the United States had decided to refuse Hungary the credit they had shortly before promised to Nagy. Lastly, the American member of the Allied Control Commission in Hungary demanded that a three-power committee should investigate the Hungarian situation. This in a letter to the acting chairman of the Allied Control Commission, General Sviridov.

"Spokesmen of Hungarian political parties have stressed that the new government was formed in complete conformity with the constitution, that the portfolios are distributed among the parties just as they were before, and that a declaration signed by the president and by representatives of all parties voices full confidence in Dinnyes.

"A statement made by the Smallholders Party points out that this party has not lost a single one of the posts or positions it previously held, nor did the other parties in the coalition put forward any demands that would have diminished its political strength. What is more, the statement says, the Smallholders Party now has the opportunity to secure positions which it could not gain before on account of the distrust aroused by its former leaders

Anglo-U.S. Encouragement to Plotters

"So much for the false charge of the new government's intolerance in regard to the Smallholders Party. It is disposed of by a statement coming from that party itself. All that Hungarian democracy demands is a guarantee that the Smallholders Party will be cleansed of traitors and Horthy agents.

"The explanation of the campaign raised against the new Hungarian Government by reactionaries abroad is not far to seek. The exposure of Nagy revealed that the Hungarian plotters were connected not only with Horthy's fascist underground but also with those in Britain and America who do not want a democratic government in Hungary. In a statement quoted by UP, Karolyi, the well-known Hungarian democrat, says that reactionary circles in the Anglo-Saxon countries had supported persons who wanted the overthrow of the Hungarian regime and establishment of a Horthy ersatz dictatorship.

"The most convincing proof of the encouragement given the Hungarian plotters by U.S. reactionaries is the reception accorded to Nagy in the United States. The U.S. authorities have given him the fullest opportunity to engage in slander and provocation against democratic Hungary. And so it is not hard to see what is really behind the campaign raised in certain circles abroad over the recent events in Hungary."

U.S. VISA FOR NAGY IS INSULT TO HUNGARY

Moscow, in Hungarian to Europe, June 19, 1947, 1:00 p.m. EST--L

(Commentary by "Hungarian Correspondent")

(Summary with quotations)

After pointing out that Ferenc Nagy had been granted a diplomatic passport for himself and his family to the United States the commentator remarked: "It is so far without precedent for a government to grant a diplomatic visa to a foreign citizen who in his own country had been unmasked as a participant in a conspiracy aimed at the forceful overthrowing of the prevailing democratic regime there."

'He then summed up the "known facts" against Nagy as revealed in the confession of Bela Kovacs, and continued: "The role of Ferenc Nagy stands clear before the whole world. It is nothing else but that of a double-dealing criminal who fled abroad and joined the enemies of the Hungarian Republic, the obscure knights of the past. But in this case how can the fact that Ferenc Nagy and his family were granted a diplomatic visa be classified? And the fact that they are considered noble guests? This is on the part of American political groups an openly unfriendly and demonstratively hostile attitude towards the Hungarian Republic, its people, its sovereignty, and its president."

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51 OCT 22 1947

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 84 - June 20, 1947

HUNGARIAN PLOT WAS HATCHED IN AMERICA

Moscow, in Hungarian to Europe, June 18, 1947, 1:00 p.m. EST--L

(Commentary by Melnikov)

(Excerpts)

"The question arises, what is the reason for the unheard-of campaign of slander launched against Hungarian democracy with such fury by the British and American press following the quick and smooth solution of the Hungarian Cabinet crisis? One of the chief reasons can be found, beyond doubt, in the disappointment of international reactionary circles over the miscarriage of their calculations in connection with Hungary.

" By now it has become quite clear that the Hungarian conspirators have received and are receiving their backing from the same influential reactionaryAnglo-Saxon cirles supporting Ferenc Nagy, who has now fled to the United States, and other right-wing leaders of the Smallholders Party.

"Everyone knows that American reactionaries have given and continue to give their active support to Hungarian reactionary elements, the remnants of the fascist Horthy and Szalasi regimes, both in Hungary and abroad. Horthy himself, as reported in the BERLINER ZEITUNG, managedto settle down comfortably in the U.S. Zone of Germany in a luxuriously furnished palace in Bavaria.

Irrefutable Evidence

"Horth's agency, led by the infamous Tibor Exkhardt, continues its criminal activities against Hungarian democracy in the United States. It has been established as a result of irrefutable evidence that former Premier Nagy and his followers started to make preparations for their coup d'etat already during the Hungarian Government delegation's visit to the United States.

"Revai, one of the leading public figures in Hungary, (presumably Josef Revai, editor of the Communist SZABAD NEP--Ed.) Disclosed in a speech on June 5 that Ferenc Nagy received a telegram on the day of his resignation from one of his partners in crime in the United States advising him not to resign but to go to the States and form an exile government there as arrnaged during the Hungarian Government delegation's visit.

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Foreign Radio Broadcast # 83 June 19, 1947
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"Thus the plans of the coup d' etat and of the setting up of a counter government had already been worked out at the beginning of this year. In the elaboration of these criminal plans Szegdy-Maszak, Hungarian envoy to the United States, had a large share.

U. S. Mission of Nagy's Son

"After the disclosure of his part in the conspiracy he was unwilling to return home. It has been due to Szegedy Maszak's initiative that Ferenc Nagy's elder son was sent to the United States, where he became secretary to the legation in Washington. This legation has been turned into a nest of reactionary elements acting according to the instructions of the American supporters of the Hungarian conspirators.

"The failure of the Hungarian conspirators marks also the failure of their foreign supporters, who connected the expected success of the conspiracy with their far-reaching plans for eastern Europe.

"It is understandable, therefore, that the discovery of the conspirators, headed by Ferenc Nagy, caused much annoyance, not only among the Hungarian emigrees but also in certain other circles across the ocean and also along the other side of the Channel.

"The discovery of the anti-Republican plot and the speedy constitutional and democratic solution of the Hungarian Cabinet crisis, on the other hand, was not only greeted with deep satisfaction by the widest Hungarian circles but also by the democratic public opinion of other countries."

G.I.R. 1
Hungary — Pol.

Ferenc Nagy

HUNGARIAN WHITE PAPER DETAILS NAGY PLOT

Moscow, in English to the United Kingdom, June 24, 1947, 6:20 p.m. EST--L

(Commentary by Davydov on the Hungarian White Paper)

(Text)

"In its White Paper on the anti-Republican conspiracy of Hungarian reactionaries, the Hungarian Government shows the world the real countenance of the handful of plotters who hoped to overthrow the Republican system in Hungary. Now everyone can see from a study of the White Paper that former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, who had been so enthusiastically welcomed by the U.S. reactionaries, is nothing but a traitor who fled to the United States like a coward to escape just punishment.

"What occurred in Hungary is now evident to every unbiased person. Ferenc Nagy has two faces, one turned to the Hungarian people, the sanctimonious face of the leader of the Smallholders Party who during the election campaign in 1945 had promised his people to fight the reactionary forces energetically and cut short any attempts to restore the old way of life. The other face was that of a secret plotter, a traitor who had climbed to one of the highest positions in the State in order to blast the Hungarian democratic Republic from the inside.

Foreign Radio Broadcast #88 6/26/47

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Rightist Aims

"Among the materials contained in the White Paper we find the testimony of Ferenc Nagy's private secretary, who states that an illegal foreign and domestic policy began to form inside the Smallholders Party as early as 1945, under the leadership of Ferenc Nagy. The latter's primary aim, according to his private secretary, was to gain time, wait until the occupation troops had withdrawn, and then with Anglo-Saxon support move the system to the right.

"What 'move the system to the right' means is explained by Ferenc Nagy himself, who, with the confusion charactaristic of people who have entangled themselves hopelessly in their crimes, has hastened to deny the charges levelled against him in the White Paper.

Democracy of the Western Type

"He told the AP correspondent in Washington that he allegedly only wished to create a western kind of democracy with U.S. aid. Thus it is fully confirmed that Ferenc Nagy and the other plotters aimed to abolish the democratic system in Hungary and establish a different kind, but one does not need a great deal of political acumen to grasp what is meant by 'a democracy of the western type with U.S. aid.' The mind immediately turns to present-day Greece with its reactionary dictatorial regime, civil war against the people, the stifling of all liberty, and countless executions of the real fighters for democracy.

"That this is just what Ferenc Nagy means is confirmed by the British M.P. Crossman, who returned from Hungary recently. Crossman says that Hungarian fascist elements which have attached themselves to the Smallholders Party await the day when the Red Army will leave and another white terror can be launced like the one in 1920.

Methods of Pressure

"They hope, he says, that U.S. dollars will do what U.S. grain did after World War I. The British M.P. recalls that after World War I the Hungarian revolution was crushed not by guns but by shiploads of grain. At that time the U.S. reactionaries refrained from helping Hungary until the whites returned, Crossman says.

"Today, after the European nations, together with the Americans, have shed rivers of blood for the triumph of popular democracy, we see the magnates of monopoly capital reviving their old methods of pressure on the small countries. No sooner were the reactionary Hungarian agents caught with the goods than the U.S. reactionaries launched a vicious campaign of slander against Hungarian democracy and immediately suspended all assistence to the Hungarian people.

Agents in America

"According to the White Paper, it is indisputably established that as Prime Minister of Hungary Feranc Nagy and other leaders of the Smallholders Party, including former Secretary General Bela Kovacs and Bela Verga, pursued, alongside the official foreign policy of the Hungarian Government, an illegal foreign policy and the overthrowing of the democratic system.

"For this they had special agents abroad. In America the plotters were represented by Feranc Nagy's son and Tibor Eckhardt, in Britain by (Tamas Szabo) as head of the party's foreign policy department, in France by (Hoegye), and so on.

"The White Paper contains a facsimile of the letter written by (Rezsi) a liaison agent to Laszlo Gyula. It is evident in this letter that the Bela Kovacs employed (Reszi) to maintain contact with General (Szombathelyi) commander of the retaliation division stationed in Austria.

Underground Terrorist Gangs

"There was constant contact and interaction between the plotters inside Hungary and the Hungarian fascist elements that had emigrated abroad.

"From this we see that Bela Kovacs took part in forming underground terrorist groups. The White Paper contains facsimiles of many documents which leave no doubt that former Prime Minister Feranc Nagy was a traitor and the very soul of a criminal plot against the Republic. It is an interesting fact that as Foreign Minister Feranc Nagy himself agreed to court action against the persons found to have been implicated in the plot to overthrow the democratic system of Hungary. He believed at the time that the (leader) of the plot would not be discovered, and he hoped by sacrificing various of his colleague and friends to gain time, as he himself admits, for the accomplishment of his reactionary goals with the help of U.S. reactionaries.

Harold Laski's Evaluation

"Incidentally, in discussing U.S. aid, in a recent article in REYNOLDS NEWS, the prominent British Laborite, Harold Laski, remarks that it should never be forgotten that at one time former President Hoover used the economic power of the United States to summon to life the Horthy regime in Hungary. The White Paper shows without question that it was this sort of a dictatorial reactionary regime which Feranc Nagy and his clique hoped to create in Hungary. This same Laski, who can hardly be charged with left-wing sentiments, declares that one must be a Hungarian reactionary to believe Feranc Nagy's appraisal of himself and his aims.

"But unfortunately there are many people in the United States who are not only willing to believe the Hungarian plotters but are affording them the maximum assistence in their struggle against Hungarian democracy. Many U.S. newspapers continue to slander the Hungarian Republic. However, a real sincere U.S. democracy cannot but condemn the anti-popular and treacherous activity of Ferenc Nagy and Company."

Ferenc NAGY

NAGY PLOT SOUGHT HUNGARY AS U.S. BASE

Moscow, in Hungarian to Europe, June 30, 1947, 1:00 p.m. EST--L

(Text)

"The Horthyite conspirators wanted to strangle the young Hungarian democracy in a democratic mask. The lessons of this conspiracy must now be learned, especially since the conspiracy was prepared not only within Hungary but also abroad. The conspirators were conducting their subversive work not only in the 'Szegeo spirit' in which Eckhardt, Horthy's Smallholders Party agent, had brought them up, but were using present-day foreign contacts, partly through Eckhardt.

"This is why it could happen that shortly after Hungary's liberation Ferenc Nagy already had his second or illegal foreign political line with which he wanted to transform Hungary into the U.S. southeast European economic and political base. This line was already in existance in May 1945.

Western European Support

"This is proved by Nagy's former secretary, Kavocs. The Horthyite conspirator who had infiltrated into the ranks of the Smallholders Party, naturally denied that they had contacts with Eckhardt, especially since Eckhardt's political psychology was still deeply imprinted in peoples' minds from the 1920s, despite all the changes in the country.

"What Ferenc Nagy and his master Eckhardt as well as the Horthyite fascists, mean by 'Hungary's western European supprt' immediately became clear from Nagy's first statement in the United States, which he concluded with an appeal for the liberation of the southeast European countries.

"Ferenc Nagy amassed a wealth of experience in spreading anti-Soviet rumors already in Hungary under Eckhardt. He became the spokesman of the anti-Bolshevik crusade in the memorable summer of 1941, by which time he was already making independent appearances with such slogans.

"After Nagy's flight the imperialists and warmongers tried to save what they could. A whole flood of slanders and lies were poured out to create, at least artificially, a so-called Hungarian question, so that this could be taken to the U.N. Their aim is to make the U.N. into a forum for antidemocratic slanders and the instrument whereby conflicts can be

Foreign Radio Broadcast #72

0 SEP 17 1947

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"Ferenc Nagy, who was at their service, said in a statement to an observer in Switzerland, that he was discussing the formation of an emigre government with Hungarian diplomatic circles who acknowledged him as the legal Premier. But such a trick has by now become too well known and unsuitable a method, and has therefore been completely unsuccessful. Hungarian reaction's sponsors abroad have had to acknowledge at last that the soil under the feet of the Horthyite fascists who serve them so faithfully is no longer the same as it was at the time of the 1919 and 1920 counterrevolutions. It follows from this that democracy cannot be destroyed in Hungary."

NAGY'S VOICE OF AMERICA TALK VIEWED

Moscow, in Hungarian to Europe, Aug. 22, 1947, 1:00 p.m. EST--L

(Commentary, by Ivan Orlov, "Ferenc Nagy's Broadcast From New York")

(Text)

"In their campaign against Hungary, influential American circles are now using a man whose conscience is burdened with many crimes. This man is Ferenc Nagy who after fleeing cowardly to the USA has now become a flunkey of American reaction and the leading expert on these reactionaries in their machinations against Hungarian independence. He has now reached a stage when he takes an open stand under the auspicies of the 'Voice of America.' After unleashing, in connection with the forthcoming Hungarian elections, a savage campaign against Hungarian democracy, Ferenc Nagy's masters have now considered the time ripe to allow him to mount the rostrum with his first turn.

Discredited Politician

"The task of the American impressario, however, was not an easy one in taking under its wings this discredited and fake politician whose game is played out in Hungarian political life, and in attempting to make the Hungarian people believe the words coming from the mouth of a man who was implicated in a conspiracy directed against the vital interest of the country.

"These gentlemen, who stop at nothing to mislead public opinion, have now resorted to a typically American trick, use of Ferenc Nagy before the microphone. Ferenc Nagy not only denies having participated in the conspiracy, but even goes so far as to deny the very fact of the conspiracy. This he describes as a simple fairy tale. 'There was no conspiracy at all,' he shouted into the microphone.

"What else could have happened, if we consider that Ferenc Nagy himself not only openly admitted the fact of the conspiracy but even demanded that all its consequences be liquidated. It was no other than Ferenc Nagy who had stated to a correspondent of the NEW YORK TIMES that there could be no doubt about the intentions of the conspirators rising against the State. Today, the same Ferenc Nagy, like a thief caught red-handed, exclaims, 'There is not a word of truth in it. I had nothing to do with that.'

"He tries to prove that --as he puts it --he had become the innocent victim of Communist intrigues. Furthermore, losing all sense of humor, he suddenly declares that he had momentarily been duped by the fairy tale of a conspiracy and consequently permitted the police to start investigation.

Strange Silence

"This in fact is a divine sight. The leader of the biggest political party, the head of the cabinet, giving credence to a fairy tale. Five months had then elapsed, the details of the judicial investigation had been submitted to Ferenc Nagy, the hearing of the case had been conducted before the whole world, the verdict had been pronounced--and Ferenc Nagy, the head of the Hungarian Government, kept silence, although as he now claims he was sure that there was no conspiracy at all.

"What then was the reason for Nagy's silence when he could have voiced his opinion through the press, radio, or in the National Assembly, and when he could have appealed to world public opinion? However, Ferenc Nagy kept silence. He kept silence not only because he could do nothing to refute the facts, but also because he himself was one among those implicated in the conspiracy. He produced the fairy tale only when he himself became exposed as having a share in the plot.

"Now that he is at his wits end to give a suitable explanation, this losing gambler declares before the American microphone that he has prevented by 'cowardly prudence' from forestalling (exaggeration of) the conspiracy.

"Ferenc Naby kept faith to himself, for the sake of his rotten deals he is ready to sacrifice the good reputation and vital interests of his people. He raised the question of the conspiracy not only because he would like to swagger in the role of a martyr who has been cast ed out of the country innocently, but also because he intends to cast a shadow on the past and present of Hungarian democracy.

"This attempt which he makes by resorting to unworthy means becomes comprehensible if we bear in mind that Hungary is on the threshold of elections and that Ferenc Nagy and his American instigators know no more important task than to cast asperscons in advance on the results of the elections.

"This is the reason why Ferenc Nagy libelously describes the new electoral law as a product of dictatorship, only because it erects a barrier against fascist elements holding seats in the Hungarian Parliament.

"He puts the leader of the Smallholders Party on pillors merely because the party is not headed by the members of the Horthyite conspiracy and reactionary elements, but the same factores whom Ferenc Nagy and his accomplices deliberately relegated into the background so as to prevet this party from pursuing a democratic policy.

"At the same time, Ferenc Nagy sheds tears over the unglorious passing away of the neofascist Freedom Party, claiming that this was the only opposition party in this country.

2

"Ferenc Nagy does direct harm to the country by calling on the Hungarian electorate to abstain en masse from going to the polls. He seeks to counterbalance the will of the voters at the elections because he fears that Hungarian democracy will become the victor.

"The dirty dealings of this renegade who exchanged the voice of the Hungarian man for the 'Voice of America' are doomed to failure, and the Hungarian people will cast its votes for those who will defend the country against the conspirin Ferenc Nagy and his advocates overseas, and also against all those launching attacks on the freedom and independence of the Hungarian people."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Director, FBI

January 12, 1948

SAC GUY HOTTEL, Washington Field

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

INTERNATIONAL PEASANT UNION

[redacted] (C) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bureau File # [redacted]

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Confidential Informant [redacted] made available a copy of an air mail letter directed to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Budapest, Hungary, from the Hungarian Minister, HUSZTEM, in Washington. This letter follows: (C) (U)

"On the fifth of the present month, CHARLES DAVILA, former Roumania Minister in Washington, and at the present time the Roumanian member of the East-European Agrarian Block established here, and old confidential friend of MANIU, invited me for lunch. As DAVILA took part in the activities of the Democratic representatives of the Danubian Nations during the war, and as I was therefore in good personal relationship with DAVILA, I accepted the invitation. (C) (U)

"During the conversation I tried to find out how the representatives of the Agrarian Block saw their possibility of success. Although according to DAVILA, a "defensive war" gone into by the United States was not impossible, they were not counting on that, but they were rather thinking that if the present situation in eastern Europe, and especially in the Danubian States, did change, they, as representatives of the Democratic politics, will be able to take over the Government due to their popularity. (C) (U)

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"Considering the special case of FERENC NAGY, DAVILA made the remark that he considered NAGY to be a very naive person, who, partly because of his not knowing any foreign languages, is not very able to live up to his part. He can be contacted only through an interpreter. The American-Hungarian interpreter, SWIFT, often does not translate the words of NAGY but rather gives his own opinion. But apart from this, the other members of the commission are aware of the fact that the exaggerated popularity in this country has no weight in Hungary. In spite of all this, however, and as there is nobody else available, they will continue to cooperate with him. (C) (U)

"DAVILA stated that NAGY received for an article in the Saturday Evening Post $20,000; that the farm he was buying cost $40,000 and that the difference was balanced by mortgage. (C) (U)

"DAVILA sort of promised me that he will stay in touch with me in the future, among other reasons, to keep me informed of the activities of the Block. (C) (U)

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED

5-14-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI - January 12, 1948

Re: International Peasant Union -
[redacted] (U)

"It is easily discernible from our conversation that SZEDECY-MAZAK was in close contact with FERENC NAGY and I could gather the information that although other immigrants supported NAGY, there is no direct connection between NAGY and [redacted]." (U)

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This letter according to Informant [redacted] was sent air mail to Budapest, August 7, 1947 (U)

This information is being made available to the Bureau in view of FERENC NAGY's membership in the Central Committee of the Internation Peasant Union.

HMM/BM
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED - 9

62-14

June 30, 1948

Mr. James Ughi
357 Redwood Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-14-83 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Ughi:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 11, 1948, and to thank you for making available information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau.

In connection with your request for information, I must advise you that because of a long standing policy established by the Department of Justice, information contained in the files of this Bureau, is confidential and can be made available therefore, only to certain authorized government agencies. I am certain that upon reflection, you will realize the necessity for such a rule.

Sincerely yours

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - San Antonio (with enclosure)

NOTE: SAC, the Bureau files contain information reflecting that one Pfc. Ughi M.P. Headquarters Company, Ft. Lewis, Washington furnished information to the Bureau in 1936 concerning an illegal wearing of the uniform violation which occurred on that post. The Bureau files contain no further identifiable data on Mr. Ughi. A copy of his letter is attached and this is being furnished solely for your information.

~~[illegible]~~

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Candy

NEL:amwsevw

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
JUL 1 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 3-14-83 BY [redacted]

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

b6
b7C

Dec 11th 1948

Dear Mr Hoover

I am a retired Soldier from the U.S. ARMY served 20 years and 29 day in the United States military Police units. I was born in hungarian and I arrived To the united States 2nd of December 1906. I never have been out side of the U.S.A. Since I arrived I am also a Naturalized American Citizen I am 55 years of age today Dear mr Hoover I feel it is a [redacted] Duty to write this letter to you because I made a sam report to the F.B.I. office in City of San antonio about three weeks ago but I do not believe They do anything about it

RECORDED 19
INDEXED 19

Mr Hoover here is a [redacted] report to you in the early part of this year a men By the name of Ferenc Nagy come To this country with his wife and Family he was a Prim minister of Hungary he said he was exiled

NAGY, Ferenc

from his native land by the
communist party he also paid in the Peoples
News Paper he was a poor man Peoples
now if you right in the april issue
Life magazine Ferenc Nagy and his
Family Picture come out he was coming
out of the building he had a sort of bun
in his hand he was supposed to visit
Cow his wife was sitting on a new
Jackter the kind cost around few th
dollars. also a large new truck an
automobile and several cows w
Picture his 18 years old son
ing a radio news from Engl
Hungarian to his father
s was sick in the Broo
Hospital in Fort Sam
that time mr Hous
sold magazine
That day

(3) But I wasent able to do as Nagy did
in the San antonio F.B.I. office I was
Told he might received a money from
The Peoples whom simpatized with him
mr Hoover I do not beelive that
any of his simpatizer gave him
that much money I think he come
To this country under the Stalin
Order to Picking up news whatever he
hears and see and send it back to
The communist I might wrong but
it is looks to Stronge to me some one
getting rich just over night mr.
Hoover he is in State of Virginia
But I cant remember the name of the
County and City mr Hoover once
again I will say it here I feel it is a
my duty to come to you I m sure you
will look into this and I hope Nagy
will be checked and later I would be
Notified of result

Sincerely yours
James Ughi JAMES Ughi

3

James. Ughi
357. Redwood ave
San antonio. (9) Texas

SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor Leishear Room 3708

Subj: Ferenc Nagy

✓ Exact Spelling
___ All References
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___ Main File
✓ Restricted to Locality of Hungary

Searchers Initial der
Date 6/21

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
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~~DATE 3-11-83~~ BY [redacted] b6 b7C

Initialed

SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor Lenahan Room 3708

Subj: James Eghi

✓ Exact Spelling
___ All References
___ Subversive Ref
___ Main File
✓ Restricted to Locality of San Antonio, Texas

Searchers Initial ✓
Date

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EX-47

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34 DEC 8 1948

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

G. I R

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-18-2024 BY: [redacted]

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19

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

Date: December 8, 1949

To: Director
[redacted]
Washington, D. C. Attention: [redacted] (S) (U)

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b7E

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: FERENC NAGY, wa.
Ferenc Nagy
[INTERNAL SECURITY - HU] (C) (U)

[redacted] (S) (U)

b3
b7E

This is to advise that Ferenc Nagy has not been the subject of an active investigation by this Bureau. We would appreciate receiving any information developed by you of interest to this Bureau. (C) (U)

JAS/mp

3-14-83
CLASS. BY [redacted]
DECLASS. ON [redacted]

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Tolson
Ladd
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

~~SECRET~~

SPEC. MSGR.
DEC 9 1949
FBI - WASH.

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: April 16, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

To: Mr. John W. Ford
Director
Office of Security
Department of State
515 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 3-17-83

b3
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b7E

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: FERENC NAGY
JOZSEF MOLNAR
IMRI KOVACS
ALBERT BARTHA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

As of possible interest to the Agencies receiving copies of this letter, there is set forth information obtained from [redacted], who was interviewed on March 2, 1953, by Special Agents of this Bureau at his residence, [redacted] who was born on [redacted], stated he entered the United States on [redacted], with his wife and two children and that he presently holds Immigration and Naturalization Service Registration Card Number [redacted], [redacted] is presently employed by the [redacted], Massachusetts.

b7D

[redacted] stated that during the period 1948 to August, 1951, he was employed by CIC in Paussau, Germany, and in that capacity he surveilled Hungarian, German, and Yugoslav Nationals who were suspected of being Communists. In the course of his duties, he attempted to ascertain the contacts and activities of these individuals in the American Sector of Germany. [redacted] said he also performed these duties for CIC in Munich and Frankfurt, Germany. Regarding the captioned individuals, Nagy, Kovacs, and Bartha are well known to

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Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Gearty
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sizoo
Miss Candy

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the Agencies receiving copies of this communication. [redacted] furnished the following information concerning the captioned individuals:

FERENC NAGY

Nagy was a member of the Fuggetlen Kisgazda Part, "the Little Peasant Party," which [redacted] described as being the opposition party and likened to the position of the present-day British Labor Party. [redacted] could not recall the length of Nagy's tenure in the Hungarian Parliament, but stated that Nagy remained in the Parliament until the Russian occupation in late 1944.

[redacted] said that he learned from various individuals who passed through the American Sector of Germany, but whose identity he could not recall, that when the Russian Army first occupied Baranya County, Hungary, [redacted] [redacted] stated that according to the information furnished to him, Nagy, [redacted] had offered himself to the Russian occupation authorities and later became Prime Minister of Hungary in 1945 and held this position until the spring of the year 1947 or 1948.

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[redacted] also disclosed he had learned through hearsay and rumor that Nagy had been a member of the Hungarian underground in 1943-1944 during the German occupation of Hungary. He said he understood that Nagy had helped to organize the underground movement which, according to [redacted], consisted primarily of Hungarian Communist Party members of the "Little Peasant Party." [redacted] also stated that in his opinion Nagy had been a secret Communist Party member since approximately 1940.

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[redacted] expressed the opinion that Nagy is still "100 per cent Communist." He stated that he bases his opinion upon Nagy's activities in the Hungarian underground, [redacted], and Nagy's position with the Hungarian Government during the Russian occupation. [redacted] said he could not believe that an individual such as Nagy, with his past Communist activities, could abruptly change his political beliefs.

[redacted] further advised that he also heard that Nagy fled Hungary just prior to a purge by the Russians and that Nagy traveled to Austria or Germany where he lived for about two months. He said he understood that Nagy had attempted to follow the example of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and break with the Soviet Union and set up an independent Hungarian Communist State.

[redacted] advised that he, [redacted], subscribed to the "Hungaria," a weekly Hungarian language newspaper published by Dr. Janos Z. Makra at Munchen, Germany, under EUCON Civil Affairs Authority Number UNDP 275, and which is entered as second class matter at Detroit, Michigan.

JOZSEF MOLNAR

[redacted] advised that Molnar was, like himself, a county agricultural agent for the Hungarian Government prior to the Russian occupation. He said he was not personally acquainted with Molnar. b7D

Molnar was a member of the Hungarian Restitution Committee in Germany in about 1950 and as a member of this Committee was in the employ of the Soviet Government. [redacted] stated that the purpose of this Committee was to return to Hungary industrial machinery, farm machinery, etc., which had been sent to Germany by the Hungarian Government to prevent its capture and confiscation by the Soviet occupation forces. [redacted] stated that the Restitution Committee favored the Russian occupation of Hungary.

[redacted] also advised that as part of his duties with CIC, he surveilled members of this Committee, including Molnar, while said Committee operated in the American Sector of Germany. He further advised that he had heard Molnar was a machinery engineer with this Committee.

IMRI KOVACS

[redacted] advised that he learned through the above-mentioned newspaper, "Hungaria," that Kovacs was a member of the Hungarian National Committee in New York

City. [redacted] said that the purpose of this Committee is to aid Hungarians, but he stated that it is infiltrated with Communists. [redacted] could not furnish any basis for this allegation.

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[redacted] advised that prior to Kovacs' entry into the United States, Kovacs contributed articles to the "Magyar Jovo," in which he favored the Russian occupation of Hungary. According to [redacted], the "Magyar Jovo" was a Communist newspaper. [redacted] stated that one of the functions of the newspaper "Hungaria" was to reprint and criticize pro-Russian articles which appeared in the "Magyar Jovo." He said that it was through the newspaper "Hungaria" that he became aware of the pro-Russian writings of Kovacs. He said he was not acquainted with Kovacs and had no knowledge of Kovacs' present whereabouts.

ALBERT BARTHA

[redacted] advised that it was through information appearing in the newspaper "Hungaria" that he learned Bartha had served as State Secretary of the Hungarian Peoples Army from 1944-1948 under the rule of the Russian occupation authorities. He said that he learned from this same source that Bartha was also a member of the Hungarian National Committee in New York City. [redacted] said he was not acquainted with Bartha but believed him to be living at present in Washington, D. C.

In view of the lack of specific information furnished by [redacted] concerning Jozsef Molnar, no identifiable data was located in the files of this Bureau regarding him.

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The foregoing is furnished for your ~~confidential~~ information and should not be disseminated outside of your Department.

2cc - Director

[redacted]

Washington, D. C.

Attention: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

2cc - Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.
Attention: Chief, Security Division

2cc - Director of Naval Intelligence ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Department of the Navy
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

2cc - Director of Special Investigations ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
The Inspector General
Department of the Air Force
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

2cc - The Commissioner ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Attention: Mr. Raymond F. Farrell
Assistant Commissioner
Investigations Division

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Director, FBI (100-385543)(Registered) June 24, 1952

SAC, Omaha (100-5214)

FERENC VANDOR, aka.
SM-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-17-83 BY [redacted]

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Rebulet to Omaha dated 6-9-52, and report of SA DALE F. MORITZ dated 5-8-52, at Omaha.

[redacted] (Confidential Informant [redacted] in rerep,) was re-interviewed on 6-23-52, and advised she considered FERENC NAGY, former Prime Minister of Hungary, to be sympathetic with the Communist movement inasmuch as he collaborated with the Communists while in Hungary, and that NAGY, as Prime Minister of Hungary, was personally responsible for causing the execution of many anti-Communists in Hungary, including [redacted]. [redacted] stated that it was common knowledge among anti-Communist Hungarians in this country and in Hungary that FERENC NAGY was instrumental in "selling out" the former Hungarian Government to the Communists. [redacted] further stated that when still Prime Minister of Hungary, FERENC NAGY attended a conference of some sort held in Switzerland but never returned to Hungary after this conference. Shortly after NAGY's departure from Hungary, his family was flown out of Hungary in a military plane and were able to take most of their property with them. According to [redacted], this was after the Communists had gained control of the Hungarian Government and it was impossible for people to leave Hungary under such circumstances without approval of the Hungarian Communist Government. [redacted] could not attribute this information to any particular source but claimed that it was common knowledge among the people of Hungary at the time NAGY and his family left the country.

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[redacted] could furnish no specific basis for believing that NAGY is presently pro-Communist other than the fact she has been advised by FERENC VANDOR that he, (VANDOR), has unsuccessfully attempted to remove FERENC NAGY from the Hungarian National Council because he feels that NAGY is

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100-5214
DFM:sk

2cc: Newark (100-35455)(Registered)

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working against the interests of the Hungarian National Council in combatting Communism. [redacted] stated she knows little about ZOLTAN PFEIFFER, VINCE NAGY, and ZOLTAN BALOG or BALOGH, other than information she has received from VANDOR indicating that these men are followers and supporters of FERENC NAGY and as such are opposed to VANDOR and his followers. [redacted] further stated that VANDOR believes the above individuals are pro-Communist and have reportedly attempted to turn people in the Hungarian National Council against VANDOR and to hinder the work of anti-Communist members of the Council. b7D

[redacted] stated that although she knows of no specific incident that would indicate FERENC NAGY has been sympathetic with Communism in this country, she feels that his collaboration with the Communists in Hungary prior to his coming to America is sufficient for her to believe that NAGY still retains pro-Communist sympathies. She also stated that information concerning NAGY she has received from VANDOR, whom she believes to be an anti-Communist, serves to further substantiate her beliefs about FERENC NAGY. b7D

[redacted] stated that FERENC VANDOR could furnish specific information concerning above named individuals as well as produce documentary evidence concerning Hungarians presently in this country who were definitely pro-Communist while living in Hungary. [redacted] also stated that individuals mentioned on pages 4 and 5 of referenced Omaha report, could undoubtedly furnish specific information concerning various members of the Hungarian National Council and their sympathies. b7D

UACB, Omaha will not submit amended copies of Omaha report dated 5-8-52, based upon the results of the re-interview with [redacted]. b7D

RUC.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR, FBI

April 19, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

[HUNGARIAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES
INTERNAL SECURITY - R AND HU] (C) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[redacted] recently furnished to Supervisor ROBERT E. MEHBY, the attached two pages of Hungarian. [redacted] at the same time, furnished the following, which he alleges to be a verbatim translation of the attachment. He did not disclose the source of his information or any additional information regarding the attachment. (C) (U)

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"In January of this year MR. LOUIS KORMENDI of New York, who is a Hungarian lawyer, telephoned to FERENC NAGY, ex-Prime Minister of Hungary, and addressed the following question to him: 'When will the Hungarian National Council reinstate among the executive members DEZSO SULYOK, who was expelled from the Executive Committee?' - MR. FERENC NAGY answered that it is impossible to reinstate DEZSO SULYOK since he was illoyal toward the cause of the Hungarian exiled political organization and that MR. SULYOK used grave accusations against the leaders of the emigrant Hungarian politicians (against certain members of the organization). - KORMENDI continued his discussion and answered that MR. DEZSO SULYOK is a good Hungarian and a very sincere democrat and leaders of the Hungarian emigrants could utilize his services with benefit. - MR. FERENC NAGY invited MR. KORMENDI'S attention to the fact that immediately after MR. DEZSO SULYOK left Hungary he started his offensive accusations against the members of the Hungarian exiled politicians, he published a book full of lies, in which he falsified the events which happened in Hungary during 1946 and 47. In every detail of those facts, he committee indiscretion against the Pope. Later he entered into negotiation with the Secret Service of the French Government, stating that these discussions have historical importance from the Hungarian viewpoint, and finally, ** when he came to the U. S. he advised the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council that they should accept General FERENC FARKAS, an ex-Nazi general, into their membership, (the same (C) (U)

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CLASS. BY [redacted] DECLASSIFY ON OADR 3-17-83

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CONFIDENTIAL

general who in Germany and Austria is organizing the rightist element among the emigrants). KORMENDI'S answer for all this was, 'It may be that SULYOK is crazy but he is not a scoundrel, - but the President of the Hungarian National Council is a scoundrel, Magr. BELA VARGA, who delivered an anti-Semite speech in the Hungarian Parliament in 1941.' - MR. FERENC NAGY resented such statements made by MR. KORMENDI against BELA VARGA and stated that the democratic and humanitarian ideals of Magr. BELA VARGA are above reproach. In answer MR. KORMENDI threatened MR. FERENC NAGY that if the Executive Committee will not reinstate DEZSO SULYOK and will not exclude BELA VARGA from the leadership of the exiled politicians, he - with the assistance of his friends - will do everything to break up the Hungarian National Council, because such abominable organization is not permitted to represent the Hungarian nation. MR. FERENC NAGY asked MR. KORMENDI whose interest would he desire to serve with such destructive work. - MR. KORMENDI answered that his simple intention is to destroy and scatter the present leaders of the Hungarian National Council because the Council without DEZSO SULYOK and with the leadership of BELA VARGA cannot stay together. (U)

"During the month of February one of the sons of MR. LOUIS KORMENDI advised MR. ZOLTAN PFEIFFER, who is the chairman of the Public Relations Committee of the Hungarian National Executive Council, that his father (MR. KORMENDI SR.) and MR. DEZSO SULYOK invited DR. JOHN KROSS to the residence of MR. KORMENDI. MR. JOHN KROSS is an ex-Hungarian Minister (Minister of Public Welfare and Supplies). They made him sign a statement to the effect that MR. ZOLTAN PFEIFFER'S escape from Hungary was prepared by the Dinnyes Government, which was already a Communist Government, therefore PFEIFFER left Hungary with the consent and knowledge of the Communist regime. At the same time he informed MR. ZOLTAN PFEIFFER that MR. KORMENDI SR. is in contact with STEPHEN RIESZ, who is the Secretary of Justice in the present Hungarian Government. MR. PFEIFFER also learned through the young MR. KORMENDI that MR. TIBOR ECKHARDT, who is (U)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the Chairman of the National Defense Committee of the Hungarian National Council, has knowledge of this action which is organized against MR. PFEIFFER. (C) (U)

"Again during the month of February MR. LOUIS KORMENDI, SR., after considerable persuasion, invited MR. KAROLY PEYER to his home. MR. PEYER is the Chairman of the Industrial Relation Committee of the Hungarian National Council. MR. KORMENDI informed MR. PEYER that MR. SULYOK filed a statement at the Hungarian National Council on the basis of incompatibility against Msgr. BELA VARGA, Chairman of the Council, because allegedly Msgr. BELA VARGA delivered an anti-Semite speech in the Hungarian Parliament. MR. CHARLES PEYER explained to MR. KORMENDI that he does not believe such statement, because it is a matter of common knowledge that MR. BELA VARGA protected the Jews during the Nazi anti-Jewish persecutions with self-sacrificial attitude and many of these Jews could thank their lives to Msgr. BELA VARGA. - KORMENDI stated against this explanation that he is in contact with MR. ISTVAN RIESZ, who is the Minister (Secretary) of the present Hungarian Communist Justice Department and his information is reliable. To prove his point he showed a letter out of the files which contained the communication between him and MR. STEPHEN RIESZ. MR. CHARLES PEYER was just about leaving MR. KORMENDI'S home when KORMENDI stated that MR. ECKHARDT also knows about the attacks which are in the making against Msgr. BELA VARGA. Before MR. PEYER actually was able to leave MR. KORMENDI'S home, DEZSO SULYOK arrived, who seemingly was anxious to start some conversation with MR. PEYER, but MR. PEYER left the home without going into any conference with MR. SULYOK. (C) (U)

"DEZSO SULYOK attacked BELA VARGA in a Hungarian New York weekly, "Az Ember," - this publication appeared after his statement of incompatibility was tabled by the Hungarian National Council. (C) (U)

JLS:MFL
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Letter to Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"It is reasonably assumed that SULYOK'S continuous attacks against BELA VARGA and FERENC NAGY are the result of his contacts with the Budapest Government. It is also suspected that these attacks are happening with the knowledge of this Government.(C) (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"It would be important to find out of what nature are these contacts between MR. KORMENDI and the Budapest Hungarian Justice Governmental Secretary. It would also be very important to know who are actually the persons who had previous knowledge and advance information through the personal contacts with MR. KORMENDI about the attacks launched against MR. BELA VARGA, MR. ZOLTAN PFEIFFER and MR. FERENC NAGY." (C) (U)

The Bureau's attention is invited to Washington Field Office letter to the Bureau in the captioned matter dated April 6, 1950, in which the Bureau was advised of an interview with MR. STEPHEN E. BALOGH, Executive Secretary, American Hungarian Federation, during which interview, BALOGH made many statements which coincided with the attached information furnished by [redacted] (C) (U) b3 b7E

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100-10332

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(7-16-42)

ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUST
IGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVIC

2 JAN 31 1950

39 D Street, N. W., e No. 0500/32360

Washington 25, D. C. Date January 27, 1950

(Address of requesting office)

DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Security Division T-4-2-13

Please furnish a report as to the nature of any derogatory information contained in any file—other than fingerprint records—which your Bureau may have concerning the following person:

Name O NAGY (Surname) FERENC (Given name) (Sr.) (Middle and other names)

Aliases -

FBI No. - Alien Registration No. - or Visa Application No. -

Date of birth October 8, 1903 (Month) (Day) (Year) Birthplace Bisse, Hungary (Town) (Country)

Marital status Married Name of spouse Juliette Nagy

Race Hungarian Color White Sex Male Occupation -

Complexion Med. Eyes Brown Hair Black Height 5' 10" Weight 160 lbs

Visible marks None

Places of residence last 5 years (*include street and number*): Budapest, Hungary - Sept. 1939 to May 1947; 1306 - 24th St., So. Arlington, Va. - July 1947 to Sept. 1947; 1306 - 24th St., So, Arlington, Va., July 1947 to Sept 1947; 523 Elden St., Herndon, Va., Nov. 1947 to date.

Places of employment last 5 years:

Former Prime Minister of Hungary.

The subject is
- ☐ Under deportation proceedings.
- ☐ An applicant for naturalization.
- ☐ An applicant for a certificate of lawful entry.
- ☒ Applicant for adjustment of status under Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

62-83632
NOT RECORDED
12 FEB 28 1950

If the subject has a common name, the names of all relatives given in the subject's application filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service will be shown on the back of this form, with the relationship indicated.

Please mail the attached copy of this request with your reply to the address shown below.

57 MAR 1 1950

John L. Murff
(Name of officer requesting report)
Officer in Charge
(Title)

(In duplicate)

(*For use by Federal Bureau of Investigation*)

Mail to— Officer in Charge,
~~DISTRICT DIRECTOR~~,
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.
939 D Street, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.

Fire file

4-528

62-83632-1/27/60
CHANGED TO
39-0-38114X

OCT 31 1956

RM

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ s - Mr. Callahan
Liaison

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[redacted] ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASS ON [redacted]

BY COURIER SERVICE

Date: February 15, 1956

To: Mr. Dennis A. Flinn (orig & 1)
Director
Office of Security
Department of State
815 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: FERENC NAGY
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING (Esp)

A confidential informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has reported the following information which may be of possible interest to you: (U)

Elizabeth Vasvary, wife of Edmund Vasvary, auditor of the Hungarian Reformed Federation, Washington, D. C., is currently employed as the secretary of Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, with whose activities you are familiar. The informant pointed out that in this capacity Mrs. Vasvary has access to information concerning Nagy and the International Peasant Union, with which Nagy is affiliated. The informant advised that Edmund Vasvary is a former schoolmate and personal friend of Andrew Sik, former Hungarian Minister to the United States, and was in frequent contact with Sik while the latter was in the United States. The informant recently learned that rumors are circulating in New York indicating that Sik will be the new Hungarian delegate to the United Nations. (U)

While the in[redacted] provided no information indicating that Elizabeth or Edmu[redacted]ry would be sympathetic to the present Hungarian regi[redacted]alsoyal to the United States, he expressed the belief [redacted] above information should be in the possession of this Bu[redacted]

The above d[redacted]urnishe[redacted] ~~in confidence~~ and no further dissemination [redacted]hould be made. No investigation concerning this data [redacted]mplated.

cc - 1 - Director

[redacted] ~~BY COURIER SERVICE~~

[redacted]

Washington, [redacted] 100-89-54 (Hungack) (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED Attention: [redacted] Director, [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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COURIER SECT. 19 FEB 16 COMM-FBI

RECORDED - 81 62-83632-22

FEB 24 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Tolson
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Holloman
Gandy

FEB 28 1956

Mr. Callahan

SAC, Cleveland [(100-18003)] (Original & 1) April 28, 1955 b6 b7C

Director, FBI [(100-354194)] (U) ~~TOP SECRET~~

[HUNGTEL IS - HU] (U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

6-1-83 RECLASSIFIED BY ADR

Re Richmond letter 4-12-55 requesting that background data regarding Ferenc Nagy be furnished Cleveland.

Ferenc Nagy was born in Hungary in 1903. He was appointed Prime Minister of Hungary in February, 1946, but resigned from this position in early June, 1947, while on vacation in Switzerland, after which he went into political exile in the United States, arriving in this country in mid-June, 1947.

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While Nagy's resignation as Prime Minister of Hungary is generally recognized in official U. S. Government circles as resulting from pressure exerted by Communist officials in Hungary and Russian occupation forces in that country, he has been frequently accused by his political opponents, both in the United States and abroad, of collaborating with the Communists in Hungary and surrendering Hungary to the Communists without a struggle.

Nagy, it must be remembered, is deeply embroiled in Hungarian emigre politics, and like the majority of emigre politicians in the same category, is frequently criticized by his political foes, all of whom are striving for leadership in Hungarian emigre affairs. The charge of pro-Communism against one leader is frequently used by another to cause trouble, difficulty and dissension, and, in turn, the accuser is frequently met by a similar charge of pro-Communism in one form or another.

Nagy is a prominent member of the Hungarian National Council, the so-called Hungarian Government in Exile, which group receives the tacit support of the Department of State politically, and the [redacted] both politically and financially, of the [redacted] b3 b7E [redacted]. Nagy is generally accepted to be in the anti-Communist camp. (U) (U) ~~TOP SECRET~~

YELLOW DUPLICATE APR 28 1955 MAILED

NOT RECORDED 195 MAY 2 1955

MAY 6 1955

cc - 1 - Richmond (100-5212) (Info)
CC: 62-83632 (Nagy)

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Belmont
Harbo
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Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Interrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

~~TOP SECRET~~

The above data is for your confidential information only. It should not be included in an investigative report for documentary purposes and if the need to document Nagy arises, he should be referred to as "....the former Hungarian Prime Minister who resigned from this position in 1947 and has since lived in the United States as a political exile."

~~TOP SECRET~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Director, FBI

4/12/55

SAC, Richmond (100-5212)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[HUNGTEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - HU] (U)

By letter of 4/7/55, Cleveland asked this office to furnish brief background data and documentation concerning FERENC NAGY, former Hungarian Premier, who reportedly resides at Herndon, Va., since this name comes up occasionally in connection with Hungarian matters in Cleveland.

For the information of the Bureau and Cleveland, Richmond files contain only limited data concerning NAGY. He was contacted by SA JAMES F. DUNKIN, JR. on 8/16/49, at which time he lived on School Street, Herndon, Va. Mr. NAGY described himself at that time as retired and formerly Prime Minister of Hungary. He manifested a cooperative attitude. (RH 62-117-649).

WFO letter to Bureau dated 9/28/54 in matter captioned [redacted] IS - HU" (RH [redacted]), described FERENC NAGY as a political exile from Hungary, where he had been sentenced to death by the Communist Government.

Due to lack of information available in Richmond files concerning Mr. NAGY, the Bureau is requested to furnish the data needed by Cleveland, with a copy of the data supplied to Richmond for our information.

CC: 2 - Cleveland (100-18003)

3-17-83

CLASS. BY [redacted]

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WHC:MEW
(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-83632

NOT RECORDED
195 MAY 2 1955

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson DATE: May 22, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

B. 10-8-03 in Bisse, Hungary

Miss Hessler in the office of Congressman Hays of Ohio phoned at 4:30 p. m. today advising that the Congressman had asked her to check with the Bureau on Ference Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, now in exile in this country, as the Congressman felt he was not a communist but he wanted to know if the Bureau could give him any confidential guidance of a public source nature.

Miss Hessler was told we would be glad to check and would call the Congressman back. We will check the files and see what material is available of a public source nature before advising Congressman Hays.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones
JJM:arm
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-15-83 BY

b6
b7C

Memo to Nichols 5/23/56

RECORDED - 25
EX-109

62-83632-23

MAY 28 1956

63 JUN - 5 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: May 23, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: REQUEST FROM OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN HAYS--OHIO FOR INFORMATION RE FERENC NAGY

BACKGROUND:

On the afternoon of May 22, 1956, Miss Hessler in the office of Congressman Hays of Ohio telephonically contacted Mr. McGuire and advised that the Congressman had asked her to check with the Bureau on Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, now in exile in this country, as the Congressman felt he was not a communist, but he wanted to know if the Bureau could give him any confidential guidance of a public source nature. Mr. McGuire advised Miss Hessler that we would be glad to check and call the Congressman back. Mr. McGuire requested a file check to see what material is available of a public source nature which could be furnished to Congressman Hays.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

We have numerous references to Nagy in Bureau files but much of the information has been received from confidential sources and is of a classified nature. We also have considerable public source material concerning Nagy in the form of newspaper clippings. A review of these clippings has been made, and items which would probably be of pertinent interest to the Congressman have been listed in the attached blind memorandum.

INDEXED - 84
RECORDED - 84 62-83632 24

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-109 16 MAY 28 1956

That the attached blind memorandum be furnished to Congressman Hays' Office.

5/24/56

Enclosure 1 ENCLOSURE 84 not necessary — Cong Hays (Miss Hessler) advised that he was investigated Nagy

DGH:bs
(5)

63 JUN -5 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-15-83 BY

b6
b7C

May 24, 1956

RE: FERENC NAGY

- Summary

Ferenc Nagy was born in Bisse, Hungary, October 8, 1903, and educated in public schools in Hungary. He received an LL.D degree from Bloomfield College in 1948. He was Secretary General of the Smallholders' Party in 1930; a member of Parliament in Hungary in 1939 and became a prisoner of the Gestapo in 1944. He became President of the National Assembly of Hungary in 1945; Minister of Reconstruction the same year and was Prime Minister of Hungary during 1946 and part of 1947. In 1951, he was named President of the Central Eastern European Commission.

DC, Switz

Nagy has authored various books and articles among which are "Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain"--1948, "How the Russians Grabbed My Government"--1947 and "Around the Iron Curtain"--1949.

Nagy is currently living in Herndon, Virginia.

Set forth below are pertinent newspaper stories concerning the fall of Nagy's government in Hungary in 1947; the taking over by the communists and his activities since he fled to this country. The date of the paper in which the article appeared, the paper in which it appeared, the page where known and the subject matter of the article are set out in chronological order. Under the heading of subject matter, if the statement is in quotes, it is the exact heading of the newspaper story; otherwise, it has been paraphrased to give the general contents of the article.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-15-83 BY [redacted]

b6
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62-83632-24

ENCLOSURE

Date of Paper	Paper	Page	Subject Matter or Headline
3-14-46	The Washington Star		Political situation in Hungary
3-25-46	The Washington Daily News		Political situation in Hungary
6-13-46	The New York Times	6	Nagy in favor of internationalization Danube, agrees with Secretary Byrne
[illegible]8-46	The New York Times	5	"Purge in Hungary Ordered by Russia"
4-3-47	The New York Times	1	"U. S. Stops Credits to Hungary Regime as Coup is Studied"
5-30-47	PM Daily	6	Political situation in Hungary
5-31-47	Daily Worker	2	"Hungary Premier Quits Under Fire"
6-1-47	The Washington Star	A-1, 7	Political Situation in Hungary
6-2-47	Daily Worker	2	Political Situation in Hungary
6-2-47	The Washington Post	1	"Varga, Number 2 Man to Nagy, Flees Hungary and Arrest"
6-6-47	The New York Times	1	Political situation in Hungary after coup
6-7-47	Daily Worker	2	Regarding coup in Hungary
6-8-47	The Worker	4	"How Hungary Licked Its Plotters and Checkmated Truman Doctrine"
6-8-47	The Sunday Star	C-1	"Statesmen Fear Moscow May Control Italy Next"
6-13-47	The Washington Post	1	Political situation in Hungary after coup
6-14-47	The Washington Star		"Nagy Calls Coup by Reds Result of U. S. Policy"
6-16-47	The New York Times	1	Regarding trial of Nagy in absentia

Date of Paper	Paper	Page	Subject Matter or Headline
6-16-47	Daily Worker	2	"Soviet Rejects British Protest on Hungary"
[illegible]-23-47	The Washington Post	1	Regarding coup in Hungary
8-29-47	The New York Times		"Leader of Croats Assails Tito Rule"
11-16-47	The Washington Post	2B	Nagy active in Peasants Internationale
11-29-47	Washington Times-Herald	10	"Peasant Leaders Fight Commies from D. C. Headquarters"
1-16-48	The Washington Post		"Hungarian Named Nazi Chief"
2-2-48	The Washington Star		"Standley, Nagy Called in Red Curb Hearings"
5-6-49	The New York Times	22	"End of Communism Sought by Exiles"
[illegible]1-11-49	The Washington Post	B1	"Iron Curtain Exiles Join NCCJ Panel"
8-24-54	The New York Times		"Five Testify Reds Oppress Hungary"

3

In addition to the above, in February, 1948, Nagy testified before the "Hearings on Proposed Legislation to Curb or Control the Communist Party of the United States." These hearings were before the Subcommittee on the Legislature of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, Second Session. Nagy's testimony is contained on pages 86 through 102, inclusive on the transcript of the above hearings.

Nagy's name is frequently mentioned in the transcript, "Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups." These hearings were held before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session. These hearings were held in February, 1949. Nagy's name appears frequently in the index of the transcript of these hearings.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GIR-2

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FERENC NAGY

DATE: 5-23-56

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASS ON 4-15/83

b6
b7C

BACKGROUND:

On the afternoon of May 22, 1956, Miss Hessler in the Office of Congressman Hays of Ohio called and advised that the Congressman had asked her to check with the Bureau on captioned individual, former Prime Minister in Hungary, now in exile in this country. The Congressman felt that he was not a communist but wanted to know if the Bureau could give him any guidance of a public source nature. Miss Hessler was advised that we would be glad to check and call the Congressman back.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

We have approximately 1,500 references to Nagy in Bufiles. The majority of these references are of a confidential nature information having been received from confidential informants or confidential sources.

The Bureau has never conducted an investigation concerning Nagy, but we do have a main 62 classification file concerning him. The top serial in this file reflects that by memorandum dated April 25, 1955, entitled "Hungtel, IS - HU," the SAC, Cleveland was furnished the following information. (U)

Ferenc Nagy was born in Hungary in 1903. He was appointed Prime Minister of Hungary in February, 1946, but resigned from this position in early June, 1947, while on vacation in Switzerland, after which he went into political exile in the United States, arriving in this country in mid-June, 1947.

b6
b7C

While Nagy's resignation as Prime Minister of Hungary is generally recognized in official U. S. Government circles as resulting from pressure exerted by Communist officials in Hungary and Russian occupation forces in that country, he has been frequently accused by his political opponents, both in the United States and abroad, of collaborating with the Communists in Hungary and surrendering Hungary to the communists without a struggle.

Nagy, it must be remembered, is deeply embroiled in

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET Per Date

63 JUN -5 1956 RECORDED - 25 62-83632-25

DGH:ivs
(5)

16 MAY 28 1956

~~TOP SECRET~~

Hungarian emigre politics, and like the majority of emigre politicians in the same category, is frequently criticized by his political foes, all of whom are striving for leadership in Hungarian emigre affairs. The charge of pro-Communism against one leader is frequently used by another to cause trouble, difficulty and dissension, and, in turn, the accuser is frequently met by a similar charge of pro-Communism in one form or another.

[Nagy is a prominent member of the Hungarian National Council, the so-called Hungarian Government in Exile, which group receives the tacit support of the Department of State politically, and the covert support, both politically and financially, of the [redacted]. Nagy is generally accepted to be in the anti-Communist camp.] (U) b3 b7E

The above data is for your confidential information only. It should not be included in an investigative report for documentary purposes and if the need to document Nagy arises, he should be referred to as ".... the former Hungarian Prime Minister who resigned from this position in 1947 and has since lived in the United States as a political exile."

It is believed that most of the above information can be furnished to Congressman Hays in a generalized form [with the exception of the information concerning his tie-up with [redacted].] (U) b3 b7E

We do have approximately 300 public source references to Nagy which consist for the most part of newspaper clippings. These will be reviewed and a list of the most pertinent ones will be set out in blind memorandum form for Congressman Hays' guidance in the event he wishes to do further research concerning Nagy.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

5/24/56
Miss Hesler asked that I OBI
Gus move investigate Nagy
OBJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1443537-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 8
Page 16 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 18 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 28 ~ Duplicate;
Page 30 ~ Duplicate;
Page 32 ~ Duplicate;
Page 34 ~ Duplicate;
Page 36 ~ Duplicate;
Page 38 ~ Duplicate;

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X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

SECRET

9/12/19

[redacted]

b6
b7C

THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TOP SECRET

CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 62-83632 CLASS. BY [redacted] Date: 9/23/57

Subject: Ferenc Nagy DECLASS ON OADR 4/6/83 Date Searched: 11/28/56

Found As: Ferenc Nagy; Ference Nagy; Ferencz Nagy; Ferenc Nagy; Ferenec Nagy

Also Searched As: Ferenc G. Nagy; Ferenc Geza Nagy; Ferencz Seprodi Nagy

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. No attempt has been made to exhaust all possibilities as to the names and aliases by which the subject may have been known. All references under the above names containing data identical or possibly identical with the subject have been included except those listed at the end of this summary as not having been reviewed. The term "SI" preceding a serial number shown in the block indicates that the serial so designated contains the same information as the foregoing serial. However it should be realized that the information in these serials may differ somewhat in detail although the facts are basically the same.

This summary is designed to furnish a synopsis of the information set out in each reference. Except where stated otherwise the original serial will contain the information in much more detail.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND MAY CONTAIN INFORMATION NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

Analyst	SE NG	Coordinator	Approved
Ruth P. Dillon		Theda W. Duncan	L. W. Brady

RPD:mml

RECORDED NG

INDEXED NG

62-83632-26

SEP 23 1957

Search Slipped

TOP SECRET

65 SEP 30 1957

COPIES DESTROYED
135 NOV 18 1964

SUBV CONTROL
ESP

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-06-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

TOP SECRET

LOCALITIES

Page #

Hungary.....9
England.....24
Washington, D.C.....25
Switzerland.....35
New Jersey.....50
Virginia.....65
Illinois.....74
Ohio.....90
New York.....101
Turkey.....119
Italy.....120
France.....141
Russia.....156
Austria.....201
Japan.....235
India.....235
California.....226

FD-5
Revised
08/05/2008

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SERIAL CHARGE-OUT

* This form is consolidated with the old FD-654, based on a Sentinel review.

Date 9/19/2018

Document Classification: ☐ Unclass ☐ Confidential ☐ Secret ☒ ~~Top Secret~~

Document Type: ☐ Letter ☐ Airtel ☐ LHM ☐ Memo ☒ Report
☐ Facsimile ☐ Teletype ☐ Misc ☐ EC ☐ Email
Enclosure _____ Attachment X

[redacted] b7E

FD-501 Number _____
Date of Mail 11/28/1956
Originating Office or agency DOJ
This serial has been removed and placed in:

☐ Special File Room, FBIHQ ☒ FBIHQ, Room Bldg 917 Bay 2 Row 16 Comp. J Shelf 14

☐ _____
Field Office-Room # Container # or Other Location Where Material Is Stored

File 0062 (Class.) HQ (Office of Origin) 83632 (Case No.) Vol # 2 26-open (Last Serial)

☐ Pending ☒ Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
26	CORRELATION SUMMARY	11/28/1956
	Subject: Ferenc Nagy	

Employee [redacted] b6 b7C

RECHARGE Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

SERIAL CHARGE-OUT
62-83632-26

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-06-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Ferenc Nagy

Pages 2 – 83

~~TOP SECRET~~

62-83632-26

~~COPIES DESTROYED~~
135 ~~NOV 18 1964~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: OCT 29 1971

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( ) (RUC)

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: FERENC NAGY
IS-HU

ReNYairtel, 9/17/71, captioned .

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above and datelined at Washington, D.C. Two copies each enclosed for Richmond and Washington Field as the subject, according to NY indices, was last known to reside at FRANK BRIANDT, Herndon, Virginia.

b6
b7C

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" as it contains information from , a most sensitive source of continuing value, unauthorized disclosure of which could cause serious damage to the US.

b7D
b7E

The information contained in the enclosed LHM was furnished on 9/15/71, to SAS ROBERT D. HAMPTON and ELSTON H. HILL by

b7D
b7E

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN HANDLING THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT NO ACTION IS TAKEN TO JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS MOST SENSITIVE SOURCE. PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS OF THE BUREAU, NO DISSEMINATION IS TO BE MADE OUTSIDE THE BUREAU WITHOUT BUREAU AUTHORITY.

b7D
b7E

NYO indices contain several references to the subject, none of which are derogatory.

62-83632-27

DE-127

ENCLOSURE

REC-88

2-Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
2-Richmond (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
1-New York ( )
1-New York

17 NOV 3 1971

b3
b7E
b7D

RDH:mev
(8)

AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 11-19-71
HOW FORW. RS
BY

ESPIONAGE

54 NOV 29 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-06-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

TOP SECRET

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Name:	Ferenc Nagy, Sr, aka Ference Nagy, Ferencz Nagy, Ferene Nagy, Ferenec Nagy, Feranc Nagy,* Ferenc Naby,* Francis Nagy,* Ferencs Nagy,* F. Nagy,* Ferency Nagy*
Born:	10/8/03, Risse, Hungary
Sex:	Male
Race:	Hungarian
Color:	White
Complexion:	Medium
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black
Height:	5'10"
Weight:	160 lbs.
Education:	Public schools in Hungary. Received an LL.D degree from Bloomfield College, Bloomfield, N.J. in 1948.
Relatives:	
Wife -	Juliette Nagy
Son -	[redacted] born approximately [redacted]. (other relatives see information taken from Who's Who)

b6
b7C

*Not Searched

TOP SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-10-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C.

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

OCT 29 1971

Ferenc Nagy

On September 15, 1971, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

[redacted]

b7D

Rec'd

b3
b7E

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

62-83632-27

[redacted]

b3
b7E

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Residence:

September 1939 to May 1947 -	*Budapest, Hungary*
July 1947 to September 1947 -	*1306-24th St., So., Arlington, Va.*
November 1947 -	*523 Eldon St., Herndon, Va.*
1949	*School Street, Herndon, Va.*
1950	*Maintained PO Box 305, Herndon, Va.*
1956	*Elden and School Streets, Herndon, Va.*

Positions:

1924:	*Member, Smallholders Party*
1928:	*Vice-Chairman, Smallholders Party.*
1930-1931:	*Secretary General of the Smallholders Party, Budapest, Hungary*
1939:	*Member of Parliament, Budapest, Hungary*
1940:	*President of the Peasant Union*
1941-1942:	*Reported to be Secretary of the Smallholders Party, Hungary.*
1945:	*President of the National Assembly of Hungary; Minister of Reconstruction; Trade Minister of Hungary; Member of the Supreme National Council; Editor-in-Chief of "Kis Ujsag;" President of the Smallholders Party; Speaker in Parliament; Chairman of the Council of Ministers*

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 3-31-67)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

- [ ] Albany
- [ ] Albuquerque
- [ ] Anchorage
- [ ] Atlanta
- [ ] Baltimore
- [ ] Birmingham
- [ ] Boston
- [ ] Buffalo
- [ ] Butte
- [ ] Charlotte
- [ ] Chicago
- [ ] Cincinnati
- [ ] Cleveland
- [ ] Columbia
- [ ] Dallas
- [ ] Denver
- [ ] Detroit
- [ ] El Paso
- [ ] Honolulu
- [ ] Houston
- [ ] Indianapolis
- [ ] Jackson
- [ ] Jacksonville
- [ ] Kansas City
- [ ] Knoxville
- [ ] Las Vegas
- [ ] Little Rock
- [ ] Los Angeles
- [ ] Louisville
- [ ] Memphis
- [ ] Miami
- [ ] Milwaukee
- [ ] Minneapolis
- [ ] Mobile
- [ ] Newark
- [ ] New Haven
- [ ] New Orleans
- [ ] New York City
- [ ] Norfolk
- [ ] Oklahoma City
- [ ] Omaha
- [ ] Philadelphia
- [ ] Phoenix
- [ ] Pittsburgh
- [ ] Portland
- [ ] Richmond
- [ ] St. Louis
- [ ] Salt Lake City
- [ ] San Antonio
- [ ] San Diego
- [ ] San Francisco
- [ ] San Juan
- [ ] Savannah
- [ ] Seattle
- [ ] Springfield
- [ ] Tampa
- [x] Washington Field
- [ ] Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- [ ] Bern
- [ ] Bonn
- [ ] Buenos Aires
- [ ] Hong Kong
- [ ] London
- [ ] Manila
- [ ] Mexico, D.F.
- [ ] Ottawa
- [ ] Paris
- [ ] Rome
- [ ] Santo Domingo
- [ ] Tokyo

Date 8/14/67

RE:

FERENC NAGY
IS - HU

FERENC NAGY, JR.
IS - HU

- [ ] For information
- [ ] Retention optional
- [x] For appropriate action
- [ ] Surep, by _____

- [ ] The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [ ] conceal all sources, [ ] paraphrase contents.
- [ ] Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

Enclosed is a copy of a [redacted] memorandum [redacted] and one copy each of two attachments thereto.

The information in enclosures should be utilized by your office in your debriefing of [redacted] and the subsequent submission of correspondence in the individual case captions.

b3
b7D
b7E
[redacted]

Enc.
Bufile
Urfile

NOT RECORDED
170 AUG 16 1967

62-13652
NOT RECORDED
8 AUG 16 1967

56 AUG 22 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

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TOP SECRET

Prior to May 1947:	*Chairman of the Smallholders Party*
1946-1947:	*Prime Minister of Hungary (appointed in February 1946) (Does not speak English)*
1947-	*Operated a farm in Herndon, Va.*
1948-	*Co-editor of the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava"*

Travels:

June 1947:	*Vacationed in Switzerland* *Arrived in US (Political exile in US)*
1948:	*Traveled throughout Europe to study political conditions. Arrived in Istanbul, Turkey, September 15, 1948.*
1955:	*Made Asian tour; Manila, Philippine Islands; Rangoon, Burma; New Delhi, India; and Pakistan. (Lectured. Tour sponsored by IPU).*
July 1956:	*Made trip to Europe*
August 1956:	*Spent a week in Switzerland.*

Miscellaneous Information:

1944:	*Prisoner of the Gestapo*
1947:	*Author of book "How the Russians Grabbed My Government."*
1948:	*Author of book "Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain."*
1949:	*Author of book "Around the Iron Curtain."*
1952:	*Editor of the "Parasztszovetsegi Ertesito, monthly organ of the HPF.*
1955:	*Deeply embroiled in Hungarian emigre politics*

TOP SECRET

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DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

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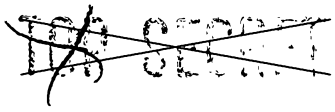


Organizational Affiliations:

Central Eastern European Commission, (CEEC) President.

Committee on Credentials and Incompatibility of the Hungarian National Council, member.

Communist Party (CP), reported to have been a secret member since 1940.

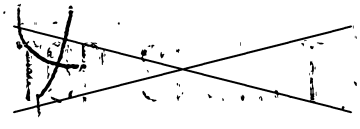
Hungarian National Council (HNC), the so-called Hungarian Government in Exile, Member of the Executive Committee; President of the Finance Committee; Chairman of Economic Affairs Committee; Member of the Accreditations and Conflicts Committee.

Hungarian Peasant Federation, (HPF) leader.

Hungarian underground during the German occupation of Hungary, member.

International Peasant Union (IPU), Vice President, and member of the Central Committee.

Committee for Free Europe, reportedly an officer.



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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Who's Who 1954-1955

Born:	*10/8/03, Bisse, Hungary*
Father:	*Ferenc Nagy*
Mother:	*Julianna (Kata) Nagy*
Education:	*Public schools; LLD. Bloomfield College, 1948*
Married:	*Juliette Balog 1/24/24*
Children:	*Ference, Julia, [redacted], Sophia, Maria*
1930:	*Sec. General of Smallholders' Party*
1939:	*Member of Parliament*
1944:	*Prisoner of the Gestapo*
1945:	*President of National Assembly*
1945:	*Minister of reconstruction*
1946-1947:	*Prime Minister Hungary*
1947:	*Exile of Communism*
1951:	*President of the Central Eastern European Committee.*
1948:	*Author of "Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain"*
1947:	*Author of article "How the Russians Grabbed my Government"*
1949:	*Author of article "Around the Iron Curtain"*

b6
b7C

Home: 523 Elden St., Herndon, Va.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/9/71

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND [redacted]

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: FERENC NAGY
IS - HU

Re New York letter to Bureau 10/29/71, with copies to Richmond and WFO, and no copy to Alexandria. New York letter enclosed two copies of an LHM.

Inasmuch as the subject's last known address was in care of FRANK BRIANDT, [redacted], Herndon, Va., both copies of referenced letter and both copies of the LHM are enclosed herewith for the information of Alexandria, inasmuch as Herndon, Va. is within the territory of that office. Richmond indices contain no information identifiable with captioned subject.

b6
b7C

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Alexandria (Enc. 4)(RM)
1-New York (RM)
1-WFO (RM)
1-Richmond
RET/bwm
(7)

DE-127

EX-104 62-83632-28

REC 48 [redacted]

b3
b7E

NOV 11 1971

ESPIONAGE

54 NOV 17 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

The newspapers and organizations listed below will not be identified in each write up.

"The Otthon," Conservative Hungarian language newspaper published in Chicago.

"Amerikai Magyar Nepszana" Hung. language newsp. published in NYC.

"Szabadsag" Hung. language newsp. published in Cleveland.

"Magyar Jovo," Hungarian language pro-Communist newspaper in NYC

"AZ Ember": Hungarian language anti-Communist publication, published weekly in NYC.

"Kis Ujsag": Smallholders Party paper

Hungarian Peasant Federation: Established in 1948 through a merger of the Smallholders and National Peasant Parties in exile, and maintains its headquarters in Paris, France. A member organization of the IPU. Part of the left-wing groups of the HNC.

American Hungarian Federation: Founded 1906, with the declared aim of assisting immigrant nationals to adjust to life in the US. Revived in 1938. (Because of Hungary's alignment with the Axis during World War I, suspended its activities and remained dormant for two decades. Hdqrs. at 1624 Eye St., NW, Wash., DC was always violently Anti-Communist. Supports the HNC, with the reservation that it does so only so long as none of the actions of the HNC are contrary to the best interest of the US.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12/7/71

FROM : SAC, ALEXANDRIA [redacted] (X) (U)

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: FERENC NAGY
IS - HU

Re New York letter to Bureau, 10/29/71.

For information of the New York Office, FERENC NAGY, former Prime Minister of Hungary who defected to the United States on 6/14/48, has been interviewed in the past by Bureau Agents in regards to the Hungarian Emergency Refugee Program (HERP).

On 11/30/71, Mr. NAGY was contacted by SA ROLAND M. COCKER at his residence, 246 Elden Street, Herndon, Va., at which time he furnished the following information concerning himself:

He was reared on a small dairy farm in Hungary, and later rose to be an outspoken foe of Fascism and Communism and eventually became the Prime Minister of Hungary. On 6/14/48, he arrived in the United States as an emigre after having been a prisoner of both the German Gestapo and of the Soviet Police. NAGY and his wife reared their five children in this country from the proceeds of his 30 acre dairy farm which he was able to purchase near his residence in Herndon, Va. He has written several books and has been a guest lecturer at various colleges and Universities in the United States where he has denounced the Communist form of Government.

R/S to AX (ACTION) 12/15/71. Submit LHM. RCOlane

REC-22 62-83632-29

[redacted]

b3
b7E

2-Bureau (By Courier)
1-New York (RM) (Info)
1-Alexandria
RMC:dmp
(4)

EX-101

DEC 8 1971

58 DEC 17 1971

ESPIONAGE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS SUMMARY

AFL.....American Federation of Labor

AHF.....American Hungarian Federation

[redacted] b7D (U)

HNC.....Hungarian National Council, Hungarian National Commission, Hungarian National Committee.

HPF.....Hungarian Peasant Federation

Hungtel.....Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US.

IPU.....International Peasant Union

IWO.....International Workers Order

MIT.....Massachusetts Institute of Technology

NCFE.....National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.

USWA.....United Steel Workers of America

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted]

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b7C
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During the interview, NAGY expressed great praise for the Director of the FBI and mentioned that Mr. HOOVER knows how to handle the adversaries who have been recently sniping at him. Mr. NAGY advised that he is approaching the age of 70 and although he has never changed his citizenship from Hungary, he believes that he will never return to his native land because of the poor health of his wife and the fact that his five children and grandchildren are all contented with their lives in this country. He stated that his youngest daughter is a student at [redacted]. He mentioned that there are probably 1,000 Hungarian emigres in the Washington, D. C., area and to his knowledge there are no Communist sympathizers among them. He stated that his hobbies are gardening and walking; he has no immediate plans to write any books but is available as a guest lecturer.

No further investigation is contemplated, UACB.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 6/5/55 H. Francis Cunningham, Jr., Foreign Service Officer, US Dept. of State, Wash., DC, advised that he first met Andre Gellert in Berlin in the spring of 1941. At this time Gellert was supposedly a journalist, but at the same time held a Hungarian semi-Government position. Cunningham believed that Gellert was probably paid by both his newspaper employers and the Hungarian Government. He also believed Gellert probably gave advice and guidance to the Hungarian Minister in Stockholm, Antol Ullein Revicusky, and the Hungarian Secretary, Ferenc Nagy. (No further details regarding Nagy were given).

HUNGARY

WFO Rpt. 6/29/55 (S) (U)
[Re: André Gellert,] was.
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] p. 2] (S) (U)
(11)

b3
b7E

On 3/19/53, the Criminal Division of the Dept. of Justice furnished various papers relating to Tivadar Barasits and his wife, Violletta Barasits. These persons were brought from Budapest, Hungary to the US in 1947 under military custody in connection with the German Scientists Program. The Criminal Division requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation of Tivadar with particular emphasis on the security aspect of the immigration of Tivadar into the US for permanent residence. (S) (U)

One of these papers, entitled, "Complete Background Investigative Data," contained the following statement, "In 1944 Barasits was arrested by the Gestapo along with Ferenc Nagy, former member of the House of Representatives, leader of the Hungarian Smallholders (peasant) Party, and former Prime Minister of Hungary. He was confined in Pesthoded Prison, Budapest, in the same cell with Nagy on the charge of being an anti-German and was released on July 10, 1944." (S) (U)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

0-7 to [redacted] RE correct Bn+.1e #2/28/83 rbd

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ([redacted]) DATE: 1/13/72

b3
b7E

FROM : SAC, ALEXANDRIA ([redacted]) (&) (U)

SUBJECT: FERENC NAGY
IS-HU

Re New York letter to Bureau, 10/29/71; and Alexandria letter to Bureau, 12/7/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies and for New York and WFO one copy each of LHM captioned as above.

Subject has been interviewed by Bureau Agents in the past regarding the Hungarian Emergency Refugee Program (HERP).

No further investigation is contemplated by Alexandria.

wch

EX-100

62-83632-30

ENCLOSURE

REC-22 [redacted]

2 - Bureau (Enc. 6)(By Courier)
1 - New York (Enc. 1)(Info)(Registered Mail)
1 - WFO (Enc. 1)(Info)(Registered Mail)
1 - Alexandria
RMC:pka
(5)

JAN 14 1972

b3
b7E

AGENCY [redacted]
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 1-20-72
HOW FORW. 0-14F
BY RCO/ANC

ESPIONAGE

5 JAN 21 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

These papers also contained a report on Barasits' background which was taken from the State Department files. According to this report, Nagy gave various information, including that mentioned above. Nagy said that Barasits at the beginning of World War II was connected with the extreme right-wing Hungarian daily paper "Ui Magyarsag." Nagy doubted that Barasits was ever engaged in political activities, and said he never had any connection with the CP. (U)

Photostatic copies of above mentioned papers enclosed with Memo from AAG, Criminal Division, Dept. of Justice to the Director, dated 3/19/53 [redacted] (8)

b3
b7E

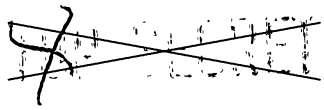
~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~

[redacted] furnished information regarding Ferenc Nagy in the course of a general conversation when he was interrogated concerning another matter. (Date not given). (U)

[redacted] stated that in 1945, when Ferenc Nagy, Hungarian Premier, was in the US a meeting was arranged for him with Secretary of State Byrnes, on a clandestine basis, at the Roosevelt Hotel, NYC. Nagy was alleged to have told Byrnes that he feared the Communists would take over in Hungary and he wished, on his return to Hungary, to create an issue with the Communists and call publicly for the intervention of American troops to prevent a Communist uprising at which time American troops should be ready to move into Hungary and secure it against Russian aggression. According to [redacted] Byrnes flatly refused to have anything to do with such a scheme. [redacted] said at the time that Nagy was in this country he was accompanied by Matyos Rakosi, Communist Hungarian leader. (U)

b7D

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]



b6
b7C
b7D

Although [redacted] inferred that he was present at the time of this interview he did not specifically say so. (U)

It was noted that although [redacted] a confidential source of information to [redacted], had furnished accurate information to [redacted] his reliability could not be vouched for. (U)

[redacted] letter, 6/10/48
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US
IS-(Rand HU)
100-354194-33
(22) (U)

About the first of January, 1945, [redacted] made available the names and affiliations of those composing the Provisional Government of Hungary as set up in Soviet occupied Debrecen. It was the informant's opinion that the Soviets permitted a majority of Social Democrats and Liberals in its government in order to get the support of the Hungarian people in Nazi occupied Hungary. He felt that this was only temporary and that post war Hungary would be governed by a provisional government. The list of members of the government included the following: Ferenc Nagy, a radical and member of the Peasant Party. (U)

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b7D
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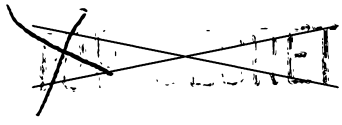
NY teletype, 1/3/45
Re: Hungarian Matters, Information Concerning
[redacted]
(38) (U)



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

On 6/29/53 the Dept. of State, Wash, DC, furnished a copy of a communication they received from the American Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, dated 6/12/53, with copies of two reports in the Hungarian language. The communication and reports concerned information on Elizabeth Gabor, alleged Hungarian Communist residing in the US. According to the communication the reports were furnished to the Embassy by the ex-Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, and according to his daughter-in-law, Mme. Ilona Horthy, who acted as his secretary, the source of the reports was a group of ex-Hungarian Army Officers located in Munich and Austria. (S) (U)

Mme. Horthy explained that Mrs. Gabor with the aid of the Social-Democratic underground made her way to Zurich, Switzerland. She eventually reached the US through the warranty of Charles Peyer. (S) (U)

Peyer was said to be a former Hungarian politician and a friend of Ferenc Nagy and a member of the HNC in NY. Mme. Horthy believed that he probably sponsored Mrs. Gabor in good faith. (S) (U)

A translation of the report on Robert Gabor, husband of Elizabeth Gabor, and his associations, set forth various information on Dr. Sandor Ujvary, including the following . (S) (U)

In February, 1945, he was the liaison officer in Budapest between the occupying Russian command and the Hungarian BUM (Translator's Note: Probably the abbreviation for Ministry of Interior). In Budapest he was known as a Russian leader, and in cooperation with the Russians he defrauded many people. (S) (U)

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

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b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

Ferenc Nagy maintained close association with him because of his good ties with the Russians. Thus, in 1946, when conditions were getting somewhat better and Russian leadership was becoming less essential, Ujvari received a counsellor's rank in the Rebuilding Ministry. He switched from the Russians to the political police and worked for them. (X) (U)

Copy of the above mentioned communication and reports, and also a copy of the translations enclosed with
Memo from the Director, Office of Security, Dept. of State, Wash., DC, dated 6/29/53
[redacted] *encl. pp.1,4*
(34)
[redacted] *encl. p.5*
(34)

b3
b7E

"~~SECRET~~-SECURITY INFORMATION"

On 1/6/55 [redacted] *NYC, advised that on 10/15/44 he was deported from Budapest, Hungary to Sopronkshida, Hungary, a place where all those that were considered to possess anti-Nazi sentiments were taken.*

b6
b7C

On 4/1/45 [redacted] *was transferred to Bavaria, where he was imprisoned in a number of camps, the last of which was Tenn, Bavaria. Here* [redacted] *and his fellow prisoners were liberated by American Troops in May, 1945. He returned to Budapest on 7/18/45.*

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

TOP SECRET

Concerning his return, [redacted] reported that after his wife learned of his whereabouts she exerted every effort to bring him back to Hungary. He said she was greatly assisted in this matter by the then Hungarian Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy.

b6
b7C

New York Rpt. 1/13/55
Re: [redacted] aka
[redacted] p.4 (U)
(11)

b3
b7E

About September, 1945 Stefam Rogozinski, NYC, (not further identified) furnished information bulletins distributed by the Polish Government in London. (U)

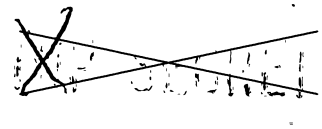
According to these bulletins, which were entitled "Birthpains of Democracy," Ferencz Nagy, Minister of Reconstruction, in Hungary, made a speech on 8/12/45 in Debreczen, Hungary, on the reconstruction of that country. Among other things, Nagy stated that "reconstruction cannot start in every field of production with equal strength, because we have to try to use our forces primarily where they are most useful...." He spoke of the role of capital in reconstruction and said that house-owners were not making adequate efforts to restore their property. He said that collaboration among the democratic parties was essential. Nagy discussed the elections. (U)

Nagy interpreted democracy in the western sense, and condemned methods such "that eventually only party secretaries and police informers can sleep in peace." (U)

TOP SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C



Nagy's speech was set out in detail in this reference, as reported in "Kis Ujsag," the Smallholders' Party daily. (U)

In regard to inflation and food supplies in Hungary, the bulletin reported that on 8/9/45, Hans Weyrmann, President of the Red Cross Committee, handed over six lorry loads of gifts to the Minister of Reconstruction, which had been collected in Switzerland by a single broadcast appeal. (U)

[Copy of above mentioned bulletins enclosed with] (U)
Bureau memo, 9/27/45
[Re: Polish Activities] (U)
(No character of case) (U)
[redacted] (U)
(49)

b3
b7E

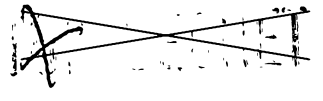
This reference is a copy of an airgram, dated 8/22/45, from the United States Mission, Budapest, Hungary, to the Secretary of State, Wash, DC. This airgram contained editorial comments and items of political interest in the Hungarian press for the week ending 8/22/45.

One of the items mentioned that Ferenc Nagy, Minister of Reconstruction, stated in a meeting of the Smallholders Party in Debrecen "that due to the autocratic actions of local dictators, hundreds and even thousands of leaders and members of the Smallholders Party are often under arrest all over the country, because they believed freedom had been restored and consequently had given free reign to their opinions....." Among other things, Nagy also stated that the Smallholders Party wanted a fair election uninfluenced either by public administration or any sort of armed force. (No dates given). (Article appeared in "Kis Ujsag"- Smallholders publication).

[redacted] (U)
(38)

b3
b7E

~~"RESTRICTED"~~



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-07-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

On 2/12/53 the Salzburg Liaison Office, of Salzburg, Austria, furnished memoranda reflecting available data in the files of G2, US Forces in Austria (USFA), concerning individuals who were employed by or working for persons or organizations operating the 1946 escape network of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. (S) (U)

A memo regarding Ignatz Auspitz, revealed that he had been drafted for labor service at different times and places and he also interned in concentration camps. In April 1945 he was sent to Gunskirchen near Wels, Upper Austria, and on 5/4/45 he was liberated by the Americans. While in the Wels area he was appointed as a member of the Hungarian Repatriation Mission which had been invited to Austria to help in the repatriation of Hungarians and to reclaim Hungarianproperty. While in this position he was invited, and he accepted the invitation to come to Budapest for consultations with Ferenc Nagy. This was in October 1945 and he remained for two days. (No details of conferences were given.) (S) (U)

This memo was stamped with the same classification as that appearing in the records of G2, USFA, which was "Security Information-Secret."

Copies of above mentioned memoranda enclosed with Salzburg Liaison Office memo, 2/12/53
Re: [redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] (S) (U)
(35)

b3
b7E
b7D

On 10/14/49 [redacted] furnished a copy of a CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) investigative report, dated 8/12/49, concerning Dr. Alexander Szatmari, who requested a visa in December, 1948 to enter the US. This request was informally denied as he had been influential in the CP in Hungary. (S) (U)

[redacted] (S) (U)

This report revealed that Szatmari stated that in October, 1945, he was asked by Peter Zerkovitz, the leader of an anti-Communist movement in Budapest, to join the Hungarian CP in order to obtain certain information for him, which he, Zerkovitz, could turn over to interested governments, including the US. (S) (U)

Szatmari questioned the advisability of such a move because the Communists and the Soviets probably knew, by that time, that he had been in contact with the British during the war. Zerkovitz answered this by saying he (Zerkovitz) was a good friend of Ferencs Nagy, the former Hungarian Premier, and, therefore, could assist Szatmari if necessary. (S) (U)

Copy of above mentioned
report enclosed with
Letter from [redacted] dated 10/14/49 b7D
[100-366069-1, encl. p. 2] (S) (U)
(46)

~~"SECRET"~~

On 8/19/54 Zoltan Poharnok furnished a written summary of his activities to the Miami Field Office. Poharnok reported that he was an artist; born 7/4/05 in Gyer, Hungary, and was married in 1930 to Clara Farkas.

This statement, which was quoted in full in this reference, stated in part: "In the year 1942 I started noticing that my wife was consorting with strange characters of whom I learned later that they were active organizers of the Communist Party. At that time I was the Chairman of the Cultural Committee of the Smallholders Party. (President: the Rev. Zoltan Tildy, Secretary: Ferenc Nagy and Rev. Bela Varga, the latter now residing in New York) and while we were under the Nazi regime-regarded as 'leftists,'-our party refused to enter into alliance with the Social Democrats and later with the Communist Party, for both political and religious reasons....."

Poharnok also stated that in October, 1945 he was "appointed Representative of the Hungarian Council of Arts to the USA. The nomination confirmed, (by the Ministry of Culture and also by the Foreign Office) and a visa was applied for by the FO, application supported by a 'Verbal Note' by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Ferenc Nagy, who became elected to that office by the Smallholders Party, who won the last free election in Hungary." Poharnok arrived in US about June 1946.

Poharnok further reported that on or about April 20th (year not given) he heard that Mr. F. Nagy had gone into exile and that the Communists had taken over Hungary. He resigned as Representative of the Hungarian Council of Arts and informed the State Dept., Wash., D.C., at which time he requested haven as a refugee.

In this statement Poharnok advised that he was "willing to sign this statement under oath at any time."

Miami rpt. 8/30/54
Re: Zoltan Poharnok, aka.;
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] *pp. 3, 4*
(36)

b3
b7E

This reference is a copy of a G-2 Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 19 for the period ending 11/21/45. (S) (U)

This summary gave a report on the 1945 elections in Budapest, Hungary. In the general election the Small Landholders Party (SLP) won by a large majority, receiving 245 seats in the new assembly. (S) (U)

Summary reported the third leader of the SLP was Ferenc Nagy, a farmer who was a good organizer and who was Minister of Reconstruction in the last government. (S) (U)

[redacted] *p. 40*
(4)

b3
b7E

On 3/13/53 the Legat of Salzburg, Austria, furnished a memorandum concerning Hungarian organizations in exile, individuals connected with those organizations and other exiled Hungarians, which was furnished to that office by the 430th CIC Detachment, Salzburg, Austria. It was pointed out that the original source was the [redacted] b7D It was noted that the information supplied by [redacted] was probably not without bias since he was connected with the [redacted]

This memo set forth in detail some background information on Ferenc Nagy, who was listed as a member of the National Committee (committee not clearly indicated). Concerning Nagy, this memo stated in part: "Ferenc Nagy; A Smallholder owning seventeen (17) jochs (approximately 30 acres) of land, who completed grammar school and became a member of parliament of the Smallholders' Party in 1939. During the war he was an ardent adherent of the German policy until 1943. A foe of the Jews until after the failure of the Germans at Stalingrad, he became anti-German and a friend of the Jews. He was one of those from the Smallholder Party who, together with the Social Democrats and the prohibited Communist Party, formed a secret alliance (with the Soviets) on March 8, 1944, and then made propaganda in the interest of the Soviets. In 1946, with the help of the Soviets, he became Prime Minister of Hungary and was a one hundred percent (100%) adherent to the Soviet policy. In recognition of his services he received a large luxury car as a gift from Stalin ....."

This memo also reported that Dr. W.F. (name not given) who was president of a large "cooperative" in 1943, and who had befriended Nagy in 1943, was arrested in 1946 while Nagy was Prime Minister. While in jail he took pneumonia and died. During his illness, Nagy denied an appeal from his wife to allow her to give him (her husband) a blanket.

Copies of above mentioned memorandum enclosed with Memo from Legal Attache, Salzburg, Austria, 3/13/53 Re: Hungarian Organization in Exile; [redacted] encl. pp. 1, 2 b3 b7E
(31)

On 4/24/56, [redacted] b7D
[redacted] NY State CP, who was expelled from the CP in [redacted] (reliability not given) advised that Emil Schafer of NYC, was expelled from the CP about 1930.

[redacted] believed that Schafer must have regained the good graces of the CP during the 1940's because in 1946 and in 1948 he, Lautner, saw him at two functions. Lautner recalled that Ferenc Nagy (former Premier of Hungary) was in attendance at the 1946 function, which was held at the Hotel Commodore. (No further details of this affair were given).

NY rpt. 6/11/56
Re: Emil Schafer, wa.
Registration Act
[redacted] b3
(12) b7E

This reference is a copy of a G-2 Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 28 for the period ending 1/24/46. (S) (U)

Concerning the political activity in Budapest, Hungary, this summary reported that Zoltan Tildy, leader of the Smallholder-dominated Coalition Government, might resign to become President of the National Assembly. This summary named Ferenc Nagy as one of the possible successors to Tildy. (S) (U)

[redacted] p.28 b3
(5) (C) (U) b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 5/7/47 the American Legation of Budapest, Hungary, furnished the State Department, Wash., DC, with a memorandum entitled "Soviet Economic Penetration of Hungary" prepared from information available in the files of the Legation by Robert S. Folsom, Second Secretary of the Legation. (S) (U)

On the topic "The Domestic Political Scene-Growth of Communist Power" this memo reported that the Budapest municipal election of October and the National election of November, 1945 both resulted in the majorities for the Smallholders Party. As a result of the National election, Ferenc Nagy, a Smallholder, became President of the National Assembly, with two vice presidents, one a Communist and the other a Social Democrat. (S) (U)

Upon establishment of the Republic on 2/1/46, Zoltan Tilday became President, Ferenc Nagy became Prime Minister and the Smallholder Bela Vargna became President of the National Assembly. (S) (U)

This memo also reported on how the Smallholders Party was reduced and how the Communist gained control of the government. (S) (U)

Copy of above mentioned memo enclosed with a copy of a letter from the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary, dated 5/7/47 to the Secretary of State, Washington, DC

[redacted] encl. p.18] (S) (U) b3 b7E

(6)

"~~SECRET~~"

This reference is a copy of a letter dated 2/8/46, from the American Legation in Budapest, Hungary, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. This communication concerned plans by the Hungarian Government to establish a new post named, "Supreme Commander of Police" within the Hungarian State Police. The Ministerial Council appointed Gyula Ballassa, a Social Democrat, for the post.

~~TOP SECRET~~

The creation of this post and the appointment of Ballassa was thought to be the first step taken to offset the Communist influence in police matters. The new Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, in presenting the government's program to the National Assembly, February 7, advocated an immediate shake-up in police administration.

[redacted] (8) (S) (U)

b3
b7E

~~"RESTRICTED"~~

On 3/26/46 the American Legation in Budapest, forwarded to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, copies of correspondence from Hungarian Attache in London. (S) (U)

This correspondence consisted of translated copies of two letters from Tamas Szabo, an attache of the Hungarian Mission in London. One was addressed to Ferenc Nagy, Hungarian Prime Minister, Budapest. The other was addressed to Istvan Csicsery Ronay, a personal friend of his in Budapest. These letters were handed to Louis Mark, an employee of the Legation while he was in Paris in March 1946. (S) (U)

The letter to Nagy was dated 3/17/46 at Paris and Szabo addressed Nagy as "My dear Uncle Feri." This letter makes mention of a group apparently headed by Nagy, which was evidently planning to send certain Hungarian politicians and economists out of the country, presumanly with the idea of forming an exile government should an opportunity arise. (S) (U)

The letter to Ronay was also dated 3/17/46, and he addressed him as "Dear Pista." Tamas claimed that Mark was a good and old friend of his with whom he worked a great deal, and said he had sent Mark to see Ferenc Nagy. Several times in this letter Szabo mentioned Nagy or the FN crowd or group. (S) (U)

The Legation advised that Mark at the time was unaware of the contents of these letters, and that he was only slightly acquainted with Szabo. The Legation also advised that because of the political implications of the letters and the fact that they enclosed a ~~secret~~ though elementary code, they were not being delivered to the addressees and were being returned to the sender. (S) (U)

Copies of above mentioned letters enclosed with a copy of a Letter from American Legation, Budapest, to the Secretary of State, Wash., dated 3/26/46

[redacted] (S) (U) b3 b7E
(38) ✓

~~"SECRET"~~

This reference is a paraphrase of an incoming State Dept. telegram, dated 5/31/46, from Budapest, Hungary, regarding Communist activity in Hungary. (S) (U)

According to this telegram, Ambassador Schoenfeld* advised that the Labor parties had failed to reply to the Small Holders' communication which requested that there be a greater distribution of the functions of the police and provincial administration. (S) (U)

Vargha Bela* advised that Ferenc Nagy** was "seriously considering" handing in his resignation, when the Small Holders Committee convened, in default of favorable action at the inter-Party meeting on 6/1/46. (S) (U)

Revai*, the spokesman of the CP, stated in an editorial in the "Szabad Nep," that the Communists would not negotiate with the Small Holders as long as the Small Holders remained reactionary. (S) (U)

[redacted] (S) (U) b3 b7E
(38) ✓

~~"SECRET"~~

*Not further identified.

**First name written in blue pencil on mail

~~DEPARTMENT~~

The following references, which were received from the State Dept., are in regard to the visit of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, and other Hungarian officials, to London and the US in June 1946. The references concern the invitation; purpose of visit; his expected arrival in the US, and the activities planned for him during his stay in the US. (S) (U)

ENGLAND

File Number	*SSp#*	*Security Classification*
[redacted] (C) (U)	(38)	"~~Secret~~"
	(38)	"~~Secret~~"
	(39)	"~~Secret~~"
	(39)	"~~Secret~~"
	(39)	"~~Secret~~"
	(39)	Not classified
	(Not indexed)	"~~Secret~~"

b3
b7E

This reference is a paraphrase of an incoming State Dept. telegram, dated 6/3/46, from Budapest, Hungary, regarding Communist activities in Hungary. (S) (U)

*According to this telegram, the internal political situation had improved and the tension had abated somewhat. The telegram reported that the leftist groups had agreed to give the Small Holders Party more recognition in the provincial governments and to talk further on the reorganization of the Government. Telegram also reported that apparently Prime Minister *Ferenc Nagy's threat to resign had some effect.* (S) (U)

[redacted] (38) (C) (U)

b3
b7E

**Ferenc was written on reference with blue pencil.*

"~~SECRET~~"

~~NO SECRET~~

The 7/17/46 issue of the "New York Journal-American" contained an article, and a photograph of a Hungarian delegation meeting with Representative Sol Bloom (D-NY) in Washington D.C. The five individuals in the photograph included Ferenc Nagy, Prime Minister of Hungary. One individual whose face was blocked out was believed by the NY Office to be Mathias Rakosi, Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary.

The article related that this individual was a close friend of Joseph Stalin and apparently was just another who had come with hat in hand begging for a handout from the US Treasury and American taxpayers. The article also stated that this individual would be identified in a subsequent issue.

Copy of above mentioned newspaper article enclosed with NY memo, 7/17/46 Re: CP, USA;

[redacted] (S) (U)
(39)
[redacted] (S) (U)
(39)

b3
b7E

This reference is a copy of a [redacted] Information Report, dated 8/22/51, on the subject of Hungarian Emigration in Austria. (S) (U)

b3
b7E

This report noted that the strongest Hungarian group of emigrants remaining in Austria was located in Salzburg (US zone). Most of these were in sympathy with the HNC established in the US, and the leader of this group was Istvan Barankovics. (S) (U)

Barankovics' deputy was the former Air Force Colonel and Hungarian Air Attache in Berlin, Mihaly Nagy, who joined the Social-Democratic Party. The Communist regime named Mihaly Nagy as a special Commissioner to obtain the return of Hungarian-owned properties from Austria. He was working in this capacity in 1947, when Ferenc Nagy was ousted and after that never returned to Hungary. It was reported that he made a connection with the American Services in Austria, and was believed to be in the US, as of August 1951. (S)(U)

This information was unevaluated by [redacted] but the office of origin listed the source as fairly reliable, and the source's opinion of the contents of the report as probably true. (S)(U) b3 b7E

[redacted] (40) (S)(U)

"~~SECRET~~"

On 12/13/51 the NY Field Office submitted a copy of a report which was to be submitted to Rade Lukic by [redacted] on 12/19/51 in NYC. The Bu. was requested to advise NY of approval or of changes to be made in the report not later than 12/17/51. (S)(U) b7D b7E

In discussing the activities of the Imre Koracs, former employee of the NCFE, this report noted that Koracs was the head of a small Peasant group in Hungary and in 1947 after he escaped from that country, he made an agreement in the US with Ferenc Nagy, former head of the Hungarian Small Holder Party, and according to this agreement, the Parties of Koracs and Nagy were to be united and Nagy would be Chairman of the two parties and Koracs Deputy Chairman. (U)

Above mentioned report enclosed with (U) [NY] Memo, [12/13/51] (U) (U) [Re: Rade Lukic] (U) [redacted] encl. p.5] (U) (33) b3 b7E

On 9/22/47 the State Dept. furnished a copy of a blind memorandum concerning one Florian, a personal representative of the Hungarian Communist chief, Rakosi, who had just arrived in Wash, DC. (U)

According to this memo, Florian was attached to the Hungarian Legation as secretary. His job was to supervise and control Legation activities on behalf of the CP and to serve as a liaison agent with the Communist groups among the American-Hungarian organizations. (U)

This memo also reported that it was Florian who took [redacted] to the Austro-Swiss border in the summer of 1947 to turn him over to his father, Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, in exchange for his resignation. Mme. Nagy, wife of the former Prime Minister, claimed (with no better supporting evidence than feminine intuition) that Florian was sent here by Budapest to kidnap her boy [redacted] (U)

b6
b7C

Copy of above mentioned memo enclosed with State Dept. letter, dated 9/22/47
100-352480-2
(21)
SI 100-352480-5, p.2 (U)
(22)

Correlators Note: The name of Laszlo Florian was written on the cover sheet with a blue pencil. (U)

~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~

On 9/26/49 the American Legation, Budapest forwarded to the State Dept., Wash., DC, copies of an English translation, prepared jointly by the British and American Legations in Budapest, of the testimony of the prosecution witnesses in the trial of Laszlo Rajk* on 9/20/49.

*Rajk was found guilty of espionage on behalf of Yugoslavia and America, and received the death sentence during the latter part of September 1949.

Endre Szebenyi, former Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Interior, testified that Rajk, as Minister of Interior, quashed the investigation of Ferenc Nagy, Jr., Legation attache in Washington, who was involved in the Donath conspiracy (not clearly explained, possibly an anti-republican plot) and confirmed Rajk's ties with Yugoslav agents.

Szebenyi stated that in February 1947 Rajk told Ferenc Nagy, the Prime Minister, that there were grave charges against his son, and that he, Rajk, might not proceed against him. Nagy advised his son in Washington, therefore, Ferenc Jr. refused to return to Hungary when he was summoned to do so by the Hungarian Government. This was also the reason why the government deprived him of his citizenship. Szebenyi also testified that he knew of a letter found in the apartment of one of the conspirators - which said "that a counterrevolutionary group was active in this country, headed by Ferenc Nagy....." According to Szebenyi, Rajk suppressed this letter.

Copy of translation of testimony mentioned above enclosed with copy of a letter from the American Legation, Budapest, to the State Dept. Washington, dated 9/26/49
[redacted] *enc. pp.6-8* (U) b3 b7E
(40)

"Unclassified"

This reference is a copy of a [redacted] *report, dated 2/11/47 at Budapest, Hungary, on the subject "Prime Minister's Views; Diplomatic Appointments."* (U) b3 b7E

~~SECRET~~

This report advised that the Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy stated that with the signing of the Hungarian Peace Treaty, the cabinet would resign and be reappointed with himself still as Prime Minister. This cabinet would last until the next elections which would probably not take place until autumn. Nagy also remarked that one faction of the Social Democratic Party, headed by the Hungarian Minister to Great Britain, Istvan Bede, was trying to secure the premiership for the Social Democratic Party and for Bede. President Zoltan Tildy said he would never appoint "that scum" Bede as Prime Minister. (S)(U)

Nagy indicated that about 20 to 25 Small Holder Party members of Parliamant would be forced out of both Parliament and the Party in connection with the conspiracy case. However, some of those to be ousted were actually being dismissed for Party reasons. Nagy also revealed that the Radical bloc was seeking to implicate the Hungarian Minister to France, Pal Auer, in the conspiracy case. Nagy said he would support Auer as long as possible but that he was not sure whether he could save him. (S)(U)

Source was evaluated as "cannot be judged," information as "cannot be judged." (S)(U)

[redacted] (39) (S)(U)

b3
b7E

"~~SECRET/CONTROL, U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~"

~~SECRET~~

A State Dept. intelligence report, dated 2/19/47, contained a detailed account of the Hungarian Political Crisis. It reported that during the last week of December, 1946 the Communist-controlled Hungarian political police announced that it had uncovered a large underground conspiracy to reestablish the Horthy regime in Hungary. (S) (U)

The report set out the Smallholders strategy of defense and noted that the Smallholders' Party was fighting for its life with all its might and had absolutely no intention of giving up the ghost. It also reported that the party would accept only one solution: a government headed by the Smallholder Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and based on the political ration produced by the national elections of 1944. (S) (U)

This report also noted that Kalman Salata, a member of the civilian committee of the "Hungarian Community," was a close confidant of Prime Minister Nagy. (S) (U)

Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with Letter from the State Dept., Wash, DC dated 3/4/47 [redacted] encl. p.11] (S) (U) b3 b7E

(5)

"~~SECRET~~"

This reference is a copy of a [redacted] report regarding the approval of the European Peasant Party Movement Declaration in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, dated 3/20/47 at Paris, France. (S) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This report advised that according to [redacted] b7D
[redacted], *the final draft of the European Peasant Party Movement Declaration* (EPPMD) had been approved by all the Yugoslav, Hungarian, Polish, and Bulgarian Peasant Party representatives. These representatives agreed that the declaration should be signed by all the Peasant Party leaders in time for presentation to the Moscow Conference. However, the Rumanians said they were not prepared to sign the declaration at that time and wished to wait until the Moscow Conference adjourned before assuming a definite position. This report also advised that* [redacted] *might disregard the Rumanians and publish the declaration during the Moscow Conference, if so, it would "also lack the signature of Ferenc Nagy, leader of the Hungarian Smallholders Party, in view of his present position as Prime Minister of the Hungarian Government."* (S)(U)

Source was evaluated as usually reliable; information as probably true. (S)(U)

[redacted] (S)(U) b3 b7E
(37)

"~~Secret/Control, US Officials only~~"

A review of the passport files at the Dept. of State, Wash, DC revealed a letter, dated 8/19/46, addressed to the Department, and signed by G.E. Orley, President of the American Merchandise Mart, Inc., of Philadelphia, Pa. In this letter Orley requested a passport for the purpose of visiting Budapest, Hungary, at the invitation of the Prime Minister, Purpose of the visit was to establish normal trade relations between the US and Hungary.

**Text of declaration not set out in this reference.*

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Attached to this letter was a memorandum, dated 8/16/46, captioned "Excerpt of Conversation Between the Prime Minister of Hungary with Major General Orley on July 15, 1946, in Regards to the Participation of the International Merchandise Mart in Hungarian Exports and Imports." The excerpt (which was quoted in full in reference) began: "The Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, expressed willingness and great approval of your plans for the economic rehabilitation of Hungary, that is, furnishing Hungary with essential raw materials and manufactured goods and equipment, etc....."

Passport No. 132396 was issued to Orley on 9/9/46. He expected to leave 10/1/46 by plane, and expected to return in one month.

In an effort to obtain permission from the American Allied Control Commission to enter Hungary, Orley furnished certain information, as requested, to the State Dept., on 4/15/47. According to this information, Nagy was among the persons Orley expected to contact in Hungary. He expected to arrive in Hungary the end of May, and to stay in Budapest two weeks. By letter, dated 5/27/47, Orley was advised that the Allied Control Commission had denied his request to enter Hungary.

*On 5/18/48 T-1, considered reliable, advised that Geza Orley had told him he had a brother, Gyorgy (George), who was a notary public in Hungary and an old friend of the *former Prime Minister of Hungary. T-1 said George Orley died a few years ago.*

(T-1: [redacted] (S)(U)

(S)(U)

WFO Rpt. 7/22/48
Re: American Merchandise Mart, Inc., aka;
and Geza E. Orley, was.
[redacted] pp.3,4,5,7
(10) (S)(U)

b3
b7E
b7D

**Probably Ferenc Nagy* (S)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 10/9/52 Robert Major, 154 W. 92nd. St., NYC, was interviewed at the NY Field Office, at which time he furnished information concerning his background and activities. Major reported that during early 1945 he received an appointment as Ministerial Counseler in the Hungarian Ministry of Justice. He functioned in this capacity during the regimes of Prime Ministers Zoltan Tilday and Ferenc Nagy, and his principal work consisted of preparing background data on notorious Hungarian war criminals.

From 1945 to 1947 he worked with Nagy, and others, in publishing the "Kis Ujsag" (Little Journal), official daily publication of the Hungarian Smallholders Party. Nagy was forced out of Hungary by Communist pressure in May, 1947 and he, Major, left Hungary in September 1947.

Major stated that he went to Rome, Italy, and during his stay there he occasionally met George Kosa, Press Attache of the Hungarian Legation. Major said Kosa was a Social-Democrat and obtained his position in the Hungarian Foreign Service during the regime of Ferenc Nagy.

Major also stated that while in Rome he met Janos Wolff, who said he had been a police officer in Hungary following World War II, attached to the Prime Ministry. Major believed Wolff was well known to Nagy.

NY rpt. 10/22/52
Re: Robert Major
[redacted] (E) (U)
(34)

b3
b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

About February, 1949 Francis Petri and Anthony Wimmer, defectees from the Hungarian Legation, advised that John G. Florian, former First Secretary of the Legation, was the man who in about May, 1947 when Ferenc Nagy was visiting in Switzerland and the Communist regime in Hungary was holding Nagy's son, [redacted] as a hostage, delivered [redacted] to his father at the border in exchange for Nagy's resignation as Prime Minister of Hungary. (X) (U) b6 b7C

WFO memo, 3/31/49
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US.
IS-R and HU
100-354194-150, p.4 (X) (U)
(23)

This reference is a photostatic copy of the Foreign Radio Broadcast #61, dated 5/19/47, which was made in Moscow, in Hungarian to Europe, 5/15/47, 11:00 AM EST--L. This broadcast concerned an article by George Fielding Eliot which had been published in the New York Herald Tribune and broadcasted over a New York radio station. (X) (U)

This broadcast claimed that Eliot gave a distorted picture of Hungary and concerning the Hungarian Trade Ties stated in part: "This time we would like to suggest that Eliot should become familiar with, say, Premier Ferenc Nagy's recent speech, the more so as the latter might be better conversant with the results of the Soviet-Hungarian commercial agreement. Already a year ago the Hungarian Premier emphasized that if Hungary has succeeded in attaining big results in the sphere of economic reconstruction this was due solely to the Soviet Union's support." (X) (U)

An editors note reported: "Reference to a more recent speech of Premier Nagy advocating the closest collaboration between Hungary and the Soviet Union." (X) (U)

100-154857-2X
(19)

~~TOP SECRET~~

The following references contain information concerning the political problems in the Budapest Communist controlled government and the action taken against former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, ousting him from office, while on leave in Switzerland in May 1947, and causing him to refuse to return to Hungary. The references also include background information on Nagy, exiled in the US, and information on some of those instrumental in forcing his resignation on 5/30/47. (U)

File #	SSp. #	Reference	Date	Security Classification
100-7660-4346 p.57	(18)	Intelligence Review #70	6/19/47	"~~Secret~~"
100-7660-4349 p.36	(18)	Intelligence Review #69	6/12/47	"~~Secret~~"
100-7660-4387	(18)	Intelligence Summary #9	6/9/47	"~~Secret~~"
100-7660-4433 p.30	(18)	Intelligence Summary #19	10/27/47	"~~Secret~~"
100-7660-4470 p.C3	(18)	Intelligence Summary #28	3/1/48	"~~Secret~~"

(U)

Approximately the first part of June 1947 Laszlo Jekelyi was appointed by the Board of Hungarian Ministers as the Hungarian Minister to the Netherlands and Belgium. This was done while Ferenc Nagy was the Prime Minister of Hungary. (U)

(U)

While in Switzerland, en route to his new post, Jekelyi openly repudiated the Hungarian government and said he would join Mr. Nagy in exile and help set up the Hungarian Government in exile. (U) [(redacted) for both pars. above] (U)

Shortly before Jekelyi reached Switzerland, (date not given), (redacted) advised that he received a letter from a friend of his telling of Jekelyi's plan for coming to the US. This friend told informant to be most careful of Jekelyi since he was suspected of coming to this country to sabotage Nagy and any counter-governments which Nagy would attempt to organize in this country. (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

In December, 1946 Nagy and his wife had dinner at the home of Jekelyi in Budapest. (U)

In June, 1947 Jekelyi arrived in the US, and after his arrival he received a cold shoulder from the Hungarian political exiles already here, including Ferenc Nagy. (U)
[(redacted) for 2 pars. above] (U)

(U)
[NY] rpt. 12/7/48
Re: Laszlo Jekelyi, was.
IS-R
100-351509-8 (U)
(21)
SI as par. 3 above
100-359474-3 (Inft. not given)
(26)
SI as par. 3 above (NY 100-89588)
(redacted)
(9)

~~SECRET~~

On 10/11/55 [redacted] furnished 10 copies of a Foreign Intelligence Counterespionage Handbook, classified ~~Secret~~, entitled "The History, Organization, and Functioning of the Hungarian State Security Service (AVH, Allamvedelmi Hatosag)." (S) (U) b3 b7E

Page 47 of this handbook reported that the year 1947 was the year in which the Communists gained political control of the Hungarian Government, and 1948 was the year in which that control was consolidated. Through both years the AVO (Allamvedelmi Osztaly, State Security Department) was the Party's most effective tool. The first major maneuver in the campaign to destroy non-Communist political parties began on the last day of 1946, when Laszlo Rajk's Ministry of Interior announced that nearly one hundred members of the Smallholders' Party, which controlled three-fifths of the seats in Parliament and held the premiership through its leader, Ferenc Nagy, had been implicated in a plot to overthrow the Government. The information on the basis of which evidence could be fabricated against these men was collected by the AVO and its predecessor unit in the Political Police. The evidence fabricated by the AVO and the AVO's possession of hostages were used to put pressure on Nagy to agree to the dismissal of thirty-five Smallholders from Parliament, and the Smallholders' Party no longer controlled a majority of seats. In May 1947, Nagy made a trip to Switzerland, and in June 1947, when Nagy was still absent, the Soviet element released a confession signed by Bela Kovacs, the Secretary General of the Smallholders' Party, that implicated Nagy and other leaders of his party in an alleged conspiracy. Nagy resigned as Premier and went directly from Switzerland to the US. Hungary was in the power of the Communists by the end of 1947. (S) (U)

Copies of above mentioned Handbook enclosed with Memo from [redacted] Wash., DC, dated 10/11/55 (S) (U)

[redacted] encl. p.47 (9) b3 b7E

(S) (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of a communication, dated 6/11/47, from the American Legation, Bern, Switzerland, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. This letter reported that Ferenc (Francis) Gordon, former Hungarian Minister in Bern, had made application on behalf of himself, his wife, his son, his brother, and the latter's daughter and son-in-law, for permission to enter the US for the purpose of establishing permanent residence. It was pointed out that after the resignation of Ferenc Nagy from the premiership in Hungary, Gordon disassociated himself from official connection with the regime in Hungary on 6/4/47.

A copy of a biographic statement furnished by Gordon was attached to this reference. This statement contained the following remarks: "During the whole nazi occupation and the siege I was in hiding in Budapest. After the Russian occupation I lived with Mr. Tildy and Mr. Ferenc Nagy, the lately resigned Premier, and tried to assist them in the government. In October 1945 I became a member of Parliament and on November 16 of the same year Minister of Finance, which position I accepted on Mr. Tildy's urgent appeal."

40-83733-1
(2)

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

On 6/6/47 the American Legation, Budapest, forwarded to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, a translation of the Russian protocol in the case of Bela Kovacs, a leader of the Smallholders Party, as released to the press by the Hungarian News Agency, MTI. The Legation reported that they had been informed that this text omitted certain vital portions of the testimony of Bela Kovacs, Pal Jaczko, and Gyula Salata that was transmitted to the Hungarian Government by the Acting Chairman of the Allied Control Commission, Hungary, General Sviridor.

~~TOP SECRET~~

It was noted from the text that Kovacs, Jaczko and Salata, during their examination, implicated Ferenc Nagy in the conspiracy in Hungarian government in 1946 and 1947. Nagy was accused among other things, of not doing anything when he heard of spy activities in the Smallholders Party, and was one of those responsible for having placed conspirators in key positions in the Party.

A copy of the Text of the
Russian Protocol mentioned
above enclosed with
A copy of a letter from
the American Legation,
Budapest to the Secretary of
State, Wash., dated 6/6/47
[redacted] (U) b3 b7E
(40)

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

In the 6/7/47 issue of the "DW" in an article entitled "Inside Story of Fascist Plot in Hungary," Olive Chuba, of Brooklyn, NY, condemned Bella Kovacs and former Premier Ferenc Nagy for conspiracy and espionage against the Hungarian Government and the Soviet Union. A picture of Lojos Dinnyes, new Premier of Hungary, was printed with this article.

NY rpt. 7/25/49
Re: Olive Sutton Chuba, was;
SM-C
100-349169-4
(20)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 6/7/47 the American Legation at Budapest, Hungary advised the Secretary of State, Wash., D.C., that the conservative daily papers in Budapest had not at that time commented on the Hungarian political crisis. The Legation also advised that the left bloc press had had a field day attacking the Smallholders Party. One of the papers stated "we do not triumph over Smallholders Party and Ferenc Nagy however justified we are because we have seen this coming for two years and have given numberless warning. Yet we are honestly sorry for Ferenc Nagy, this man of peasant stock who lost his way in mire of gentlemen's policy. Ferenc Nagy's downfall is not only his own but that of Smallholders policy as well, which was unable to tear itself away from world of past and which was conceived in womb of past regimes and never trusted peasantry's independence but rather collaborated with enemies of peasantry."

The Legation also advised that the Socialist Democratic daily newspaper "Nepszava" took sharper tones than the Communist press in voicing opinion that the purge in Hungarian life was overdue. They reported that the paper stated, among other things, "It stands without precedent that an active Prime Minister should have participated in a conspiracy against his own country's democratic order...."

Copy of a telegram from the American Legation, Budapest, to the Secretary of State, Wash., dated 6/7/47

[redacted] (U)

(39)

b3
b7E

"PLAIN"

This reference is a copy of a letter from the American Legation in Bern, Switzerland, dated 6/12/47, to the Secretary of State, Wash., D.C., with which they transmitted memoranda concerning the resignation in Switzerland of former Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and related political developments in Hungary. (S) (U)

One memo, dated 6/10/47, concerned a conversation held at the Legation on 6/10/47, between H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld, of the Legation, Ferenc Nagy, and Francois Gordon, ex-Hungarian Minister to Switzerland. It was noted that Nagy's remarks to Schoenfeld dealt chiefly with the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Bela Kovacs by the Soviet authorities and the unavailing efforts of the Hungarian Government to obtain his custody. Nagy said that it was upon the advice of Hungarian President Tildy, and the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Gyongyosi, that he had decided to tender his resignation and not return to Budapest. (S) (U)

Another memo, also dated 6/10/47, concerned events in Switzerland pertaining to the Hungarian political situation. This memo revealed that on 6/7/47 E.A. Plitt of the Legation questioned Minister Gordon as to what extent Nagy could meet the expenses which might be incurred for his and his family's transportation to the US. Gordon said he would inquire and let Plitt know. (S) (U)

On 6/8/47 Minister Gordon advised the Legation that friends of Nagy's in Switzerland would probably be able to provide sufficient funds to cover the expenses of his, Nagy, and his family's trip to the US and that he was ready to go. Gordon was asked to ascertain whether Nagy and his family would be willing to proceed by air. (S) (U)

Minister Gordon advised that Nagy's press conference had reluctantly been cleared by the Federal Political Department for the paper. Article published in the 6/8/47 issue of "La Suisse." (No further details were given.) (S) (U)

[redacted] *p. 1 and encl.* [redacted] *pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7* (40) (S) (U) b3 b7E

Regarding the resignations of Hungarian Ministers abroad, the American Legation in Budapest advised the Secretary of State, Wash., D.C., on 6/10/47, that the press quoted former Foreign Minister Gyongyossy (not further described) in evident attempt to safeguard himself, as saying "Ferenc Nagy condemned himself when he refused to return. This has been a terrible deception and only my disgust and nausea are greater." He expressed "indignation at *Szegedy Maszak's declaration disowning Hungarian Govt. and democratic Hungary." The Legation also advised that the left bloc press violently condemned the resigning Ministers as traitors.

Copy of telegram from American Legation in Budapest to Secretary of State, Wash., D.C., dated 6/10/47.

[redacted] (39) (U) b3 b7E

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

*Former Hungarian Minister to Washington, D.C.

This reference is a photostatic copy of excerpts from Foreign Radio Broadcast #77, dated 6/11/47. This broadcast was made from Moscow, 6/10/47, on the subject of the Hungarian crisis. According to the excerpts, it was stated that the discovery of Ferenc Nagy, the ex-Premier of Hungary, and other prominent Smallholder leaders who had taken part in the anti-republican plot had demonstrated the real scope of the struggle by the united forces of reaction against the young Hungarian democracy. (U)

One excerpt entitled "Nagy's Part in Criminal Plot", referred to Nagy as a traitor and discussed his activities in regard to the Republic. (U)

[redacted] (5) (U) b3 b7E

This reference is a photostatic copy of "Foreign Radio Broadcast #79, dated 6/13/47. This broadcast was made on 6/11/47 from Moscow over Tass, Soviet Overseas Service, in English Morse to North America, on "Developments in Hungary." (U)

The broadcast reported that "the Hungarian people, liberated by the Soviet Army from the fascist yoke, are building an independent democratic State of their own." (U)

It reported that among the political heads of the conspiracy in the Hungarian government there were a number of leaders of the Small Landholders Party, including former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy. (U)

The broadcast also reported "In connection with the US decision to refuse a loan to Hungary, the Hungarian public ask whether this decision means that certain American circles placed 'special hopes' on Ferenc Nagy, as the agent for their expansion plans regarding Hungary....." (U)

[redacted] (9) (U)

b3
b7E

This reference is a copy of a letter from the American Legation in Budapest, dated 6/26/47 to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. The Legation transmitted a translation of the major portion of the speech made in the Hungarian Parliament on 6/12/47 by Deszo Sulyok, leader of the Hungarian Freedom Party. The Legation thought the speech was notable not only for its outspoken comment on the state of affairs in Hungary, but also as a demonstration of the moral courage of the leader of the Freedom Party.

Sulyok described the terrorizing influence of the Communist-controlled Hungarian police on public and private life. He said Hungary had been transformed into a police state; there was no freedom of the press and no freedom of speech, and the people lived in fear and terror.

Sulyok mentioned the desertion of Hungary's Prime Minister, and stated in part: "In 1946 Ferenc Nagy had to cope with two tasks: 1. He had to convince the Soviet Union of the Hungarian people's friendship for the Soviet Union, and that the anti-Soviet mentality of this nation which lasted for 25 years had now ceased to exist. 2. Ferenc Nagy ought to have persuaded the Government of the Soviet Union that Hungary would never become an approach for other people towards Russia....." He further criticized Nagy and his polices, and, among other things, said "the greatest damage he did to this country was that he practically crushed and made worthless the Smallholders Party, this most important political factor of the 1945 elections from the standpoint of Hungary's future political development."

A copy of the translation of the above mentioned speech was enclosed with this reference (described above)

(40) [redacted] (U)

b3
b7E

"UNCLASSIFIED"

On 6/19/47 the American Legation in Bern, Switzerland, furnished the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, a translation of the text of a press interview accorded by the former Hungarian Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, in Geneva on 6/13/47, which was on the eve of his departure for the U.S. This press statement was published in the Swiss press on 6/14/47.

According to the translation, the statement was published in the "La Suisse," and Nagy's statement began as follows: "I am going to America with my family, in order to deliver a report on events in Hungary to Hungarians in America, of whom there are more than a million, and if necessary, also to world public opinion....."

Copy of translation of
Text of Press Statement
Mentioned above enclosed with
Copy of letter from American
Legation in Bern to the
Secretary of State, Wash., DC
dated 6/19/47
[redacted] (U)
(40)

b3
b7E

"UNCLASSIFIED"

This reference is a photostatic copy of Foreign Radio Broadcast # 80, dated 6/16/47. This broadcast was made on 6/14/47 in Moscow and concerned a communique of the Information Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR on the situation in Hungary. (U)

This communique stated in part: "On June 9, British Ambassador Peterson visited Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Molotov and, on the authorization of the British Government, made a statement in connection with recent changes in the composition of the Hungarian Government, which followed the exposure of former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy as an accomplice in a conspiracy against the Republican regime in Hungary. In his statement, Mr. Peterson ascribed the changes in the Hungarian Government to the activities of Soviet organs, which allegedly acted in Hungary by covert methods of some sort, this making the British Government doubt the true aims of the Soviet organs." (U)

Molotov's reply stated in part: "Former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, whose participation in the anti-Republican conspiracy has been proved, and who has fled abroad and himself resigned, has been replaced by a new Prime Minister from among the members of the Small Land-holders Party which is in a majority in the Parliament. These changes in the Government, as is known, have been effected in a normal constitutional way through the government and President of Hungary." (U)

[redacted] (U) b3 b7E

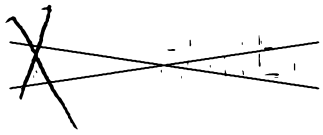
(6)

On 6/20/47 [redacted] reported that an unidentified woman, an educational leader from CP hdqrs., NYC, stated that the Party would attempt to prevent such people as Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Premier, from entering the U.S. (U) b7D b7E

(U)

New York rpt. 5/16/49
Re: Leon Julius Horowitz, was.
SM-C
100-168563-2
(19)

On 6/18/47 [redacted] advised the New York Field Office that he was then working on a matter of great importance, indicating that it was concerned with the formation of a Hungarian Government in exile in the US. (U) b7D b7E



Informant further indicated that he was working with Premier Florenc Nagy (evidently Ferenc Nagy), fugitive head of the Hungarian Government to the US, and many other diplomatic representatives of the Hungarian Government in the US who had refused to return to Hungary. (C) (U)

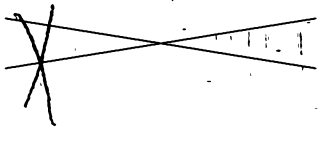
This reference enclosed two clippings from the "New York Times," dated 6/23/47, concerning the Hungarian situation.

(C) (U)
[NY] letter 6/25/47
[Re: Hungarian Government in Exile
IS-R
100-351153-1] (C) (U)
(Not listed on SS)

On 7/11/47 the American Legation of Vienna, Austria, forwarded to the Secretary of State, Washington, DC, the translation of a statement made by Bela Varga, exiled speaker of the Hungarian Parliament and a leader of the Smallholders Party. The statement was obtained on 6/23/47 by the Counter Intelligence Office in Salzburg, where Varga was residing at the time. Varga made statements concerning the constitutional developments in Hungary and his desire to form an anti-Communist opposition group outside of Hungary or a Government-in-exile at the earliest opportunity. (S) (U)

The statement began, "Let us have a look at Hungarian events since Ferenc Nagy left Hungary. After his departure for Switzerland, one could not help observing that the Communists and Russians were preparing for important events. (S) (U)

"A week before the exposition of the high treason charges, it was known that there going to be some big changes. It was rumored that the government was going to try Ferenc Nagy and Bela Varga for conspiracy....." (S) (U)



~~SECRET~~

The statement told of the developments that followed; how he and Nagy were accused of conspiracy; of his escape on 6/1/47 to Vienna; of his wish to join Nagy in Switzerland, which was not possible, and of his desire to meet Nagy in the immediate future. Varga discussed how they could form a coalition front (in exile) and what Nagy could do to help. (~~S~~) (U)

Copy of above mentioned statement enclosed with copy of letter from the American Legation, Vienna, Austria, dated 7/11/47, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC

[redacted] b3 b7E

(27)

"~~SECRET~~"

This reference is a copy of a telegram, dated 6/27/47, from American Legation in Moscow to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, which stated in part, "Red Star 'Defeat of Hungarian Reaction' by S. Samoilov reviews conspiracy against Govt. and states developments in Hungary prove Hungarian reaction has suffered defeat. Unanimous condemnation by workers of treasonable activity of Ferenc Nagy and his followers supported by foreign reactionary circles, has aroused deep disappointment and unconcealed venom from enemies of peace and democracy..... Reactionary press has also pointed out public opinion wasn't informed of charges against Ferenc Nagy and his brothers in arms. Evil intention of these statements is obvious. Trials of conspirators are being conducted openly and publicly..... It is also known that after Nagy had refused to return home he was invited to USA according Washington correspondent Reuther."

[redacted] (~~S~~) (U) b3 b7E

(39)

"PLAIN"

This reference is a copy of a telegram from American Legation in Budapest, dated 6/30/47, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. Telegram reported that the left wingers attempts to besmirch Ferenc Nagy in the eyes of peasants by use of the Hungarian press and radio and all other means at Communists' command was said to have completely failed. Budapest said they were assured on good authority that Nagy's standing with the bulk of the rural population was better than ever, that he was assuming the stature of a national hero.

[redacted] (40) (U) b3 b7E

~~"RESTRICTED"~~

During July 1947, George Mayer Fishman attended an "anti-Nagy" demonstration in New Brunswick, NJ. This demonstration was against the speech given in that city during July by Ferenc Nagy, a former high official of the Hungarian Government and an anti-Communist. (No further details were given).

T-7, of known reliability: CI (not further identified)
Newark Rpt. 10/5/49
Re: George Mayer Fishman, was;
IS-C
100-178123-15, p.5
(19)

This reference is a copy of a letter from the American Consulate, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, dated 7/21/47, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. This letter contained information regarding Karlo Mrazovic-Gaspar, Yugoslav Ambassador to Hungary, and included the following statement: "One of Mrazovic's younger associates in local government and Communist circles admiringly told a friend recently that Mrazovic and not Rakosi was the chief engineer of the coup which resulted in the ouster of Ferenc Nagy as Premier of Hungary and the Communist seizure of control of that country." (S) (U)

[100-352596-1] (S) (U)
(22)

"~~SECRET~~"

[On 3/25/48 [redacted] advised that Dr. Bela Pogany, who was associated with the "Magyar Jovo," was the former husband of Mrs. Stephen K. Swift, who resided at 853 Riverside Drive, NYC. Informant reported that Mrs. Swift and Dr. Pogany had a child who resided most of the time with Mrs. Swift but spent week ends or other such time with Dr. Pogany. According to informant, this seemed a peculiar situation in view of the fact that] (S) (U) Mrs. Stephen K. Swift [had been in close collaboration] (S) (U) with Ferenc Nagy, ex-Premier of Hungary in the latter's preparation of his book. Swift also collaborated with Nagy on articles which appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post" in August, 1947. b7D b7E

It was pointed out that Stephen K. Swift was a great friend of Informant's father while he was in Berlin in the 1920's. (No details of book or articles were given).

(S) (U)

(S) (U)
[NY] letter 4/6/48
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the United States;
IS-R
[100-354194-7, p.5] (S) (U)
(22)
SI 100-358508-31
(26)

(S) (U)

~~SECRET~~

On 7/17/47 Ivan Nagy, Secretary of the Hungarian Legation, Wash., D.C., told Andrew Sik, Attache of the Legation, that Ferenc Nagy had been asked by the AFL to speak to an anti-Communist meeting on 7/31/47 at Perth Amboy, NJ. (S) (U)

On 8/4/47 a Mr. Naidary of Stockholm, Sweden, telephoned Paul Marik, Counsellor at the Hungarian Legation, Wash., DC, and advised that he was on his way to Budapest. During the conversation Marik stated that "Ferenc Nagy was a failure at a recent conference." (S) (U)

Note on cover page, which was not clearly written, appeared to be as follows, "No dissemination-Tech. info.-all pert. data for dissem. ly let. 7/10/52." (S) (U)

[redacted] (S) (U)

b7E

WFO Rpt. 9/23/47
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US;
IS-R
100-89454-11X1, pp. 5,9 (S) (U)
(16)

On 5/18/48 the American Legation, Berlin, Germany furnished the State Department, Wash., DC, with information contained in their files which concerned Lt. Gen. Ferenc Farkas. According to these records, Gen. Farkas attempted to form a Hungarian government-in-exile in 1947. Gen Farkas visited the Consulate at Munich, and on the first occasion he left a declaration of his program. On his second visit he was warned against holding any sort of political meeting without Military Government permission. Farkas told the Consulate General that a government-in-exile was to be formed on 8/20/47 at a secret meeting to be held at Altsetting on the occasion of the annual celebrations for St. Stephen's Day. During the conversations Farkas revealed himself as Nationalistic and extremely anti-Communist, and appeared to be against Ferenc Nagy and Count Karolyi (not further identified). (S) (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Farkas appeared to be under the impression that he had the tacit approval of the Military Government and the Dept. of State for his plans. The General was advised by the Consulate that this was not so, and that CIC-with whom he had been in touch-had no authority to authorize the formation of a government-in-exile. (S) (U)

A copy of a letter from the American Legation in Berlin to the Dept. of State, Wash., DC, dated 5/18/48

[redacted] (S) (U) b3 b7E

(40)

Correlators Note: Information is insufficient to determine whether the Ferenc Nagy mentioned above is identical with the subject of this summary.

"~~SECRET~~"

On 8/20/47 Dr. Mladen Giunio-Zorkin, a representative of Dr. Vlatko Macek's Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) in the U.S. and Canada, called at the State Department, Wash., D.C. He wished to arrange a meeting for Dr. Macek, leader in exile of the CPP, with Department officials. Dr. Macek arrived in NY on 8/18/47 from Paris.* (S) (U)

Dr. Zorkin said that he hoped a house in the country near Washington could be found for Dr. Macek and his family as Dr. Macek wished to be in this locality because of the presence of the exiled leaders of the Bulgarian and Hungarian Peasant Parties, Dr. Georgi Dimitrov and *Ferenc Nagy. This would facilitate conversations in respect to a "bloc" of the various Eastern European peasant parties, formation of which was then being undertaken by representative leaders.* (S) (U)

Copy of Department of State "Memorandum of Conversation," dated 8/20/47

[redacted] b3 b7E

(12)

"~~SECRET~~"

**All first names were written on the mail in blue pencil.*

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~[illegible]~~

This reference is a photostatic copy of excerpts from Foreign Radio Broadcast #132, dated 8/29/47. The broadcast was made in the Hungarian language from Moscow, on 8/27/47, on the subject "New American Outbursts Against Hungarian Democracy." (U)

One of the excerpts read: "We have simply to point to the savage and provoking campaign carried out against Hungarian democracy by the renegade Ference Nagy with the approbation of influential American circles. Ference Nagy openly urges an intervention in Hungary's internal affairs, the British and American delegates threw their weight into turning down Hungary's request for admission to the U.N., and last but not least, only recently the United States quite unilaterally deprived Hungary of the 7 million dollar credit accorded her." (U)

[redacted] (45) (U)

b3
b7E

This reference is a typewritten document entitled "Translations From the Hungarian." (U)

According to notes on the mail it is a translation of articles that appeared in one of the June (date not given) issues of "Szabodsag," a Hungarian newspaper, which was translated by Edith Kovach on 8/29/47. (U)

This document contained the following statements: "In another cable the Hungarian Telegraphic Office states: Bela Kovacs and his fellow conspirator, Ferenc Nagy, were seriously advocating the establishment of an exile government to challenge the present. This confession was acknowledged September 1946 in the home of the former...." (U)

"The police department's statement was made in accordance with the policy of Ferenc Nagy, which upheld the Small Landowner's Party. He would give financial aid to the conspiracy from his own income." (U)

~~[illegible]~~

Another item entitled "The Hungarian Tragedy" contained the following statement: "In the end, even the Premier had to resign. This is the beginning of the revolution in Hungary....." (U)

Serial described above
[redacted] (U)
(40)

b3
b7E

On 6/30/51 [redacted], of unknown reliability, Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, NY, furnished information to the effect that Robert Vigorita had been involved in a burglary at the home of Ambassador W. Averell Harriman in NYC several years ago. [redacted] said Vigorita told him this burglary was performed for the benefit of the Russians and a letter that had come from France was stolen.

b7D

[redacted] stated that while in the Bronx County Jail, Vigorita told him that upon his release from prison, he, [redacted] should contact the Russian Consulate, and indicated to him that the Russians could use his services. According to [redacted] Vigorita advised him that when he contacted the Consulate he should tell them that he was supposed to do a job for a Zoltan Vas, or Zoltan Fas, or Zoltan Zas.

In this connection, it was noted that Ferenc Nagy, in a series of articles in the "Saturday Evening Post" in August and September 1947, described Zoltan Vas as Secretary of the Supreme Economic Council of Hungary and was one of the seven Communist leaders who headed the Hungarian CP.

NY rpt. 6/20/51
Re: Robert Vigorita, was;
[redacted]
(45)

b3
b7E

~~NO SECRET~~

About September, 1947 [redacted] advised that he was not acquainted with Dr. Edmund Udvarhelyi but assumed he was a Communist due to his position as Postmaster General of Hungary. Informant suggested Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian leader, be contacted for information on Dr. Udvarhelyi. (U)

New York Field Office recommended that no further action be taken since it had been determined that Dr. Udvarhelyi left for Hungary on 8/12/47. (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

(U)
New York Memo 9/3/47
Re: Dr. Edmund Udvarhelyi, wa. Dr. Odom Udvarhelyi.
[redacted] (U)
(27) [redacted] (U)

On 10/31/47 the American Legation of Bucharest, Rumania, transmitted the following items to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. (1) Full text in Rumanian of bill of indictment at Maniu Trial. (2) Translation of bill of indictment.

According to translated copy of this bill, Iuliu Maniu, and other Rumanians were being charged with treason, etcetera. The bill reported "From the evidence found in the dossier drawn up by the investigating organs in connection with the accusations against Iuliu Maniu, Ion Mihalache, Nicolae Penescu, Grigore Niculescu-Buzesti and others, it is clearly proved that the National Peasant Party led by them under the guise of defense of the national interest, was throughout its existence an enemy of the Rumanian people and a pillar of imperialism and international reaction."

This bill also reported that from the contents of a letter, dated 4/3/47, from Buzesti to Maniu it appeared that Buzesti considered as premature the appeal of the so-called "block of Agrarian Parties" to the United Nations Organization. The bill further reported "At the end of September 1947, however, Niculescu-Buzesti recognized that the hour has come and together with G. M. Dimitrov, Ferenc Nagy, Macek** and other betrayers, drafted the provocative and libelous document; a report addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations representing an endeavor to undermine the national sovereignty and independence of the new democratic countries, which, as is known, met with a new checkmate."*

Copy of the bill of indictment mentioned above enclosed with Copy of a letter from the American Legation, Bucharest, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC. dated 10/31/47

[redacted] encl. p.41 (U) b3 b7E

(38)

"UNCLASSIFIED"

On 7/25/47 Reverend Vincent Lenyi, Pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Roman Catholic Church, 268 Amboy Ave., Woodridge, NJ, furnished information concerning Bela Kornitzer, who was connected with the Economic Ministry of Hungary and who was on special assignment in the US.

**Leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party*

***(First name not given) Betrayer of the Yugoslav people*

Kornitzer said he was sent to the US by the Hungarian Government to study social and economic conditions in America as well as newspaper publishing systems in the U.S.

Kornitzer visited Father Lenyi from 7/5/47 to 7/7/47, at which time he had a letter of introduction from Bishop Louis Shvoy of Hungary. Kornitzer, who was appointed to the ministry during the time Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy was in office, said that he disapproved of Nagy's Government for running away from Hungary, and that he did not want to have anything to do with Nagy who was in the US at that time. Kornitzer criticized Nagy for not speaking out when he was in Hungary and for his action in speaking out against the "present" Government in Hungary.

Kornitzer said that while in Wash., DC, (no date given) two FBI men talked to him. He claimed that he met Director John Edgar Hoover of the FBI at a reception in Washington and talked to him. (No details given). Father Lenyi was suspicious of Kornitzer and thought he might possibly be a Communist agent who had come to the US to spread propaganda concerning conditions in Hungary and to enlist the sympathetic support of Hungarians in this country. Father Lenyi noted that Kornitzer had been in the US seven or eight months before contacting him on 7/2/47, which was after he had lost his position with the Hungarian Government due to the fact that a new government had taken over in Hungary.

Newark memo 7/30/47
Re: Bela Kornitzer,
Hotel President, 483 Broadway, NYC,
Hungarian Matters; [IS-R] (X) (U)
62-82351-2
(Not indexed)

~~NOP SECRET~~

In connection with the above matter, the Newark Field Office reported, on 8/18/47, that the Newark Office had received a letter, dated 8/11/47, from Rev. Vincent Lenyi. Rev. Lenyi wrote that he met Ferenc Nagy on 7/31/47 at a Hungarian rally in Perth Amboy, NJ, where Nagy was the principal speaker. Father Lenyi was only able to speak with Nagy for a moment and asked him for information concerning Bela Kornitzer. Nagy told Rev. Lenyi to keep away from Kornitzer as he was a person not to be trusted.

Newark suggested that it might be desirable to interview Ferenc Nagy for further information concerning Bela Kornitzer.

Newark memo 8/18/47
Re: Bela Kornitzer,
Hotel President, 483 Broadway, NYC
Hungarian Matters; [IS-R] (U)
62-82851-4
(3)

This reference reported that Bela Kornitzer called at the Bureau, on 11/7/47, at which time he reported to Special Agent J.J. McGuire his reasons for coming to the US and about the subsequent loss of his position because of his anti-Communist articles, which appeared in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" and the Fall River, Massachusetts, "Herald News." He furnished copies of these articles. Kornitzer wished to do a chapter about the Director's father in a book he was writing.

The article in the Fall River, Massachusetts, "Herald News", dated 8/2/47, reported that Kornitzer was through with politics, and for this reason he did not seek a conference with Ferenc Nagy since arriving in the US, although he had great respect and admiration for the Hungarian official.

The article which appeared in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," dated 9/4/47, gave a full account of how Nagy was forced out as Hungary's Premier.

Material left by Kornitzer was returned to him by letter, dated 11/13/47.

Photostatic copies of newspaper articles mentioned above enclosed with.
Bureau Memo 11/13/47
Re: Bela Kornitzer
62-82351-8
(3)

[redacted] reported that the Hungarian Embassy in the U.S. was following closely the activities of ex-Premier Ferenc Nagy and advised their government on 9/5/47 that Nagy had purchased a large dairy farm near Washington and was to take possession of the estate the following week. (U)

b7D
b7E

Bureau Memo, 12/5/47
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-R
100-89170
(13) (U)

(U)

TOP SECRET

In regard to the development of Aurel Alth, acting Consul General of the Hungarian Legation in NYC, as a Bureau informant, WFO informant, [redacted] was permitted to visit Alth in NY on 9/5/47. (U)

b7D
b7E

[redacted] made a report on this matter and advised that Alth stated that to his knowledge there was no one at that time in the Hungarian Consulate who would bear watching but that in Washington there were two men who were extremely dangerous, namely Andrew Sik and the new Hungarian Minister to Washington, Rusten Banbery. Alth indicated that Banbery was the individual who was responsible for holding the son of Ferenc Nagy as a hostage, and he actually delivered the boy to Nagy in Switzerland. (U)

WFO Memo 9/9/47
Re: Aurel Alth
Hungarian Activities in the US;
IS-R
100-89-54-10 (U)
(16)

In November, 1947 a check of the files of [redacted] revealed that an article by Ferenc Nagy appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post" dated 9/6/47. In writing his story Nagy stated that a "Communist official" by the name of Florian brought his son, [redacted], to Switzerland. (No further details were given). (U)

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

Bureau Memo 11/12/47
Re: Laszlo Florian, aka John Florien
(No character of case)
100-352480-3 (U)
(22)

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

(S) (U) On 9/16/47 [redacted] furnished copies of a report he had prepared concerning Hungarian activities. Concerning the structure of the CP in Hungary, the informant stated "the Hungarian Communist Party is led by the 'Big 7,' as described in former Prime Minister Nagy's recent articles in the Saturday Evening Post." b7D b7E

It was noted that the articles by Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy appeared in the August 28th and 30th and September 6, 1947 issues of the "Saturday Evening Post." The "Big 7" as outlined in these articles were listed in reference.

Photostatic copy of informants report enclosed with
(S) (U) NY letter, 10/2/47
Re: Hungarian Government in Exile;
LS-R, Hungarian
100-351153-3 (S) (U)
(21) (S) (U)

On 9/8/47 the American Consulate, Stuttgart, Germany, furnished the Secretary of State, Wash, DC, with a brief summary of an interview with Baron Stefan Horvath, "A newly-arrived emigre from Hungary." Horvath stated that he was well acquainted with Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian premier.

Copy of above mentioned summary enclosed with copy of a letter from the American Consulate, Stuttgart, Germany, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, dated 9/8/47
[redacted] (S) (U) b3 b7E
(40.)

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

TOP SECRET

Dr. Vladko Machek, Chief of the Croatian Peasant Party of Yugoslavia, exiled in the US, furnished copies of articles which appeared in the "New York World Telegram," dated 8/29/47 and in the "New York Daily News," dated 9/8/47.

The article in the "NY Daily News" was a column entitled "Capital Circus" datelined at Wash., DC on Sept. 7, by Paul Healy. The article reported that with Washington as a base of operations, Machek would work hand in glove with men like Ferenc Nagy, ousted Chief of the Hungarian Smallholders Party, and Georgi Dimitrov, exiled leader of the Bulgarian Peasants Party.

Photostatic copies of above mentioned newspaper articles enclosed with NY memo, 9/12/47 Re: Yugoslav Intelligence Activities in the US; IS-YU & R (X) (U)
100-32820-422 (X) (U)
(18)

The 9/8/47 issue of the "Cleveland Plain Dealer" ("CPD") contained an editorial entitled "Tell My Thy Company," the author of which was not given. The editorial began "The current tendency to grab any stick with which to beat the Communists can sometimes have unhappy results as in the case of Ferenc Nagy, ex-premier of Hungary, who apparently has the blessing of the State Department for his activities in this country." Article also discussed Nagy's activities and his associates.

Copy of above mentioned editorial enclosed with Cleveland memo, 10/24/47 Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-R (X) (U)
100-89-12-10 (X) (U)
(15)

~~[illegible]~~

The [redacted] advised (no date given) that they had received information from a reliable source that an organization known as the IPU was being formed for the purpose of bringing together the various US Organizations which were of anti-Communist or Nationalist character into one Union. Represented in this organization would be Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, Roumanian and Serbian organizations. The hdqrs. was given as 3100 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Wash., DC. (U) b7D

The five members of the Central Committee of the IPU included Ferenc Nagy, of the Hungarian Smallholders Party. (U)

The platform of the organization was stated briefly as follows:

(1) To fight Communism in every way.

(2) To request action against the Soviet Government under article 14 of the Charter of the United Nations. (U)

(3) To unite foreign language groups and organizations in Canada and United States to fight Communism.

[Letter from Legat Ottawa, Canada, 9/24/47 Re: IPU] (U)
[redacted] b3 b7E
(27)

About October 1947 [redacted] who arrived in the US from Hungary about 1945, served in the US Army, and was taking a pre-medical course at George Washington University, furnished various information concerning his friend, Ivan Nagy of the Hungarian Legation in Wash., DC. (U) b7D

~~[illegible]~~

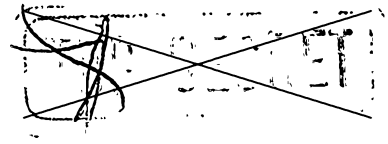
~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] reported that in a "recent" conversation with Nagy, he, Nagy, discussed John Florien, the Second Secretary at the Legation. Nagy described Florien as a fanatical Communist and a person who would willingly and readily kill a man to further the Communist cause. Nagy said it was Florien who delivered Ex-Premier Ferenc Nagy's small son to the Ex-Premier in Switzerland and that since coming to the Legation Florien had gone to some lengths to see that that fact was not spread around-even to the extent of asking Minister Vamberry to deny it should the question of his participation ever be raised. (S) (U) b7D

(S) (U)
[WFO] Memo 10/14/47
Re: Hungarian Activities in the U.S.
IS-R
[100-89-54-12, p.2] (S) (U)
(16)

In the latter part of October, 1947, [redacted], [redacted] of the former Hungarian Minister to the US (name not given), advised that he believed that John Florien, the Second Secretary of the Hungarian Legation, Wash., DC, was a representative of the Hungarian counterpart of the MVD. [redacted] related, as his reason, a recent conversation he had with Thomas Szabo, former Secretary of the Hungarian Legation in London, England, who was "recently" in the US visiting former Premier Ferenc Nagy at Herndon, Va. [redacted] said that Szabo, who was involved in the same affair which led to Nagy's being accused of treason, told him of having been interrogated by Florien in Budapest early in 1946. According to [redacted], Szabo was certain that Florien had been sent to this country on a definite mission, the nature of which he was unable to determine. (S) (U) b7D

(S) (U)
[WFO] Memo 10/22/47
Re: Hungarian Activity in the U.S.
IS-R
[100-89-54-15] (S) (U)
(16)



The 6/6/47 issue of the "New York Times," page 1, carried an article entitled, "US called Enemy by Reds in Rallies all over Hungary" by Albion Ross, datelined Budapest, June 5. This article stated in part: "Joseph Revai, editor of the Communist organ 'Nepsava,' has announced that Mr. (Ferenc) Nagy arranged when he went to the United States to set up a counter-government in America to 'betray the Hungarian democracy' and that America wanted to eliminate Communists merely to save the rich classes (of Hungary) from the capital levy and to prevent nationalization of the banks."

The "New York Times" issue of 6/16/47, pagel, carried an article captioned "Hungary Said to Set Trial of Nagy to Proclaim Guilt," by John MacCormac, datelined Budapest, Hungary, 6/15/47. This article states that the former Premier of Hungary, Ferenc Nagy, and Bela Varga, former President of the Parliament, would be tried in their absence on a charge of conspiracy against the Hungarian Republic, and that such trials would be like those that cost many former members of the Small Landholders Party their freedom.

According to an airgram, dated 10/24/47, from the American Legation in Budapest, Hungary to the State Dept., Joseph Revai spoke at a Communist mass meeting in Budapest on 10/10/47. During this speech Revai said "Hypocrisy of American aid to Hungary was demonstrated by fact it was meant not for Hungarian people but for persons like Ferenc Nagy and America has demonstrated its policy by notes' in which plotters were defended' and by refusal to admit Hungary into United Nations."

Bureau Memo 11/17/47
Re: Joseph Revai, was. [(Hungarian) Communist Information Bureau] (U)
[100-353813-45X] (U)
(22)

On 10/30/47 the Criminal Division, Dept. of Justice, Wash., DC, furnished a copy of a memo, dated 10/28/47, concerning Alexander Lados' registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

According to this memo Lados, ex-Polish Minister and Representative of the Polish Peasant Party, stated in "Everybody's Daily" (Buffalo, NY) on 5/5/47 that he was in the US as a representative of Polish Vice Premier Stanislaus Mikolajczyk and the Polish Peasant Party (PPP).

This memo also reported that the State Dept. had advised on 10/14/47 that Lados had returned to France, and that another representative of the PPP in this country was Wojciech Sokalski, [redacted] NY. The State Dept. stated that since Mikolajczyk, unlike Ferenc Nagy and others associated with the IPU, was still officially a member of a foreign government, Sokalski, as well as Lados, had only been working "unofficially" for Mikolajczyk. The State Dept. was opposed to having Sokalski requested to register as an agent of Mikolajczyk or of the PPP at that time.

b6
b7C

Copy of above mentioned
memo enclosed with
Memo from the Criminal
Division, Dept. of
Justice, dated 10/3/47
[redacted]
(12)

b3
b7E

On 10/15/47 the Cleveland Field Office advised that A.J. Krudziel, Editor, and Zygmunt B. Dybowski, Managing Editor, "Polish Daily News" (Cleveland Polish language newspaper which had supported the London Polish Goverment in Exile), 1017 Fairfield, Cleveland, Ohio, were interviewed jointly relative to the following questions: (X) (U)

1. *What reactions there had been in the US, either in the Polish communities or outside of them, to the possibility of the Polish "shadow government" moving to the US from Great Britain.* (X) (U)

2. *What repercussions might be expected if this move took place.* (X) (U)

These informants saw a connection between the proposal relative to the Polish Regime and the "recent" memorandum issued in Wash., DC by representatives of Peasant Party groups in Eastern Europe, who were in exile from their native countries, which called for "the creation of a democratic international peasant union." This memorandum was signed by Ferenc Nagy (former Hungarian Premier and leader of the Hungarian Smallholders Party), and others. (X) (U)

These informants believed, among other things, that the transfer of the Polish Government to the US would set a precedent and then other governments in exile, representing anti-Communist disfranchised by Russian pressure in the Balkan nations, would be formed in this country. (X) (U)

(X) (U)
Cleveland letter, 10/15/47
Re: [redacted] (X) (U)
[redacted] (X) (U)
62-77435-10 (X) (U)
(3) ✓

b7D

On 12/17/47 the Legal Attache of Madrid, Spain, advised they had approached the American Embassy in Madrid regarding their support of a group of alleged anti-Communist Hungarians who desired to cooperate with the Spanish, American, and British governments in exposing the existance of a clandestine Communist and Russian corrider through Spain for the sending of Communist and Russian agents into Spain and on to the Western Hemisphere. (U)

Richard R. Wilford, Third Secretary of American Embassy in Madrid, furnished the Legat a memorandum, dated 11/3/47, concerning his discussion with representatives of this group. The individuals were Marjan Szumlakowski, former Polish Minister of the London Government in Madrid, and Ferenc Vajta, former Hungarian Consul General in Vienna. (U)

According to this memo they discussed the Intermarium, an organization of Eastern European political figures who were in exile in London during the war. It was organized in April 1944 in London. Vajta alleged that the Intermarium was anti-American in its make-up and policies. It was his belief that the entry of Monarchist elements representing Otto of Hapsburg into the ranks of the Intermarium, gave it an anti-American bent. (U)

Vajta remarked that Otto of Hapsburg ordered two of his friends to enter the Intermarium representing the Hungarian Legitimists. He said Otto was seeking Vatican pardon for his liaison agent with Washington, Mr. Varga (first name not given), who had voted against the Catholic Church during his term in the Hungarian parliament. Varga, who was in Washington at that time, had the mission of winning over Ferenc Nagy to the cause of Otto of Hapsburg. Between October 15 and October 18, Varga was reported to have had conferences with Otto and members of the French General Staff. (U)

Vajta reported that after British financial support was withdrawn from the Intermarium in June, 1947, many of its members began to organize the "Continental Union" ("CU") which was more pro-American in its policy. The "CU" was desirous of founding a branch in Madrid. Vajta was contemplating a trip to the U.S. in December at which time he would contact Hungarian exiles in an effort to turn them from the Intermarium. (U)

Letter from Legat, Madrid, Spain, (U)
12/17/47
Re: Eastern European Anti-Communist Center; (U)
[redacted] (U)
(29)

b3
b7E

[redacted] advised that the 11/7/47 issue of "Otthon," contained an article publicizing the approaching convention of the AHF. (Date not given). Informant also advised that the AHF was a large Hungarian insurance organization which was not Communist dominated but many Hungarian Communists were attempting to gain control of it. According to informant, George Striker had an article put in this paper which was in opposition to the convention of the AHF. The article condemned the selection of speakers by the Federation, criticizing the fact that certain "liberals" were not selected as speakers. (U)

b7D
b7E

The article condemned Ference Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, who was listed as one of the speakers. The article pointed out that Nagy had been classed by the Communist Regime of Hungary as a war criminal. This article was signed by George Striker, as Secretary of the American Hungarian Council For Democracy, and others. (U)

Chicago Rpt. 3/28/49 (U)
Re: George Otto Striker, was;
IS-C
96-178[illegible]-9 p.14
(46)

On 11/12/47 the WFO furnished background information on [redacted] who had furnished that office with valuable information on Hungarian activities in Wash., DC and who had been assigned CNDI number [redacted] by that office. (U) b7D

Among other things, the WFO pointed out that through [redacted] who was a close friend of former Hungarian Premier Ference Nagy, he had access to the activities of the IPU. (U)

WFO letter, 11/12/47
Re: [redacted] (U)
Hungarian Activities in Washington;
IS-R
66-2543-3-53-966 (U)
(45)

The 11/13/47 issue of the "New York Daily News." revealed that Zoltan Pfeiffer arrived at New York's La Guardia Field on 11/12/47 eight days after starting his escape from Budapest. Pfeiffer, who was undersecretary of Justice in the cabinet of former Hungarian Premier, Ferenc Nagy, was described as the last of the major anti-Communist leaders to flee Hungary.

NY rpt. 4/5/55
Re: Antal Kamaras, aka.
[redacted] p.31 (U) b3 b7E
(11)

[redacted] (X) (U) advised that the 9/8/47 issue of the "Cleveland Plain Dealer" (CPD) contained an editorial that attacked [redacted] and Ferenc Nagy, the ex Prime Minister of Hungary. Informant said the editorial stated that these individuals were Nazis and had no sympathy with democratic principles. [It also mentioned various activities of these two men in this country which, according to informant, were factually untrue.] (X) (U)

A review of the 9/19/47 issue of the Communist line "Hungarian Daily Journal" (HDJ) (Magyar Jovo) revealed that it included an editorial which quoted the above mentioned editorial. It stated that "Ferenc Nagy, now in the U.S., and his smallholders party in Hungary oppose Communism, but that this did not mean that Nagy and his party stood for genuine democratic ideas." It stated that former Hungarian Nazis were known to have joined his party, and that Nagy began a tour of various U.S. cities on 9/7/47 accompanied by [redacted] one of the founders of the Smallholders Party. The "CPD" editorial concluded with the observation that neither Nagy nor [redacted] represented the type of democracy which the U.S. liked to aid or which was deserving of such aid. b7D

(X) (U)
[NY letter 10/6/47
Re: Hungarian Activities
in the U.S.;
IS-R
100-89235-35X1
(15)] (X) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

In the latter part of November 1947, while [redacted] *was in Chicago, Ill, Daniel Szantay, President of the Santay Corporation, Chicago, furnished him with a photostatic copy of a letter he received from Frank Foldi, of the Chicago chapter of the Hungarian American Council For Democracy (HACD).* (U) b7D

Informant stated that this letter was one of many sent by the HACD to members of the Hungarian American Federation (HAF) for the purpose of putting doubt in the minds of members of the HAF and to sabotage the convention which was held in Chicago, commencing on 11/17/47. (U)

The text of this letter referred to clippings from the "Hungarian Daily Journal" and the "Cleveland Plain Dealer" as containing references to Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary. ~~(This was believed to refer to the editorial mentioned in above reference).~~ The text of this letter also noted that Nagy had been invited as the feature speaker for the HAF's convention.* (U)

[redacted] *wrote a letter, dated 9/26/47, to the "CPD" regarding the above mentioned editorial. The portion of this letter which was quoted in this reference read in part; "It related at first that on September 7 I visited Pittsburgh with the former Hungarian Prime Minister Nagy, opening with him a tour of the large American-Hungarian colonies. This statement, as all others contained in your article, is untrue. For years I have not been in Pittsburgh. I have not attended any meetings in this country in the company of Mr. Nagy....."* (U) b7D

[Photostatic copy of the letter] mentioned in par. 1 enclosed with [NY] letter, 12/26/47 Re: Hungarian Activities in the U.S. IS-R [100-89-35-42] (15) (U)

**This was believed to refer to the editorial mentioned in above reference.* (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~NOT SECRET~~

The 10/3/47 issue of "The Otthon," the Chicago Hungarian publication, announced the plans of the American Hungarian Federation to hold their convention in Chicago at the Stevens Hotel November 17 and 18, 1947. One of the speakers would be Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary.

Chicago memo 10/27/47
(U) Re: American Hungarian Federation
(c) [IS-H;] Registration Act
100-143751-95
(19)

The 11/21/47 issue of "The Otthon" carried an article which set forth some of the pertinent developments of the AHF Convention which was held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on November 17 and 18,1947. According to this article Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, attended the banquet held on the evening of 11/17/47.

(c) (U) [redacted] advised that after "The Otthon" published an article commending the convention and advertising the fact that Ferenc Nagy was to be one of the speakers,] George O. Striker [paid $30. for space in this paper in which to insert an article condemning the selection of Nagy as a speaker, calling him a Fascist and a war criminal. This article was signed by Striker, Executive Secretary of the Hungarian American Council for Democracy (HACD) and 27 other local individuals most of whom were identified with the HACD and the Hungarian IWO, both of which were Communist dominated. Informant furnished copies of the resolutions adopted at the convention which were written in Hungarian and signed by Nagy, and others.] (c) (U)

b7D
b7E

Mrs. John Sinko, [redacted], Chicago, attended the convention, and reported that the speeches were entirely anti-Communist and in full support of the United States' foreign policy. She said the three newly elected directors were Father Cherniczky, Reverend Nagy, and Dr. Bela Marko. b6 b7C

(X) (U) [redacted] furnished information concerning articles that appeared in the "Hungarian Daily Journal" and the "Cleveland Plain Dealer" (dates not given) which had been in bitter denunciation of Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary. [Inft. also furnished information concerning the efforts of the HACD to discourage Daniel Szantay, who had been selected as honorary chairman of the convention, from participating in the convention because of Nagy.] (X) (U) b7D

The "Chicago Daily News," in an article in the 11/18/47 issue entitled, "Beware Russ 5th Column, U.S. Warned," stated that Ferenc Nagy warned the US to be aware of the Russian Fifth Column. It was stated he described the infiltration of Hungary by the Russians as what he termed "seizure of power by a Red minority through corruption." He stated this was a pattern for world operation. He stated further that minorities, through terror and manipulation, gained control of majorities and then exterminated or drove all possible leaders from the country.

Chicago memo 12/6/47
Re: American Hungarian Federation;
(X) (U) [IS-H;] Registration Act
100-143751-99
(19)

Correlators note: Unable to determine if the Reverend Nagy mentioned above is identical with Ferenc Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary.

103

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of a State Department telegram from London to the Secretary of State, Wash., D.C., dated 11/25/47, and is hereinafter quoted in full: "Tamas Szabo requests visas himself wife two children join Ferenc Nagy. Have Hungarian diplomatic passports valid until 1952. Transportation arranged early December. Please instruct."

40-84192-1
(2)

"PLAIN"

This reference is a copy of a State Department report dated 3/11/48, entitled "Information Control and Propaganda in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria," which was part of the background material assembled for the use of the American delegation to the UN Conference on Freedom of Information then meeting in Geneva. This report was designed to present an accurate and up-to-date survey of conditions affecting freedom of information in the major Soviet satellite states of southeastern Europe and included samples of anti-American propaganda disseminated by the press and radio of those countries. (S) (U)

Concerning the official propaganda line in Hungary, this report stated in part," Since the ouster of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy in June 1947 and the subsequent liquidation of the opposition Liberty (Sulyok) and Independence (Pfeiffer) parties, the official Hungarian propaganda line has shown no deviation from the general course followed by Soviet propaganda....." (S) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Concerning the propaganda line in Yugoslavia, this report quoted an article that appeared in the 11/25/47 issue of "Borda," the official organ of the CP of Yugoslavia, which revealed that Yugoslavia did report on events in other Communist controlled countries. The article entitled "Yet Another Defeat of the Enemies of Hungarian Democracy" stated in part: "Since the last elections, during which the people of Hungary, gathered around the National Independence Front, won a decisive victory over the reactionary Horthyite remnants, American diplomacy, espionage and press have intensified their campaign against the democratic forces, in order to reduce the magnitude of the defeat of their shattered pro-fascist agency. Their first attempt to organize the Hungarian reaction against the Republic ended in an inglorious way with the discovery of the plot and the flight of Ferenc Nagy to the United States. The entire weight of Nagy's treacherous mission fell on the Wall Street servants Dezso Sulyok, who was joined by Nagy's conspiratorial followers; Zoltan Pfeiffer with his fascist 'Independence' Party; and Karoly Peyer, the Socialist dissenter who was so widely opposed as an enemy of the labor class that he was not able to run for election on his own party's ticket....." (U)

62-39749-1102X, pp 3,60
(3)

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

On 3/1/48 Honorable Frances P. Bolton, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Wash., DC, made available copies of a report and supplements 1 and 2 captioned "National and International Movements," which concerned the strategy and tactics of World Communism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

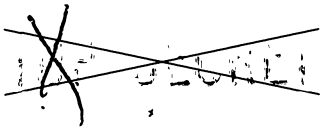
Supplement 2 contained official protest of the U.S. Government against Communist policies or actions, and related correspondence for the period of July 1945 to December 1947.

This supplement contained a text of a note from the Soviet Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, V.G. Dekanozov, to the American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, dated 7/27/46, regarding the Hungarian Economic Situation. Concerning the Hungarian property located in the American zones of Germany and Austria, Dekanozov stated, "The Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy in his statement in Parliament on February 7 of the present year declared that the Hungarian Government had registered the property located in the American zone of occupation of Germany and Austria at more than 2 billion. Besides this, the Hungarian Prime Minister added that as the property which had been carried away came to light the sum would reach about 3 billion...."

This report also contained other items of correspondence between the Soviet and U. S. Government regarding Soviet activities in Hungary during this period which mentioned the government of Nagy; his forced resignation as Prime Minister, and his refusal to return to Hungary before resigning.

Copy of above mentioned reports enclosed with
Bureau memo, 4/29/48
Re: Report and Supplements 1 and 2 Concerning The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism;
100-356214-X encl. pp 87-96
(25)
SI as par. 3 above
(50) [redacted] (U)

b3
b7E



About December, 1947, [redacted] advised that soon after Laszlo Jekelyi arrived in NYC from Hungary (no date given) he came to Washington, D.C., and attempted to associate himself with the IPU of which former Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy was the head. However, after Nagy and others of the IPU obtained what information they could from him about the conditions in Hungary and elsewhere, they refused to allow him to have anything to do with the IPU. Informant said Jekelyi professed to be anti-Communist, and probably was, but that he had such an unsavory character and reputation that he was not to be trusted on any matter. (S) (U) b7D b7E

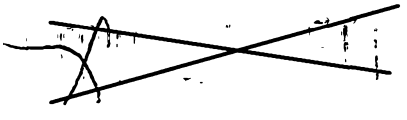
(S) (U)
WFO rpt. 1/2/48
Re: Laszlo Jekelyi;
IS-R
100-351509-6
(21) (S) (U)

This reference is a copy of a telegram received by the Secretary of State on 12/12/47 from the US Ambassador at Budapest, Hungary. The body of the telegram is hereinafter quoted in part: (S) (U)

[redacted] b7D

has informed [redacted] (S) (U)

[redacted] has received reliable information from source within Prime Ministry that [redacted] had agreed to act as informant for Hungarian Government on activities Ferenc Nagy and associates in U.S. and by personal agreement with Prime Minister will endeavor to accomplish ends by [redacted] Nagy in opposition to present Hungarian regime." (S) (U)



A copy of this telegram was forwarded to the NY Field Office by memo, dated 1/16/48.

Serial described above
100-351013-13
(21)

"~~SECRET~~"

This reference is a copy of a letter, dated 11/4/47, addressed to the Dept. of State, Wash., DC, from the Romanian-American National Committee for Democracy (RANCD) in Cleveland, Ohio. Letter reported that the annual convention of the RANCD would be held in Detroit, Mich., on 12/7/47, and named 3 individuals, including Alexander Cretiano, which they would like as speakers at this convention to tell of the conditions that existed in Romania. The RANCD wanted to know if there was any reason that these individuals should not be invited to speak, as they did not wish to do anything that would embarrass the US in its relations with other nations.

This reference also includes a memo to Cleveland, dated 12/15/47, in which Cleveland was advised of the above information. Cleveland was also advised that Alexander Cretiano of 2501 Calvert St., Wash., DC, was actually Alexandre Cretzianu who was the former Roumanian Minister to the US. He was opposed to the Roumanian Government at that time and was allegedly the head of the Roumanian anti-Communist underground in the US.

Cleveland was further advised that the IPU allegedly maintained hdqrs. at 2501 Calvert St., N.W., Wash, DC, and that the IPU was composed of a group of former heads of Balkan country governments. The most important individual at that time was Ferenc Nagy, the former Premier of Hungary.

100-353887-X
(22)

~~NOT DECLASSIFIED~~

On 1/8/48 [redacted] furnished the Bureau a copy of a letter from Ferenc Vajta to Ferenc Nagy which was said to be an exact translation of a letter written in Magyar. [redacted] received the letter, unsolicited, from a reliable American source. (U) b3 b7E

The letter, dated 12/22/47 at the Shelton Hotel, Lexington Ave. and 49th St., NY, NY, was addressed "Mr. Ferenc Nagy, Ex-Premier of Hungary, Herndon, Virginia." The letter began "In addition to [redacted] and Bela Varga I would have liked to talk with you too, partly in order to become acquainted concerning your political program and partly in order to attempt to find a common denominator for the points of views of 'the two Hungarys', so as to be able to continue the fight on a common front following the Rumanian example...." (U) b7D

Vajta desired a meeting with Nagy and wanted to know when he would be in NY. Vajta thought it would be a good idea for them to "discuss everything together with Bela V." (U)

[Copy of above mentioned letter enclosed with [redacted] Memo, 1/8/48] (U) b3 b7E
[(29) [redacted]] (U)

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

~~NOT DECLASSIFIED~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

In the latter part of December, 1947, R.R. Wilford, Third Secretary of the American Embassy in Madrid, Spain, furnished the Legal Attache of Madrid various information concerning a Mr. Szumlakowski ~~(not further identified)~~ and Ferenc Vajta** and their plans for forming an Eastern European anti-Communist organization in Madrid.* (~~S~~) (U)

Wilford reported that [redacted] *had advised on 11/25/47 that Vajta's real name was reported to be Ulcsek, and he was born at Debrecen, Hungary in 1914.* [redacted] *also advised that while in Rome, about March or April 1947, Vajta attempted to form an organization to replace the Intermarium and to assemble emigre anti-Communist elements, which organization was known as the Continental Union. The Intermarium was a movement to provide an army to fight on the side of England and France against the Soviets. According to* [redacted], *Vajta left Madrid for NY by TWA on 12/15/47, and planned to meet several individuals, including Ferencz Nagy, ex-Hungarian Prime Minister, in the U.S.* (~~S~~) (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

On 12/26/47 Mr. Szumlakowski informed Wilford that Vajta had written him that he had already seen "Mr. Varga, Mr. [redacted] *and Mr. Nagy, and among them,* [redacted] *seemed to offer the best chances of cooperation with his Continental Union group."* (~~S~~) (U)

Letter from [Legat, Madrid, Spain,] 12/30/47 (~~S~~) (U)
[Re: Eastern European Anti-Communist Center; [redacted]] (~~S~~) (U)
(49)
[redacted] (~~S~~) (U)
(38)
(State Dept.-"Secret," detailed rpt. of R.R. Wilford, dated 12/20/47 enclosed).

**Marjan Szumlakowski, ex-Minister of the pre-war Polish Government [(Per.* [redacted] *).]* (~~S~~) (U)

***Ferenc Vajta, apparently a former Hungarian Consul General in Austria. [(Per* [redacted] *).]* (~~S~~) (U)

b3
b7E

TOP SECRET

A review of the records in the Foreign Agent Registration Section of the Dept. of Justice, Wash., DC, revealed that Aladar Szegedy - Maszak, former Hungarian Minister to the US, registered as a Foreign Agent on 3/19/48. His registration papers contained the following statement: "At present I am in exile. As a former Minister from Hungary to the United States I am collaborating with Ference Nagy, a member of the Central Committee of the International Peasants union and formerly Prime Minister of Hungary. I am engaged in advisory and drafting work, correspondence with Hungarian exiles in Europe and the United States, and have contacts with the Department of State and other American agencies and the American and foreign press. At present I am unemployed and looking for occupation in the educational field....."

The papers were signed by Maszak on 12/27/47.

WFO rpt. 9/7/48
Re: Aladar Szegedy-Maszak
Special Inquiry-State Dept.
Public Law 402, 80th Congress
(Voice of America)
123-18880-12
(47)

TOP SECRET

11d

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 5/16/50 [redacted] of Georgetown University, Wash., DC, reliability not given, reported that [redacted] allegedly met Ferenc Nagy in Europe in 1948, accompanied Nagy on his European tour, arrived in the US in the summer of 1949, was employed for a short while by the AHF, and was then employed by the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America in Washington. [redacted] believed that [redacted] also worked on a part time basis for [redacted]. (U)

[WFO Memo, 11/10/53
Re: [redacted] (U)
(43)] (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

On 8/7/56 [redacted] b7D
Hungarian Service, VOA, Wash., DC, reliability not given, advised that Jozsef Bognar became Mayor of Budapest in 1947 or 1948, and this was the first indication to him that Bognar was in good standing with the Communist Regime. The prior Mayor, Joseph Kovago, who had been a close friend of Ferenc Nagy, had been forced to resign by the Communists and other pressure groups. (U)

Concerning an allegation that [redacted] Hungarian Service, VOA, Wash., DC, might be corresponding with Bognar, [redacted] reliability not given) advised, on 8/1/56, that he doubted that there was any truth to the allegation. [redacted] believed the charges were directed mainly at the reputation of Ferenc Nagy. (U)

[WFO rpt. 9/26/56
Re: Jozsef Bognar, aka Francis Bodnar:
[redacted] (U)
(37)]

b3
b7E

~~SUBV. CONTROL~~

This reference is a photostatic copy of an inter-office memo of the State Dept., Wash., DC, dated 12/19/49, which concerned Elizabeth Piroska Garay Daubner-Kormoczi. This memo enclosed several documents which apparently included all information in Elizabeth's passport file at the Dept. of State, as well as a report dated 4/4/49 prepared by military authorities in Austria.

According to the report of April 4, Elizabeth was a teletype operator for TWA stationed in Trenton, NJ, until late in 1948. At the termination of her employment, she received a complimentary ticket from TWA to fly to Budapest and return. Elizabeth stated she resolved on going to Budapest after having talked socially with Ferenc Nagy, Pfeiffer, and Zoltan (first names not given), exiled Hungarian politicians. (U)

Elizabeth's parents were born in Hungary and she, Elizabeth, could speak Hungarian fluently. She arrived in Budapest on or about 12/20/48 and stayed with relatives of her mother. (U)

Copies of the above mentioned material were furnished to the Newark Field Office by letter, dated 3/2/50.

[redacted] b3 b7E

(32)

~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~

In the early part of January 1948, [redacted] b7D "Yugoslovenski Obzor," 830 S. 5th St., Milwaukee, Wis., advised that he had information to the fact that Dr. Celestine Jelec, former Socialist Party leader in Yugoslavia and believed to be in Rome although attempting to come to America, Dr. Bogumis Vosnjak, Liberal Party leader of Yugoslavia and believed to be in the US, and a Dr. Michael Krek, Clerical Party leader and former vice-premier of Yugoslavia also in the US, were all exiles and were in agreement in their opposition to the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. (U)

[redacted] stated it was his understanding that these three individuals were probably going to cooperate with Ferenc Nagy of Hungary, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk of Poland and others in the formation of a Slavic anti-Communist group of some sort in America. (U) b7D

Milwaukee Field Office reported that [redacted] had been a reliable source of information concerning Yugoslavian matters in the Milwaukee area. (U)

(U)
Milwaukee Memo, 1/13/48
Re: Yugoslav Activities in the U.S.
IS-YU
100-32820-485
(18)

(U)

(U) About 3/29/49 [redacted] furnished information regarding the background and activities of the IPU. According to informant, the IPU was conceived and founded by Dr. George M. Dimitroff in Wash., DC, during 1946. Dimitroff was secretary of the Union, and its hdqrs. as of March 1949 was located at 724-9th St., N.W., Wash., DC. (U) b7D b7E

According to the information furnished by [redacted] (which was set out in detail in this reference), Dimitroff, in December, 1947, and January, 1948, furnished his own ideas and plans regarding the IPU. He commented that his immediate plan at that time was to combat Communism through a planned organization of the Slav nationality groups which were represented by leaders then associated with the IPU in the persons of Dr. Vladko Macek (Croatian Peasant Party), Ferenc Nagy (Hungarian Small Holders Party), Stanislaw Mikolajczyk (Polish Peasant Party), Grigore N. Buzesti (Rumanian National Peasant Party) and Dr. Milan Gavrilovic (Serbian Agrarian Union). (U) b7D b7E

(U)
WFO rpt. 10/12/53
Re: Dr. Gueorgi Mihov Dimitrov, was;
IS-BU; Registration Act
100-369701-5, p.10
(26)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of an airgram from the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary, dated 1/6/48, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, which contained a summary of political events in Hungary for the period 12/30/47 to 1/2/48. (U)

This summary included the following statement: "In political review of 1947, Under Secretary of Prime Ministry Sandor Nogrady (Communist) stated that Ference Nagy and associates had attempted to turn Hung into a second Greece as he emphatically rejected intervention by any power 'great or small' in Hung internal affairs." (U)

[redacted] (46) (U)

b3
b7E

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

On 1/5/48 the Assistant Chief, Investigations Section, INS, of NYC, advised a special hearing was being planned for Dr. Francis Dajkovich when he landed in the US. This hearing was being given at the request of the State Dept., which had supplied information to the effect that Dajkovich was claiming to be a follower of Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, a refugee in the US. The State Dept. reported that Dajkovich was alleged to be cooperating with the Hungarian Communist Regime at that time.

This reference sets forth in detail the testimony given by various individuals before the Board of Special Inquiry, INS, in March 1948, in behalf of Dajkovich.

~~TOP SECRET~~

TOP SECRET

It was noted that Dajkovich was admitted to the US for permanent residence as a returning resident on 6/17/48. He was released by the Board of Special Inquiry inasmuch as the allegations concerning him had not been substantiated.

NY rpt. 10/7/48
Re: Franciska Gaal, was;
Dr. Francis Dajkovich, was;
[IS-R] (S) (U)
100-351013-22, pp.1,3,4
(21)

According to [redacted], there was considerable dissension among the personnel of the Hungarian Legation in Wash., D.C. [redacted] said, Andrew Sik, John Florien and himself, were more or less disliked by the Minister, Vamberry, who felt they were Communists. Paul Marik, whose rank was immediately below the Minister, was disliked by everyone because of his ambition and because he was suspected of dealing secretly with the State Department. (S) (U)

b7D
b7E

[redacted] reported that on 1/9/48 the Legation received a coded cable from Hungary signed by Premier Rakosi, which was addressed "For the Minister Only." Informant helped decode the message, which reported that Marik was to receive a new assignment, and asked that he return to Budapest immediately to discuss the details. (S) (U)

Informant felt certain this was a trap and that the purpose of Marik's recall was to begin another "conspiracy plot" and that as soon as Marik returned to Hungary, he would be given a thorough going over, via the third degree, forced to sign a statement that he conspired with the State Dept. and that would be the last of Marik. (S) (U)

TOP SECRET

[redacted] said that while he personally disliked Marik and would not be sorry to see him leave the Legation, he had no desire to see him exterminated, but above all he had no desire to see another incident patterned after the Ferenc Nagy and Zoltan Pfeiffer affairs. Informant thought the situation should be brought to the attention of the State Department. (U) b7D b7E

(U)
WFO memo 1/9/48
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US;
IS-R
100-89254-45X1, p.3 (U)
(16)

On 2/15/51 an SA of the WFO was introduced to Dr. Kalman Nemeth while in the office of Stephen E. Balogh, Executive Secretary of the AHF, Washington, D.C. Nemeth, an alien from Hungary, asked Balogh to assist him in obtaining his first citizenship papers. Nemeth said he had been a member of the Peasant and Smallholders Party in Hungary and could not understand the basis for the rumors that he was a member of the CP.

Dr. Nemeth said he was requested by Bishop Svoy to come to the US as a missionary priest, which mission he accepted. He stated that he obtained a passport while the Hungarian government was under the guidance of Ferenc Nagy, at which time it was easy for priests and church officials to obtain permits to come to the US. This passport was allegedly lost when his overcoat was stolen in London, England, en route to the US. Then he obtained a new passport on the basis of his American visa, which he still had, from Dr. Stephen Bede, the then Hungarian Envoy to London, about January, 1948. He arrived in US on 1/16/48 at New York, NY.

Dr. Nemeth stated that he felt a number of people in the US could vouch for his non-Communist attitude, and named 3 individuals, which included Ferenc Nagy, Herndon, Va.

WFO memo 2/23/51
Re: Dr. Kalman Nemeth, was.
[IS-R and HU] (X) (U)
100-368641-28
(26)

On 1/16/48 the Steel branch of the CP held its regular meeting in Homestead, Pa. It was reported at this meeting that the Verhovay Fraternal group had invited the former Premier of Budapest, Hungary to come to Homestead the next month and speak in the Carnegie Library. There was a heated discussion of how Premier Ferencz Nagy had sneaked into the US, with the aid of the US Government and bought himself one of the biggest farms in Maryland. They discussed how Nagy could be stopped from coming to Homestead, during which it was stated that Nagy had been chased out of Cleveland and other large cities. (X) (U)

[OHID] (X) (U)

[Rpt. of Conf. Inft. [redacted]
dated 1/16/48 at Homestead, Pa.
100-349398-18X
(49)] (X) (U)

b7D
b7E

On 4/8/48 the Department of State furnished the Bureau with biographical sketches prepared from material from various sources (reliability not given) on members of the Central Committee of the IPU, including Ferenc Nagy. (S)(U)

The biographical sketch on Nagy is hereinafter quoted verbatim: (S)(U)

"Nagy, Ferenc — Hungary

Personal data: Born 1903, Bisse, Hungary; Calvinist; married, three children; son, Ferenc Nagy, Jr., former Secretary of Legation, Washington. (S)(U)

Education: Primary school.

Publications: Five Million Hungarians at Golgotha (1931); numerous articles in various Hungarian newspapers. (S)(U)

Career:

1924	Member, Smallholder's Party.
1928	Vice-Chairman, Smallholders' Party.
1930	Co-founder, Independent Smallholders' Party.
1931	Secretary General, Independent Smallholders' Party.
1939	Member of Parliament, Deputy for Siklos district of Baranya Province.
1940	President of the Peasant Union.
1944	Arrested by the Germans, deported to Germany, released at the end of the year. (S)(U)
1945	Minister of Reconstruction, May; President of the Smallholders' Party, August; President of the National Assembly, November; Member of the Supreme National Council, November.
1946-1947	Prime Minister of Hungary, appointed February.
1947	Resigned while on vacation in Switzerland, June; went into exile in the United States.

Remarks:

Nagy, Hungarian co-founder of the International Peasant Union, is one of a group of exiled European peasant leaders now active in reviving the Agrarian Union, an organization of Eastern European peasant parties formed in 1920. (S)(U)

A self-educated peasant politician, Nagy assumed genuine national prominence in Hungary only after the Armistice of 1945. After a short term as Minister of Reconstruction and as president of the Smallholders Party he became president of the National Assembly and a member of the Supreme National Council. When the newly created position of President of the Republic had to be filled, the choice narrowed down to Zoltan Tildy and Ferenc Nagy. The former represented a safer selection as Nagy's political strength was largely limited to his party; Nagy, "in the interest of national unity", refused the nomination. 1/ In the same year, he was appointed Prime Minister.. (S)(U)

His elevation to the Premiership was significant in view of his anti-Communist attitude. 2/ Originally considered a friend of the USSR, his outlook appears to have changed and, although he supported the government's position of collaboration with the USSR, he was critical of Soviet behavior in Hungary. While personally favoring separate election lists, he stressed the difficulty of holding that position in the face of Soviet domination of the Allied Control Commission and the threat of civil war and famine, should the Russians be displeased with the outcome of the elections. 3/ Nagy's viewpoint seemed to be that only signs of support from the Western Powers would have given the necessary moral strength to the Smallholders to resist Soviet encroachments. (S)(U)

In public, Nagy stated that his party wanted friendship and peace with the USSR but also desired to take advantage of all possible opportunities that offered help to Hungary. 4/ (S)(U)

In May, 1947 he went to Switzerland for a vacation. The Communists took this occasion to charge that he had been involved in a conspiracy against the regime. He was called upon to resign and to return home to face the consequences. Nagy resigned only after his younger son was permitted to join him and the rest of the family in Switzerland, whereupon Nagy, together with his wife, daughter and two sons, departed for the United States. (S)(U)

TOP SECRET

Purchasing a 130-acre dairy farm in Fairfax County, Virginia, he settled down as an emigre but without retiring from political activities. He joined other European refugee politicians in forming a so-called International Peasant Union which included among its leaders Rumanian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian representatives. He has been making frequent appearances among Hungarian-American and other nationality groups, recounting his experiences in his dealings with the Russians and urging support for an anti-Communist federation of the peoples of the satellite countries. (S)(U)

According to reports, the sensational effect of his resignation and escape has diminished rapidly in Hungary and he has lost most of his following because of the feeling that he left the party at the mercy of the Communist and preferred the safety of foreign refuge. 5/ He does not appear to have been as popular with the masses as was generally supposed; yet considerable segments of the population in Hungary seem to feel that his stay and activities in the United States will prove beneficial to Hungary by at least keeping alive American interest in that country. 6/ (S)(U)

January 22, 1948"

Copy of above sketch enclosed with State Department memo to the Bureau, dated 4/8/48

[redacted] b3 b7E

(28)

"~~SECRET~~"

TOP SECRET

On 1/25/48 an IWO meeting was held at 4845 Butler St., Pittsburgh, Pa. Imre Komlos, Secretary of IWO, from NYC, called the meeting to order at 10 AM. He called the meeting a New Builders conference, and discussed why it was necessary to build up the Hungarian Branch of the IWO. Komlos stated that thousands of vets from the Hungarian section had volunteered to "go over and fight and to win freedom for this country.------ and the just so called war mongers like Ferenc Nagy and his associates who came here with the aim to build another World War. So they can get back to Hungary and take the throne over. And they can tie the weight back on the peoples neck and they can carry it the rest of their lives." (U)

It was reported at this meeting that Ferenc Nagy had been invited to speak in Pittsburgh. (No further details were given). (U)

[Rpt of Conf. Inf. [redacted] dated 1/25/48 at Homestead, Pa. 100-349398-121 (20)] (U) b7D b7E

On 5/4/48 the Legat, Paris, France furnished copies of the Military Attache's report, dated 1/27/48. This report was entitled "WDGS-Intelligence Report" and concerned "Hungarian Information Services in France and Switzerland," which were under Communist domination and at the disposal of Soviet authorities via Budapest.

The list of individuals connected with the Information Service in France included the following:

"Halassy, George, U.S. citizen of Hungarian origin, Editor of Export-Import Journal.

"Perlaky, Livia, Hotel Bradford, Paris, former Secretary of Ferenc Nagy."

This report noted that their source was extremely intelligent and well informed but that office was not able to vouch for his reliability which at that time was under investigation.

Evaluation of this report was given as follows: Source, fairly reliable; Information, possibly true.

Copies of above mentioned report enclosed with Letter from Legat, Paris, 5/4/48 Re: George Halasy, was
[IS-R] (C)
[redacted] b3 b7E
(9)

This reference is a document, dated 3/1/48, entitled "Summary of Trends and Developments, February-March, 1948." The source of information was given as "The National Americanism Commission Sub-Committee on Subversive Activities. The American Legion National Headquarters, Indianapolis 6, Indiana."

This document reported that on 2/5/48 the HCUA resumed hearings in Washington on legislation that would effectively curtail or stop Communist activity in this country.

Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, testified (date not given) as to the techniques of Communist seizures of power in his own country. Nagy fled to America to avoid death at the hands of the Communists.

100-3-2543, p.13
(46)

This reference is a copy of a daily report, dated 2/6/48, of the [redacted]. b3 b7E
This report revealed that on 2/5/48 a message on the topic "US Intelligence Tied to Magyar Plot" was broadcast from Moscow at 11:58 P.M. EST--P. (U)

The text of this broadcast, as reported in reference, stated in part: "Budapest--Examination of the defendants continued during the past 2 days at the trial of the spy organization in Hungary..... (U)

"Defendant Frigyosno Pisky, examined next, testified about the repeated meetings in her flat between the conspirators and American intelligence agents Guinn and McCargar. Her husband Pisky-Schmidt, also a defendant at this trial, furnished the Americans with spy information, as she testified. (U)

"From her further testimony it has been established that Peyer and Pisky-Schmidt were planning to establish contact with reactionaries from the so-called second international, with the traitor Ferenc Nagy and many Horthy men abroad....." (U)

[62-80518-242X]
(3) (U)

TOP SECRET

An HCUA report, dated 5/10/48, entitled "Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence" stated that the Soviet satellite state of Hungary had a tragic history of Communist resort to force and violence, promoted by the Soviet Union and supported by the CP of the US.

This report gave a detailed account of the revolution in Hungary in 1947. It described the conspiracy charges made against Ferenc Nagy and other members of the Smallholders Party. Nagy was visiting in Switzerland and refused to return to Hungary. The report mentioned that Nagy testified before the HCUA on 2/6/48 and vividly described the force and violence of the Communists in seizing control of Hungary. A summary of his testimony concerning Communist tactics was set out in this report. Report also mentioned articles appearing in the "DW" which accused Nagy of being a Fascist and of scheming against the Hungarian people.

Copy of above mentioned
HCUA Report enclosed
with
Bureau memo, 5/12/48
Re: CP, USA-Brief;
IS-C
(Report on the Communist Party
of the United States
as an Advocate of Overthrow of
Government by Force
and Violence-HCUA, 80th Congress,
5/10/48)
100-3-74-1414, encl. pp.112-116
(13)

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

During February, 1948, Hearings on Proposed Legislation to Curb or Control the CP of the US were held before the Subcommittee on Legislation of the HCUA in Washington, DC.

On 2/6/48 Ferenc Nagy testified before this subcommittee. He told of his experience with the CP movement prior to the time he fled from Hungary. Nagy's testimony was given through an interpreter, and appeared on pages 86 to 101 of the copy of these Hearings.

Copy of above mentioned
hearings enclosed with
Bureau Memo, 4/21/48
Re: Hearings-Un-American
Activities Committee-
House of Representatives;
61-7582-1505, encl. pp.86-101
(3)
SI 100-3-70-323
(12)

The Fifth Report on Un-American Activities in California, dated 1949, contained an article on "US Reds and Foreign Communist Parties. This article discussed the Communist activities in various countries, including Hungary.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

The item on Hungary set forth a detailed account of the fall of Hungary into Communists' hands. In May 1947 the Russian military governor brought conspiracy charges against the Hungarian Premier, Ferenc Nagy, all members of the Small Landholders Party, the Foreign Minister, the speaker of the House, and virtually all of the leading capitalists of Hungary. Nagy was visiting in Switzerland and refused to return to Hungary. This item reported that on 2/6/48 Nagy testified before the HCUA at which time he described the force and violence of the Communists in seizing control of Hungary. (A lengthy account of his testimony was set out in this reference). Item also noted that an article in the "Daily Worker" of 10/4/47 referred to Nagy as a Fascist with a "long history of scheming against the Hungarian people," and said he "should be deported back to Hungary where a people's court will meet out justice to these program makers and traitors."

This report also contained a list of publications recommended for those seeking more advanced information or specialized knowledge on various aspects of the whole Communist problem. This list included "Struggle Behind Iron Curtain, by Ferenc Nagy. Published by MacMillan in NY, and the price was listed as $6.00.

Copy of above mentioned report was furnished by Senator Jack B. Tenny, Los Angeles County, State Bldg., Los Angeles 12, California, in the early part of July, 1949.

Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with Directors Office Telephone Room Note, 7/5/49
Re: Fifth Report on Un-American Activities in California 1949
100-152652-41, encl. pp. 114,115,116, 654,795
(18)

TOP SECRET

(S) (U)

Through the assistance of [redacted] Dr. Gueorgi M. Dimitrov, of 3100 Conn. Ave., Wash.,DC, apt. 340, was interviewed on 2/10/48. He advised that he had registered with the Dept. of Justice as an agent of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. He said the hdqrs. of the IPU was also located at 3100 Conn. Ave., N.W., Wash., DC. b7D b7E

Dimitrov advised that Dr. Branko Pechell acted as interpreter for Ferenc Nagy, leader of the Hungarian Small Holders Party. Dr. Dimitrov said he was not thoroughly aquainted with Pechell, but felt that he was very ambitious and might at times put the wrong interpretation on the thoughts which Nagy expressed.

Dr. Dimitrov indicated that the IPU was very hard pressed financially. He stated some members were fortunate in that they had personal means to exist on and carry on the resistance movement. Of these he mentioned Nagy.

WFO memo, 2/20/48
Re: IPU
[redacted] (S) (U) b3 b7E
(27)

The 2/21/48 issue of "The Nation" contained an article entitled "Front Men for Reaction," by Constantine Poulos regarding individuals in the IPU,which included Ferenc Nagy.

~~TOP SECRET~~

This lengthy article discussed Nagy's quick flee from Switzerland to NY and reported that Nagy was slated to be one of the king-pins of the IPU. Article made reference to an article in the "New York Daily News" of 11/12/47 concerning Nagy and also referred to article by Nagy which appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post." (Date not given).

Photostatic copy of above mentioned article which appeared in "The Nation" enclosed with Bureau Memo, 3/19/48 Re: IPU:

[redacted] (U)

(28)

b3
b7E

On 10/23/52 Paul Marik, Mt. Airy, RFD#1, Upper Marlboro, Md., advised that he served as Counselor at the Hungarian Legation in Wash., DC from November 1945, until January, 1948. He said he first served under Minister Aladar Szegedy-Maszak, and became head of the Legation upon the defection of Szegedy-Maszak in the middle of 1947. He stated that Szegedy-Maszak's resignation was prompted by the resignation of the then head of Hungary, Ferenc Nagy.

Marik reported that he first met Matyas Rakosi, who was Premier of Hungary at that time, when Rakosi visited the US on an official visit with Nagy in 1946.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Marik returned to Hungary in 1948 for a consultation regarding a new job. While there he was interviewed by Minister Eric Molnar (Foreign Minister, formerly Minister of Justice), at which time Molnar asked him what he knew about Ferenc Nagy and other Hungarian emigre in the US. Marik said he answered all of Molnar's questions to the best of his knowledge. (No details given).

In March 1948, Marik returned to the US having been appointed Consul General at the Hungarian Consulate in Cleveland, Ohio. He reported that Nagy visited Cleveland on one occasion (No date given) to make a speech, subsequent to which an employee of the Consulate, Arpad Kovacs, was observed talking with Nagy for a considerable length of time. Marik said he reported the incident to the Hungarian Legation in Wash., D.C. Marik defected as Hungarian Consul General in Cleveland on 2/12/49.

WFO rpt. 11/13/52
Re: Paul Louis Marik, aka, Pal
[redacted] (S) (U) pp. 5,7,9 b3
(34) b7E

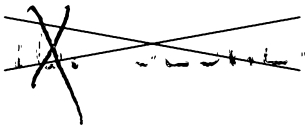
On 3/9/48 the WFO furnished a document, written in the Hungarian language, which contained considerable information on a number of persons in Hungary. It was written by Laszlo Jekelyi, at the insistence of Aladar Szegedy-Maszak, immediately upon Jekelyi's arrival in the US. The WFO also furnished a rough draft translation of portions of the document which had been prepared by [redacted] (S) (U) b7D b7E

According to this translation, Jekely described how the Russians used their influence in Hungary, the interventions they made in Hungarian domestic politics and how finally, General Sviridov, chairman of the ACC (not identified), suggested Lajos Dinnyes as the person to become Prime Minister after the ousting of former Premier Ferenc Nagy. Jekely further stated the advantages enjoyed by the members of the Hungarian CP. They were not taken for forced labor by the Russians, they were almost the only ones who received adequate food and received the cream of the available jobs. (U)

Jekely stated that he was in Vienna during the first few days of the crisis which led to the forced abdication of Ferenc Nagy and therefore he had only second hand information. He claimed that during the crisis some members of the Smallholders Party acted on Communist instructions against the interest of their own Party. (U)

Copies of above mentioned items enclosed with
(U) [WFO] memo 3/9/48
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US (U)
IS-R
[100-89-54-53X] (U)
(16)

The 3/10/48 issue of the "Hungarian Medical Review" (Magyar Orvosi Szemle) contained an article entitled "USA Trade Union Leader on America." The article was purported to be the context of a lecture delivered by Lewis Weinstock before the Engineers' Trade Union at Budapest, Hungary. Weinstock was believed to be a left-wing member of the AFL.



Excerpts from this article are quoted below:

"The one-sided and hostile information of the American press makes our Hungarians who live abroad waver. But they are looking towards the people's democracy with ever increasing trust and with unlimited expectations. Ferenc Nagy and his companions, [redacted] and his companions, are isolated groups." b7D

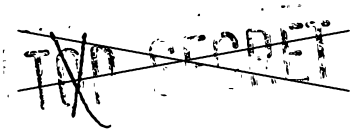
"Not only the American-Hungarians, but the American working people as a whole, sympathise with the heroic efforts made by Hungary and the other people's democracies for the creation of democracy."

"The agents of the American Government, on the other hand, endeavor to set the workers and peasants on each other (Ferenc Nagy and his companions), at the breaking up of labor union (Peyer), and finally, following the French example, to abolition the independence of this country."

"Lewis Weinstock concluded by expressing his firm belief in the power of the people's democracies and in the success of democratic efforts of the American people."

A translation of above mentioned article enclosed with A copy of a Memo from the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary to the State Dept., dated 4/19/48
100-98594-56
(19)

"~~RESTRICTED~~"



Dr. Georgi M. Dimitrov, Secretary of the IPU, furnished an Agent of the WFO (date not given) various information concerning the proposed organizational development of the IPU in the US.

Dimitrov said from a long-range viewpoint the plan was to organize all nationality groups in the US, which groups maintained a political interest in the affairs in those countries under Soviet control or pressure.

The immediate plan was to combat Communism through planned organization of the Slav nationality groups which were represented by leaders then associated with the IPU in the persons of Dr. G.M. Dimitrov (Bulgarian Peasant Union); Dr. Vladko Macek (Croatian Peasant Party); Ferenc Nagy (Hungarian Small Holders Party); and others.

Dimitrov furnished detailed plans of how the IPU would operate to carry out its program.

WFO Memo 3/13/48
Re: IPU:
[redacted] (X) (U)
(28) ✓

b3
b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

The 3/15/48 issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled "Hungarians Here In Rival Meetings." The article reported that a meeting of Hungarian -Americans was held on 3/14/48 at the Hunter College Auditorium in NY. The meeting was sponsored by the AHF and the "Ameriska Magyar Nepszova" and was in celebration of the 100 th anniversary of Hungarian independence and to pay homage to the Hungarian patriot Lousi Kossuth. Former Premier Ferenc Nagy, and other emigre Hungarian political leaders, spoke at this meeting.

This article also reported that this meeting was picketed by a small picket line, some of the pickets being members of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans.

NY rpt. 2/16/49
Re: United Committee of South-Slavic Americans
IS-C; Registration Act
100-212169-663, p.46
(19) ✓
[redacted] as par. 1 above
[redacted]
(10) ✓

b3
b7D
b7E

This reference is a report from Conf. Inft. [redacted], dated 2/13/48 at Homestead, Pa., which concerned CP activities. Informant advised that Joe* Lakacs told him that the Verhovy Society Fraternal Organization and the U.M.C.A. (not identified) had invited Ferenc Nagy and **Warga Bela formerly of Budapest to speak in Homestead on 3/21/48 at the Carnegie Library. Informant noted that these men were prime Ministers of Hungary. He also said that Lakacs claimed these men had robbed the Hungarian people and had run away. Since they had been here they had bought a big farm in Maryland. Lakacs also claimed they wanted to chisel the US out of enough money to get back to Europe and be dictators. (C) (U)

*From other references in this file, believe this name, which is handwritten, should be Takacs.

**From other references in summary this must be Bela Varga.

(C) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

A copy of this report was forwarded to Pittsburgh Field Office by letter dated 5/1/48. (U)

Serial described above
[100-349398-139]
(20) (U)

By telegram, dated 4/16/48, the American Embassy in Paris advised the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, that Bela Fahian, former President Hungarian National Democratic Party and Deputy, called that morning at the Embassy with his wife to apply for visas for several months to visit the US. According to Fabien, Hungarian exiles now in America, including Ferenc Nagy, had invited him to visit the US.

Serial described above
40-0-4121
(2)

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

On 3/19/53 [redacted], NYC, (reliability not given) furnished detailed background information concerning himself. [redacted] was born in [redacted] Hungary. About 1945, he established his [redacted] in Budapest. He went to Italy as a Displaced Person in May, 1948 and remained there until December, 1951. He arrived as a Displaced Person in the US on 1/1/52. b7D

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~[illegible]~~

On being questioned, [redacted] admitted that he owned the [redacted] located at [redacted] Budapest. He said that after the Communists took over following the flight of Ferenc Nagy, they permitted the small businesses to function until the end of 1949 or the first of 1950. He explained that another reason he was able to operate unmolested was because the Government did not wish to engage in the handling of commodities of the type in which he dealt, such as mineral oil.

He said one of the individuals who could vouch for him during this period was Istva Szolnaky, whereabouts unknown. He said Szolnaky was counselor of state under Ferenc Nagy and that his father was killed by the Communists during World War II. [redacted] stated that he was never a member of the CP.] (S) (U)

It was noted that this report was classified ~~"Secret"~~ inasmuch as the [redacted] communication containing the allegations upon which this investigation was based was so classified. (S) (U) b3 b7E b7D

NY rpt. 4/6/53
Re: [redacted] was.
[IS-HU] (S) (U)
100-391618-11
(27)

On or about 5/1/48 a farewell banquet was held at the Hamilton Hall, Buffalo, NY, for Ignatz Mezey, a member of the Hungarian Lodge #1013 of the IWO, who was returning to Hungary to live permanently. Martin Kiss gave a farewell address in Hungarian. ([redacted]) b7D b7E

~~[illegible]~~

TOP SECRET

A paraphrased summary of Kiss' remarks by [redacted] contained the following statement: "Despite all the rumors that have been spread concerning the Hungarian Government by Ferenc Nagy and others like him who are all Nazis, the United States had invited all these former leaders to live in the United States. Regardless of these rumors, it is a fact that the Hungarian people were never so well off as they are today, a free and happy people." b7D b7E

Buffalo rpt.11/17/48
Re: Martin A. Kiss, wa.
SM-C
100-353470-1
(25)
SI 61-7341-6-53, p.10
(Date of banquet 4/10/48
Inft. for par. 2 Summary of
informants' report)
(3)

In regard to the movement of Hungarian Nationals, the records of INS, NYC revealed that Janos Eross arrived at the Port of NY, 5/21/48 by plane and his last residence was listed as [redacted] Conn. He had applied for status as a displaced person at Baltimore, Md.

According to [redacted] Eross was former Minister of Public Foods in the Hungarian Cabinet of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, and Eross came to the US for the purpose of attending an IPU Convention at which time he resided with former Prime Minister Nagy in Virginia. (U) b7D b7E b6 b7C

NY memo 3/24/49 (U)
Re: Movement of Hungarian Nationals;
IS-HU
100-354030-65, p.6 (U)
(22)

(U)

TOP SECRET

47

~~TOP SECRET~~

Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, Director of the IPU, furnished two copies of the Annual Report he made at the Annual Congress of the IPU, which was held May 24 to May 27, 1948 in Wash., DC.

He also furnished two copies of the Report on the IPU's Annual Congress.

According to this report, during the first plenary session, on 5/24/48, Vice-President Ferenc Nagy proposed that a telegram be sent to the President of the US thanking the government of the American people for the shelter and moral support that had been extended to the representatives of the Agrarian movements. The proposal was adopted and the draft approved.

Under the new By-Laws of the Union the Congress elected the members of the Executive Committee, which included Ferenc Nagy.

This report included a copy of the resolutions of the Annual Conference, which contained a verbatim copy of the above mentioned telegram to the President. Ferenc Nagy was one of six that signed the wire.

A copy of the above mentioned reports enclosed with WFO memo, 9/17/48 Re: IPU:

[redacted] (U)

(28)

b3
b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 6/7/48, a highly confidential and reliable source having access to documents in the personal possession of Dr. Gyorgy Heltai, Divisional Counsellor in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made available, to the NYC Field Office, photographic copies of these documents which for the most part were in the Hungarian language. Translations of the major portion of this material was set forth in this reference under eight headings. (U)

Under heading No. II "Intelligence and Related Matters; John Florian Scandal" the following statement appeared: "It would be an important political task systematically to observe the local activities of the escaped Hungarian politicians (Ferenc Nagy, Bela Vargha, Pfeiffer, [redacted], etc.) in America as well as of Hungarian Citizens residing here with officially prescribed permits. The legation is in no position to attend to this task at this time. (U) b7D

We deem it indispensable:
a) either to solve this task in another manner,
b) or to grant a fund administered for this purpose by the head of the legation or a member entrusted with this task." (U)

Item under heading No. VI concerned Ferenc Nagy and was believed to be a communication which was addressed to Ferenc Nagy, Hungarian Premier in exile, at the time of his involuntary abdication when he was attempting to have his son, [redacted], delivered to him in Switzerland by the Hungarian Communist authorities. (U) b6 b7C

A verbatim translation of this communication was set forth in this reference. (No dates were given for above material) (U)

(U) Photographic copy of above mentioned documents enclosed with NY letter, 8/10/48
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities In the United States;
IS-R and HU
100-35194-55 , pp.1,10,21,22 (23) (U) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 6/9/48 the WFO reported that [redacted] had advised that it appeared former Prime Minister of Hungary Ferenc Nagy, [redacted] and others had recently purchased a Hungarian newspaper published in NY. (Name of paper was not given). Shortly thereafter, according to this informant, the new publishers received a congratulatory letter from President Truman. The Legation in Washington thereupon advised Budapest of this letter and apparently received instructions to make a stiff protest to President Truman in view of the fact that while we recognize the present government in Hungary, President Truman's letter went to persons who were run out of Hungary by the present government. (X) (U) b7D b7E

This information was furnished to the State Dept, Wash., DC, on 6/17/48 and the White House on 6/18/48, at which time they were advised that the information came from a highly confidential and well-placed source which should be adequately protected. (X) (U)

(X) (U)
WFO letter 6/9/48
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the U.S.
IS-R
100-35194-29 (X) (U)
(22)
(X) (U)

A translation of an article appearing in the 6/12/48 issue of "Amunkas," entitled "New Owners-Old Reactionary Politics," reported that Ferenc Nagy was one of the new owners of the American Hungarian "People's Voice." The writer believed that American capitalistic money was being used, and, therefore, there was no change in the newspaper. Article stated that the "Nepszava" remained a capitalist paper and thus the enemy of the workers.

~~TOP SECRET~~

The following notation was noted on this reference "Enclosures detached for publication files."

Translation of above mentioned article enclosed with Cincinnati Memo, 8/30/49
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-R and HU
100-89-11-23, encl. p.16
(14) (U)

About 6/14/48 [redacted] *Wisc.,* [redacted] *Wisconsin "Magyarsag," and a confidential source of information of the Milwaukee Field Office, advised that the anti-Communist faction of the Hungarians in this country had recently purchased the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava," 398-2nd Ave., NYC.* [redacted] *believed that Ferenc Nagy would have a part in the running of this newspaper, which would be used as the organ for the principal press attack on the then current Communist Hungarian Government.* (U)

b7D

Milwaukee memo, 6/14/48
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-C
100-89-31-5
(15) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~INF SECTION~~

On 10/25/50 the NY Field Office furnished a photostatic copy of a typewritten 72 page manuscript entitled "The Political Police and The State Security Services In Post-War Hungary, by Colonel Victor Kruchina, formerly Deputy Chief of the Hungarian Military Political Bureau (1945-1947). (U)

This manuscript was made available by [redacted], who obtained it temporarily from Robert Gabor, who came to the US as a visitor under the auspices of the HNC. [redacted] believed that Gabor obtained the manuscript from Kruchina. Informant said Kruchina, as of October 1950, held the title of Assistant Deputy Representative of the HNC in London. (U) b7D b7E

This manuscript contained a detailed account of the background of the "plot" which led to the ouster of Ferenc Nagy as Premier of Hungary. (U)

At the end of this manuscript there were copies of newspaper writeups, dated 6/28/48, concerning Kruchina which appeared in British newspapers. One of the items stated in part: "He had to work under Communist seniors who soon transformed the Military Police Office into a centre for terrorising non-Communists,-------He tried in vain to keep his own department free from the corrupting and terrorising influences of Communist adherents, mostly former concentration camp inmates, and to warn the non-Communist Ministers, among them Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, now a refugee in the United States, of the Communist preparations for unearthing an alleged plot against the Hungarian Republic which served to oust all non-Communist from the Government." (U)

[Photostatic copy of above mentioned items enclosed with NY Memo, 10/25/50 Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the U.S.; IS-R-HU 100-354194-581, encl. pp 39,40,64, 69,73 (24)] (U)

On 1/27/50 Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that Cazes De Mondenard, French Vice Consul, of the French Consular Office in NYC, prepared a lengthy report relating to Hungarian matters in the US for the French Ambassador Henri Bonnet. (S) (U) b7D b7E

This reference enclosed what appeared to be a copy of a memo containing a summary of the highlights in the above mentioned report. It was captioned "French 1/13/50 - 1/30/50. Date 1/27. To whom, Amb. Bonnet. From whom, Act. Con. Gen. Puaux, New York, N.Y." (S) (U)

This summary noted that the HNC was organized by political exiles on 7/21/48 in the US and was composed of 71 members. The Council comprised most of the prominent political officials, including Ferenc Nagy, former President of the Council and chairman of the Small Landholder's Party, resigning in 1947, and Imre Kovacs, former member of the CP and secretary general of that National Peasant Party Communistic, introduced into the Council at the request of Nagy. (S) (U)

This summary also noted that the Communist political police accused Nagy of being a member of the 'Hungarian Community," an organization founded in 1946 in Hungary by a group of young deputies of the right wing of the Small Landholder's Party to oppose the Communist. For this reason it was believed he was forced to resign as Prime Minister. (S) (U)

Per note on this reference, this information was furnished to [redacted], on 3/1/50, on a confidential basis. Note signed "RWL." (C) (U) b3 b7E

Copy of above mentioned summary
enclosed with
Bureau memo 3/1/50
Re: Hungarian National Council;
National Committee For A Free Europe
(No character of case)
[redacted] b3 b7E
(30)

~~INFORMATION~~

This reference is a copy of an [redacted] memorandum, dated 7/23/48, which reported that the Hungarian daily newspaper "Nepszava" located at 374 Second Ave., NY, NY, had "recently" been sold to a group which included [redacted]. According to this memo, the editorial committee included Ferenc Nagy (exiled Hungarian statesman), and [redacted]. The policy of the paper would be predominantly pro-Otto. The circulation was said to be around 16,000, mainly New Yorkers but also read in other parts of the US. (U) b7D

(No evaluation of source or information was given)

[100-89-35-55] (15) (U)

~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~

By memo, dated 11/2/48, captioned Professor Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, was [IS-R], the Boston Field Office advised that the "Cape Cod Standard Times" of 8/11/48 carried a social item reflecting that Professor Albert Szent-Gyorgyi had in the previous week entertained Miss Juliette Nagy of Hamden, Virginia. Miss Nagy was described as the daughter of the former Prime Minister of Hungary, Ferenec Nagy.

It was noted that Nagy was a refugee from the Communist government of Hungary, and it was believed unlikely that this daughter would accept an invitation from Gyorgyi if Nagy knew or suspected Gyorgyi of being a Communist sympathizer.

Boston also advised that a copy of this memo was being furnished the WFO in the event the Bureau should direct the WFO to interview Nagy for the purpose of obtaining further information regarding Gyorgyi.

By memo dated 1/17/49, the WFO was informed that the Bureau did not think it advisable at that time to interview Nagy concerning Gyorgyi as suggested in the Boston memo.

Serial described above
100-347660-39
(50)

On 8/12/48 the American Embassy, Athens, Greece, advised the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, that it had been learned from a source considered reliable in Salzburg, Austria, that the number of anti-Communists leaving Hungary had increased. (U)

The refugees reported there was a strange optimism in Budapest based on the expectation of a collapse of the government because of internal struggle among three factions of the Hungarian Communists. (U)

The Embassy also reported that other exiles were continuing their efforts to form a united anti-Communist front, and noted that Dezso Sulyok and Ferenc Nagy, former strong adversaries, had begun talks in the US. (U)

Copy of an airgram from the American Embassy, Athens, Greece to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, dated 8/12/48 [redacted]
(5) (U)

b3
b7E

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

In connection with an investigation of Zolton Bay, a Hungarian nuclear physicist, who arrived in Wash., DC during the latter part of September, 1948 after visiting Russia, [redacted] b7D for the [redacted] (reliability not given), advised that Bay was well acquainted with Ferenc Nagy, former premier of Hungary, who was exiled in the U.S.

Nagy advised (date not given) that he knew Bay many years before the war and furnished information concerning Bay's activities. Among other things, Nagy stated that Bay never went to Russia and said it was fantastic to say he (Bay) had any Communist sponsored scientists working under him for Russia. Nagy believed it was a false rumor started by enemies or jealous people which stated that Bay was sent to the US to obtain additional information about "atom-splitting." Nagy believed Bay was loyal, honest and could be trusted to work on atomic bomb in the US.

WFO rpt. 3/25/49
Re: Zolton Ludwig Bay, was.
[IS-R and HU] (S) (U)
100-354543-11 pp. 4,8
(50)

This reference is a copy of an airgram from Ankara, Turkey, dated 10/1/48, to the Secretary of State, Wash., DC, which concerned the Communist Activities in Turkey during September 1948. (S) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This airgram advised that Ferenc Nagy had been described as having arrived in Istanbul, Turkey, (exact date not given) in an American plane with an American passport and accompanied by American policemen. Nagy was called a notorious agent of foreign espionage services who had betrayed the Hungarian people. (S) (U)

[redacted] (5) (S) (U) b3 b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

On 12/1/49 [redacted] advised that they had received a report which revealed that a certain Stephen E. Swift, who had several aliases, was very close to Nagy. According to this report, word was received through someone in the Hungarian Legation at Madrid, Spain, that Swift's name appeared on a secret list which gave the names of prominent Communists and Communist agents abroad. (S) (U) b3 b7E

[redacted] noted that the report was unconfirmed and unevaluated. (S) (U)

[redacted] believed the persons mentioned above to be Ferenc Nagy and Stephen K. Swift, a former Hungarian who obtained US citizenship on 7/7/38. (S) (U)

~~NOFORN~~

[ITALY] (S) (U) [redacted] reported that on 9/17/48 Ferenc Nagy attended a meeting held in Rome, at which De Gasperi (fnu., not further identified) expressed the readiness of the Italian Christian Democrats to sponsor the Hungarian Emigrant anti-Communist Effort. Swift, who accompanied Nagy on his European trip, was reported to have attended the meeting as Nagy's manager-press agent. (S) (U) b3 b7E

[[redacted] Memo dated 12/1/49] (S) (U)
100-5029-9
(17)

"~~SECRET~~"

Translation of an article appearing in the 6/7/48 issue of "Magyar Jovo" ("MJ") reported in part, "Zoltan Pfieffer's sympathy to fascists and black-marketeers was not accidental. After the departure of [redacted], he joined hands with conspirators Ferenc Nagy and Bela Kovacs. He went further: he united the underground reactionaries against democracy." Article also reported that he left the Small Landholders Party of Hungary, and later followed in the footsteps of Ferenc Nagy and deserted. Article further stated that here in America he had shown how deeply anti-democratic he was. b7D

Translation of an article in the 8/25/48 issue of the "MJ" reported that during the trial of Bela Zoltan Zalan two letters had come to light. One letter, dated 3/30/46, which contained the Prime Minister's Seal and was signed by Ference Nagy, stated "As Prime Minister of Hungary, I certify and acknowledge that Bela Zoltan Zalan played important role in our defense against fascism. He showed selfless service." Article named Zalan as the "defender" of Ferenc Nagy.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Article in the 8/14/48 issue of "MJ" reported that when President Truman discovered there were 10 million foreign-born voters in the US, he and McGrath decided to do something to garner these votes. Reactionary editors were invited to the White House. The Hungarian delegation included Ferenc Nagy. After the White House visit Nagy announced he was going to make a tour of Europe for newspapers, but failed to mention which newspapers.

Article in the 9/23/48 issue of "MJ" reported on a trip made by Nagy to Europe and other points allegedly as a newspaper writer. Article reported that Nagy's friends told that he was sent by the US State Dept. The Moscow radio claimed that Nagy was a spy, terrorist and saboteur in the employ of the US. Article stated that after this happened "it is our feeling that Ferenc Nagy has lost all of his usefulness for the State Department."

The 9/21/48 issue of the "MJ" contained an article concerning Nagy's trip abroad, and reported that the Turkish government sent an official note to the US protesting the undermining of the deposed eastern Europe politicians that had increased after the arrival of Nagy. Article also reported that State Department denied that Nagy received a commission from the government. State Dept. said Nagy was traveling as a private person and they had only aided him in supplying him the necessary passports.

Copies of the above mentioned newspapers and a copy of the translations enclosed with
(X)(U) *Cincinnati Memo, 9/7/49 (Cin. 100-8747)*
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-HU and R
100-89-11-28, encl. pp.14, 43,46,69,70
(14) (X)(U)

(X)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of [redacted] Information Report for October 1948 on the subject of "The State Defense Department of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior," of Hungary. The source was given as [redacted] of limited intelligence but in an excellent position to observe the functioning of the SDD. (S)(U)

b3
b7E
b7D

The source said one of the main tasks of the SDD was "to eliminate by any available means all groups or individuals who stand in the way of the Communist Party," and gave many methods used to achieve their aims. (S)(U)

As an illustration of the high degree of cooperation between the CP and the SDD, source cited the circumstances which brought about dissolution of the Smallholders Party and the conspiracy charges levelled at Ferenc Nagy. Source claimed that after the CP realized that the Smallholders Party was vulnerable to attack by reason of its lack of unity, the CP began its campaign to dissolve the Party (The steps taken were set out in detail in this reference.) (S)(U)

[(27) [redacted] p.14] (S)(U)

b3
b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

On 10/18/48 the Legat of Havana, Cuba, furnished a memorandum in Spanish which consisted of a daily summary of the Communist daily newspaper "Hoy" of Havana for the the week of October 10 to October 16, 1948. This memorandum was prepared by Dr. Virgilio Echaniz, formerly an agent of the Cuban National Police. (S)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

According to a translation of this memorandum, the following appeared in the 10/16/48 issue of the paper:

"Ferenc Nagy Goes To Turkey To Organize The Espionage In Eastern Europe. The Hungarian traitor, by orders of the American Gestapo, seeks to create conflicts in the Democratic European Republics." (U)

A copy of the memorandum in Spanish and copies of the translations enclosed with Memo from the Legat, Havana 10/18/48 Re: Communist Activities in Cuba; SM-C [redacted] encl. p.25 (Havana 100-2) (8) (U)

(U)
b3
b7E

The 8/31/48 issue of "Magyar Jovo" reported that a Hungarian Government in exile had been formed, the President being Rev. Bela Varga.

[redacted] furnished a ~~confidential~~ outline in the Hungarian language which set forth the purpose and principals of the organization of the Hungarian Government in exile. Informant advised that the outline had not been made public as of 10/21/48 and, therefore, was highly ~~confidential~~. (U)

b7D
b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

A translation of the above outline, dated 7/21/48, revealed that the President of the National Committee proposed that the HNC form eight committees to carry on its work. He proposed a number of individuals as president and vice president of the various committees. He suggested Ferenc Nagy as president of the Agricultural Committee, and a member of the investigative and non political committee which would be concerned with the legal decisions. (X)(U)

A copy of the translation was enclosed with a letter to the NY Field Office dated 11/4/48. (X)(U)

Photostatic copy of above mentioned outline in the Hungarian language enclosed with (X)(U)
(X)(U) NY memo 10/12/48
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US;
IS-R & HU
100-89-35-60 (X)(U)
(15) (X)(U)

On or about 10/25/48 John Grumbach, of NYC, (not further identified) furnished the Bureau with a memorandum concerning plans for assassinating members of the Hungarian Government in exile. He advised that this information had originated with the State Dept. (X)(U)

This memo reported that a usually reliable source informed that orders had been issued by the Hungarian Secret Service to a group of 18 men and 4 women from "Rongyas Garda," a former Hungarian Communist organization, for the assassination of various members of the Hungarian Government in Exile, including Trade Minister Ference Nagy. (X)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

After receiving special training in Russia, the group crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border near St. Gotthardt at 8:00 PM, on 8/12/48. Their story was that they were political persecutees fleeing from Hungary and the US was their first goal. (S)(U)

This memo was classified as "~~SECRET~~" (U)

Copies of above mentioned memo enclosed with Bureau memo, 10/25/48 (No caption) [100-354194-73] (S) (U)
(46)
[redacted] "~~SECRET~~" (U)) b3 b7E b7D
(47) (S) (U)

Following World War II a Provisional National Government was formed in Hungary. A free election was held in November 1945 in which the Independent Smallholders' Party emerged the strongest Party and thus elected 222 of the National Assembly's 420 members. On 2/1/46 the National Assembly proclaimed the Republic of Hungary and elected Zoltan Tildy, leader of the Smallholders Party, as President. The cabinet was formed under Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, a prominent member of the Smallholders. (Files of NY Field Office)

On 5/30/47 a Communist coup forced the resignation of Nagy, charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government of which he was Prime Minister. (Files of NY Field Office)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] reported that John Florian, who was First Secretary of the Hungarian Legation at Washington, DC, in 1947, was assigned the task of extorting Nagy's abdication at the Swiss border against the release of his [redacted] son, when Nagy was forced to resign while vacationing in Switzerland. (U) b6 b7C b7D b7E

According to reliable sources, (not identified), when the important refugee politicians, including Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, arrived in the US they almost immediately contacted [redacted], who was reported to favor the overthrow of the "present" Hungarian regime. (U) b7D

The 10/27/48 issue of "Magyar Jovo" contained an editorial which alleged that because of "stupid actions" in Istanbul, Turkey, where Nagy had been sent "for espionage purposes by United States officials," he was asked to leave the country; and that thereupon his US "principals" denied any official connection with him - a customary procedure with" unmasked spies."

According to a confidential outline in the Hungarian language dated at NYC, 7/21/48, which was furnished by [redacted], the HNC proposed the formation of eight committees. Ferenc Nagy was proposed as President of the Economic Committee. It was further proposed that Nagy be appointed as a member of the Committee on Credentials and Discipline. (U) b7D b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

The 10/25/48 issue of "Magyar Jovo" reported on a speech delivered by the Hungarian Prime Minister Lajos Dinnyes at a mass meeting of the Independent Smallholders at Ujpest. According to this article Dinnyes in his comments about the international situation referred to the "treasonable activities" of such persons as Ferenc Nagy, [redacted], and Bela Varga. He asserted that the newly organized reactionary National Commission had in its ranks such individuals as "the traitor Ferenc Nagy" and others. He said the organization had become "an open spy network of the imperialists, which undertook the collecting of information, the organizing of sabotage activities and the preparation of internal attacks against the people's democratic regime." b7D

The 6/2/48 issue of the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" announced that the paper had changed management, and named Ferenc Nagy as a co-editor.

The "New York Times" in its 6/5/48 issue asserted that "a syndicate of exiled Hungarian statesman had taken over editorship of the paper." Aside from the individuals already mentioned this article stated that John F. Montgomery, US Minister to Hungary from 1933 to 1941, was chairman of the board.

It was noted that the HNC was not to be confused with the so-called Executive Committee of the Hungarian Social Democrats Living in Exile, according to announcements founded in Switzerland during August 1948. This organization reportedly included Antal Ban, former Minister in the Nagy and Dinnyes governments.

NY rpt. 12/13/48
Re: Hungtel; (C)(U)
IS-R and HU
100-354194-95, pp. 10,31,35,42,55,58,59,61,62,64,96
(23) (C)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of a telegram, dated 11/8/48, from Frankfurt, Germany to Secretary of State, Wash, DC, and is hereinafter quoted in full. (~~S~~) (U)

"Ferenc Wagner, allegedly political refugee called here today. Bearer Hungarian diplomatic passport issued September 15, 1948 showing rank Consul First Class. Entry permit US Zone, Germany issued Military permit office Praha November 2. Declare has had long service Consul, Bartislava, has important political information, desires proceed US with wife and child. Claims personal friend Ferenc Nagy. States you are forwarding his 'political papers' here. Lacks funds. Advise Department and this office urgently extend assistance recommended. Special authorization funds and visa number from Department required if desired proceed US. Request Budapest comment. (~~S~~) (U)

Sent Praha 11, repeated Budapest 10, Department 244." (~~S~~) (U)

[redacted] (42) (~~S~~) (U) b3 b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

The 11/22/48 issue of "Magyar Jovo" contained a report on the trial of Victor Csornoky, [redacted] on charges of treason and other offenses against the Hungarian Government. Csornoky was at one time attached to the Hungarian Legation at Wash., DC. b6 b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

A translation of this article revealed that it stated in part: "Since Csornoki saw that after the fall of Ferenc Nagy, he could not rely anymore on the Small Holders Party led by the conspirators, he tried to partake by all means in that political conspiracy, the purpose of which was to welcome the Hungarian Peoples democracy through foreign aid and finally destroy it." Article also reported that he succeeded in December, 1947 in having himself appointed Hungarian Minister to Cairo, Egypt.

This article was purported to be a copy of a write-up which appeared in the Hungarian Newspaper "Vilag."

A copy of the translation mentioned above enclosed with
Memo to NY, 2/1/49
Re: Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-354194-91, encl. p.3
(23) (U)

This reference enclosed 35 issues of "Magyar Jovo" for the period 9/2/49 to 11/30/49 together with translations of various articles contained therein.

According to the translations, information concerning Ferenc Nagy appeared in the following articles:

Issue 10/23/48 Article entitled, "What Does Ferenc Nagy Want?"

Issue 10/23/48 Article entitled, "'The National Commission' Is a Fascist Spy-Ring"

Also article entitled, "Sulyok too is Going to Buy a Farm"

Issue 10/27/48 Article entitled, "The Deposed Spy"

Issue 11/26/48 Article entitled, "Why Did Ferenc Nagy Steal Away?"

Issue 10/1/48 Article entitled "Ferenc Nagy Hires Spy for the Committee on Un-American Activities."

Issue 10/6/48 Article entitled "Otto and F. Nagy Have Arrived."

Notations on the mail indicated that the newspapers mentioned above were detached for Publication files.

Copies of above mentioned translations enclosed with Cincinnati Memo, 9/19/49 Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-R and HU 100-89-11-25, encl. pp. 4,5,6,13,32,34 (14) (U)

(U)

A review of the WFO indices revealed that in December, 1948 the NY Field Office had furnished information naming Ferenc Nagy as President of the Economic Committee of the Hungarian National Commission.

WFO memo 2/2/51 Re: Hungarian Activities in the US; IS-R and HU 100-89-189 (13) (U) (U)

TOP SECRET

This reference enclosed a copy of the report of the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate on Senate Bill # 1832. This was a Bill to Amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918, as Amended. The Hearings were held in Wash., DC, in September 1949, and the report was entitled "Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups.

This report included testimony given by Rev. George E.K. Borshy, Executive Secretary, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America; Stephen E. Balogh, Executive Secretary, AHF; Rev. Geza Takaro, Minister of the First Magyar Reformed Church, NY, NY; and Paul Nadanyi, Editor of the "Amerikai Magyarsag."

These individuals furnished various information and exhibits which included material concerning Ferenc Nagy. Information covered the approximate period 1945 to 1949, which was before and after he imigrated to the US.

Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with Bureau memo, 3/20/50 Re: Hearings Before Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate 62-88217-21, Part #2, pp. 845,846, 855,856,860,872,890,927 (4)

TOP SECRET

On 11/1/50 furnished a copy of a letter from the US Forces in Austria dated 10/11/50 concerning the Collegial Society of Hungarian War Veterans (Magyar Harcosok Bajtarse Kozossette: MHBK) which was known to that office as "Hungarian Warriors Comradeship Association." (S) (U) b7D

According to this letter the MHBK was an organization of Hungarian veterans from two world wars. It was organized in 1946, and was headed by Andras Zako. It had neither written statutes nor a definite program, with the exception of the ultimate general goal of playing an important part in a future liberated Hungary. It had representatives in all parts of the world. (S) (U)

(Source for above evaluated as usually reliable; information as probably true)

~~(U) SECRET~~

Zako was head of the "Kopjas" movement, a special Hungarian combat intelligence group in 1944. Zako maintained contact with Hungarian refugee politicians and exiled Hungarian generals. Inasmuch as many of these refugees, like former Premier Ferenc Nagy, might become members of a future Hungarian non-Communist government, he, Zako, allegedly played with the idea of becoming the future War Minister of Hungary. (S)(U)

This letter also reported that immediately after the organization of the "Hungarian National Committee" in NY in the spring of 1949, which in the minds of most Hungarian ex-politicians was the US State Department's idea of a semi-official Hungarian government in exile, Zako contacted Ferenc Nagy and other prominent members of the committee. He told them he was an anti-Communist Hungarian and would place his organization at the disposal of any official Hungarian exile government fighting the Communists. This offer was politely turned down by Bela Varga, President of the HNC. (S)(U)

Evaluation for the two preceeding paragraphs not clearly set out. The two given were as follows: (1) Source evaluated as fairly reliable; information as possibly true. (2) Source evaluated as completely reliable; information as confirmed by other sources . (S)(U)

By letter, dated 12/29/50, the NY Field Office was advised that information in the above mentioned report could be set forth in Bureau reports provided that all sources mentioned therein were completely protected and all references to G-2, [redacted] British and French informants were omitted. (S)(U)

b3
b7E
b7D

Copy of above mentioned letter enclosed with
Letter from [redacted] dated 11/1/50
[redacted] encl. pp.5,6
(12)

~~"SECRET"~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a monograph report regarding Bulgarian - Macedonia activities in the US. (U)

According to this report, Dr. Victor Sharenkoff, a former editor of "Narodna Volya," a Communist newspaper, and President of the Bulgarian-American Peoples League, returned to Bulgaria in September 1948, and was reported to have given an interview to the official Bulgarian press dealing with the existing political situation in the US. (U)

Questioned on "the reactionary drive against the progressive element in the USA," Sharenkoff was said to have stated in part "---- the press and the radio are constantly fanning the propaganda against the American Communist Party and all the progressive elements in the United States, and whereas foreign progressive personalities are being arrested and expelled from the United States, the enemies of the Eastern European democratic republics, such as Dr. G.M. Dimitroff, Mikolajczyd, Macek, Nagy, etc., are welcome and find refuge in the United States." (Source: "Narodna Volya," 1/14/49) (U)

As of 1949, Ferenc Nagy, Representative of the Hungarian Smallholders Party, was a member of the Central Committee of the IPU.

(Source: "Free and Independent Bulgaria," 1/20/49, which according to [redacted] was the first issue of the printed organ of the Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" published in Wash., D.C.) (U) b7D b7E

[redacted] a source which by virtue of wide acquaintances in Bulgarian - Macedonian circles has submitted reliable information in the past. (U)

[WFO] rpt. 3/25/49
Re: Bulgarian Activities in the United States;
IS-R - Bulgarian
[100-66-76X, index p.22]
(13) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference in a copy of an airgram, dated 2/3/49, from London (not further identified) to the Secretary of State, Washington, DC.

Airgram advised that Laszlo Bekeffi, Hungarian Conferencier and one of the heads of the Hungarian Relief Committee in London, was leaving on February, 4th via Queen Mary to make a lecture tour in the Hungarian language to Hungarian groups in the US. Messrs. Geller and Gorel, of 396 Second Ave., NY 10, NY, arranged the tour. His itinerary was set out in reference.

The airgram noted that Bekeffi specialized in serio-humorous political commentary. It also noted that he was well known to Ferencz Nagy, and maintained close touch with the Hungarian Committee in the US.

[100-89-100 (49)] (U)

"UNCLASSIFIED"

A review of the records of INS, of NYC, revealed that Leslie Bekeffi, aka Laszlo Bekeffi, former playwright, actor, and satirist of Hungarian origin, arrived in the US on 2/9/49 via the SS Queen Mary for the purpose of visiting in this country for a period of three months. His address was given as 324 West 84th St, NYC (Hotel Walton). His passport was issued by the United Kingdom in London, England, on 9/13/48 and was due to expire on 12/9/49. His destination in this country was Ferenc Nagy (former Prime Minister of Hungary). He came to this country for the specific purpose of performing an engagement for the Don Fritz Productions operated by Leslie Geller, 396 Second Ave, NYC.

NY rpt. 4/10/50
Re: George Halasy, was;
(U) [redacted] p.9
(9)

b3
b7D
b7E

[* according to [redacted]] (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

T-2, of known reliability, made available a copy of a letter written by Paul Nadanyi, a former editor of the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava," ("AMN") Hungarian language newspaper, published in NYC, to Mr. Izso Szekely, General Manager of the "AMN". The letter, dated 3/1/49, was written in the Hungarian language and was translated by T-2.

The translated copy, which was quoted in this reference, revealed that it was Nadanyi's letter of resignation as editor of the "AMN". Nadanyi indicated the paper was being changed from anti-Communist to a Communist paper.

In his letter, Nadanyi said the 'Szabadsag', a Hungarian language newspaper printed in Cleveland, Ohio which is said to be friendly toward the Communist Government in Hungary, "from the left, the 'Amerikai Magyar Nepszava'-- as I see it -- from the right, imitiating the voice of the former Hungarian nazis, now in Germany, try to break up Hungarian unity established by Bela Varga, Ferenc Nagy, [redacted], Zoltan Pfeiffer in their self-exile. For the Rakosis, for the agents of Moscow it is unimportant how this breaking up process is done, for them the important thing is that it is attempted." b7D

T-2: [redacted]

NY rpt. 5/1/50
Re: "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava"
IS-C
100-49207-13, p.8
(19)

~~SECRET~~

TOP SECRET

On 2/5/54 the WFO furnished a translated copy of 28 documents and letters, which were translated from the Hungarian language. This material was received from the NY Field Office.

These documents were not clearly identified, but those concerning Ferenc Nagy appeared to be as follows.

Page 3 of "Nyugati Hirnok," entitled "Dezso Sulyok's Final Address Before the Parliament."

Declaration of Dr. Dezso Sulyok, dated 10/16/48, NYC.

Letter signed Ferenc Nagy, dated 10/14/48, Herndon and addressed "Dear Friend."

Part of a letter, dated 9/5/48 at Brussels, address "Dear Steve and Lily," no signature.

Rough draft of a letter, dated 8/26/48, from Colonel Istvan Szemes, of Paris, to Dezso Sulyok

Statement, dated 11/12/48, Brussels, by Dr. Zoltan Deak.

Unsigned copy of letter, dated 10/4/48 at Paris, written by Istvan Szemes to "Feri."

Declaration, dated 3/19/49 at Salzburg, Austria, by General Albert Bartha.

Information regarding Nagy concerned his activities in the Hungarian government, his resignation, and his activities since he had been in exile in the US.

A translated copy of the documents mentioned above enclosed with WFO memo, 2/5/54
Re: Istvan Jeno Szemes
[redacted] encl. pp. 2,5,10,11,24, 25,29,40
(35)

b3
b7E

TOP SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 4/22/49 the WFO advised that Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, was interviewed "recently" in connection with an investigation to prove or disprove an allegation that Ivan Nagy, former First Secretary of the Hungarian Legation, in Wash., DC, might still be in the good graces of the Communist regime in Hungary at that time. (U)

Nagy advised that, although he knew nothing specific regarding any Communist activities on the part of Ivan, he did not have complete confidence in him. He felt that Ivan might be an opportunist. (U)

WFO memo, 4/22/49 (U)
Re: Ivan Nagy ([redacted]) (U)
[redacted] (U)
(10) (U)
[redacted] (U)
(10)

b3
b7D
b7E

The 4/30/49 issue of "The American-Hungarian" reported that the Voice of America in a broadcast on 4/20/49 announced the appearance of this new Hungarian weekly, and that for the first issue of this publication such exiled Hungarian politicians as Bela Varga, Ferenc Nagy, Bela Fabian, and [redacted], had contributed articles. (Titles of articles not given).

b7D

"The American-Hungarian" was published at 628 Bostwick Ave., Bridgeport 5, Connecticut.

NY memo, 7/13/49
Re: "Amerikai Magyarsag"
(The American-Hungarian)
Editors-Laszlo Boros
Paul Nadanyi
[redacted]
(29)

b3
b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOT SEUNEI

About May 1949, an investigation in connection with Valentine Toth's application for a position with VOA revealed the following information:

Paul Nadanyi, [redacted] Long Island, NY, advised that Toth had worked for the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" during the time he worked for the paper. Nadanyi praised Toth highly as to character and said that most of Toth's associates were affiliated with the HNC of which Ferenc Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, was a sponsor. b6 b7C

Albert B. Mark, Attorney, 205-85th St., NYC, advised he did not know much about Toth's past but through connections he had in Hungary he had learned that Toth worked for the Government while Nagy and his party were in control but that when the pro-Russian group came into power he left the country. Mark stated that in his opinion Toth was a liberal thinker and writer but under no circumstances could he be considered pro-Russian or pro-Nazi. Mark recommended Toth very highly.

NY rpt. 5/25/49
Re: Valentine Alexander Toth
Special Inquiry-State Dept.
Public Law 402, 80th Congress
(Voice of America)
123-3004-6, pp. 3,6
(43)

NOT SEUNEI

~~SECRET~~

By memo, dated 5/16/49, A.B. Mackey, Deputy Commissioner of INS, advised Peyton Ford, Assistant to the AG, that on that date he appeared as an observer before the Immigration Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee (Senator McCarran presiding) in public session at 2:00 P.M., Wash., D.C. Mackey reported that upon his arrival at the Committee room a number of aliens (13), including Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister, Hungary, were seated at the Committee table.

Through some misunderstanding these aliens came before the Committee to discuss pending displaced persons legislation. They were told by Senator McCarran that the Committee was not considering such legislation at that time. He suggested that arrangements would be made for their appearance at a later date.

According to this memo, Paul Crouch, who was an official of the CP from 1925 to 1942, testified before the Committee that day.

Copy of above mentioned memo
enclosed with Routing Slip from
The Assistant to the
Attorney General, dated 5/21/49
100-362752-1, encl. p.1
(26)

The "Magyar Jovo"*(~~probably 5/23/49 issue~~) quoted a page from an article [redacted] b7D
[redacted] "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava," in the Nepszava" during the latter part of December, 1948 which read as follows;

"We have exact information to the effect that outside of terrorists who are to commit atrocities against us, Moscow is smuggling Hungarian political agents to the west; not only ones of the extreme left, but also Bolshevik agents masked as extreme rightists, whose sole task is disrupt Hungarian unity and to cause one group to jump to the right and the other to the left."

* Probably 5-23-49 issue

"Magyar Jovo" asserted that the above statement was directed against Dezso Sulyok, who was retained as an editor of the "Nepszava" when the paper changed hands in about March, 1949. "Magyar Jovo" reported that Sulyok in turn replied that Bela Varga, Ferenc Nagy (refugee Hungarian politicians) and the others pursue politics "which are an appendage of Marxism. They follow the methods of Fascism and desire a green dictatorship."

NY rpt. 6/21/49
[Re: Hungtel; IS-R and HU] (C) (U)
[100-35194-179, pp.13, 19a (23)] (C) (U)

This reference sets forth excerpts from "Magyar Jovo," ("MJ") April, 1948 to June, 1949 on various topics. Regarding the activities of Hungarians in the US with regard to the Communist Government in Hungary, a lengthy excerpt was quoted from the 10/27/48 issue, entitled "The Deposed Spy." This excerpt noted that it was a guest article from "Szabad Szo" of Budapest, and reported that in Istanbul, Ferenc Nagy loudly announced that he was to be received by the Turkish Government, that he was officially sent by the US Government, that he was there to organize the right-wingers. Article reported that the Turkish Government protested his presence; that the US kicked him out; Nagy went to Paris to participate FRANCE in the meeting of the "International Peasant Union;" Nagy represented the Hungarian traitors; and mentioned his pamphlet "Machtraule in Ungarn" published the year before in Munich.

TOP SECRET

An editorial in the 12/27/48 issue made a violent attack against the HCUA and its members. It attacked Ferenc Nagy, and others, and stated that the activities of the Committee would be mentioned by history together with the Salem witch trials and ther murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The 10/1/48 issue of "MJ" contained an article entitled "Ferenc Nagy Hires Spy for The Committee on Un-American Activities." Excerpt reported that Nagy not only worked against his own birthland, but was against the American workers. Article reported that on the advice of Nagy, a Yugoslav linguist named Bogumil Vesnjak was hired to work among and spy on the Yugoslav fishermen.

The 6/11/49 issue contained a lengthy article which concerned the formation of the National Committee for a Free Europe Corporation. Article stated in part "From now on the Ferenc Nagys don't have to worry about their thirty cows not giving more milk. They will milk the Luce and Dewitt Wallace treasuries."

NY rpt. 11/28/50
Re: "Magyar Jovo"- Hungarian Daily Journal,
aka "Jovo"
[IS-R and HU;] (U) Registration Act
61-6361-54, pp.28,29,36,37,38
(2)

~~TOP SECRET~~

A translation of an article appearing in the 6/23/49 issue of "Magyar Jovo," read in part:" Among other things the 'Free People' in its editorial entitled 'with an Iron Hand against the Traitors' says: 'The respectable workers turn with hate against the imperialist spies. Laszlo Rajk and his friends went beyond Ferenc Nagy and Mindszenty when they lifted their arms against the heart of the Hungarian Workers' Party, and tried to undermine the Party and make the people serve imperialist aims. The unveiling of these agents really served the people's democracy....."

The translation of a lengthy article which appeared in the 6/25/49 issue of "Magyar Jovo" revealed that the article discussed the Hungarian political deserters in America. It stated, among other things, that the deserters endeavored to get money from the State Department through Ferenc Nagy. Article also stated, "Ferenc Nagy milks his cows on his property near Washington, DC, which he bought from his besmearching articles at the time when they were paying for such articles." Article indicated that Nagy received "ten-thousand honorarium" for his articles.

A note on this reference indicated the copies of above mentioned paper was detached for Publication files.

Copy of translations enclosed with Cincinnati memo 8/23/49
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R
100-89-11-20 (X) (U)
(14)

This reference is a copy of a memorandum from the American Embassy, Paris, dated 10/25/49, to the State Dept., Wash.,DC, on the subject of Hungarian political emigration as of 7/1/49. This reference inclosed a memorandum on this subject which was prepared by a "member of the Hungarian Socialist Party in Exile of the Peyer (non-collaborationist) group." Therefore, the Embassy noted that the memo represented the views of that faction and was not intended to be a non-partisan analysis of the situation in the emigration. (S)(U)

This memorandum reported that in the summer of 1948 the Hungarian Committee (Nemzeti Bizottmany) was created, which regarded itself as the representative of all Hungarians. At its formation the Committee's members included Ferenc Nagy. The memo discussed the changes made during the year. The reorganization resulted in sharp political fights between the right and the Left. The Left was formed by three parties which proclaimed a progressive platform. The largest of these was the Hungarian Peasant Federation, and its leaders included Ferenc Nagy. The Party's program was strongly agrarian socialist and fit organically into the East European Peasant Union which was formed in America, of which Nagy was a member of its executive committee. (S)(U)

[(40) [redacted] encl. pp. 2,3] (S)(U) b3 b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

On or about 10/3/50 [redacted] furnished copies of various reports which were prepared by the Common Council for American Unity, of NYC, for the National Committee for Free Europe. One of the reports was captioned "Hungarian Americans, A Survey of Current Political Attitudes and Activities With Respect to Their Country of Origin." (S)(U) b7D b7E

According to this report the HNC, consisting of all former non-Nazi and non-Communist members of the Hungarian Parliament then living in exile, was formed in the US in May 1949. In evaluating the Council, it was noted there were two groups which had adopted opposite attitudes on important problems. One group, which was led by Ferenc Nagy, advocated a Hungarian Republic. The other group favored a restoration of the Habsburg monarchy.

This report contained a short summary of some of the principal criticisms of individual leaders. The summary regarding Nagy was as follows: "Ferenc Nagy, who was Prime Minister of Hungary up to May, 1947, was attached by Dezso Sulyok in Amerikai Magyar Nepszava on July 11, 1949, in the following terms: 'Those criminals did not start their hangman's job December 29, 1948, the day Mindszenty was arrested. In 1946 and 1947, the same terrible man-hunting and torturing as in 1949 was common in Hungary. Everyone who has been a member of the government since 1945 is responsible for this.'"

Copies of the above mentioned reports enclosed with
NY memo, 10/5/50
Re: National Committee For Free Europe, Inc.
Information Concerning
62-90001-77, encl. pp.39,42
(4)

On 8/15/49 Stephan Thuransky, [redacted] West Virginia, was interviewed by an SA of the Pittsburgh Field Office.

b6
b7C

TOP SECRET

In regard to his statement in his letter of 7/6/49, to the Bureau, that he could give information and written proof concerning so-called refugees in this country, Thuransky stated that in his opinion Ferenc Magy*, former Hungarian Premier and a refugee to the U.S., sold out Hungary to the Communist movement in Hungary. He stated that Nagy had, while in Hungary, accepted a Packard automobile as a gift from Stalin.

Thuransky furnished three letters written in Hungarian, which he had received. He said the letter dated 6/29/49 was from E.T. Lajszky, a law student in Germany and a Hungarian refugee. The letter dated 5/14/49 was from a Hungarian refugee Catholic priest named John Sarvary. The letter dated 7/16/49 was from George Tilesch, formerly the chief of the Hungarian Counter Intelligence Corps between 1937 and 1944.

These letters were forwarded, by memo dated 9/8/49, to Cincinnati Field Office for translation.

Pittsburgh memo 8/22/49
Re: Stephan Thuransky, was.
[IS-R and HU] (X) (U)
62-84468-16
(3)
SI 62-84468-20
(4)

*Ferenc Nagy was written on the mail.

TOP SECRET

This reference enclosed the translated copies of the letters mentioned in the above reference. All these letters asked Thuransky's help to emigrate to the US. According to the translations the letters of 7/16/49 and 6/29/49 indicated that Nagy* and an F. Nagy favored the Communist regime in Hungary and was a former Communist leader in Hungary.

Cincinnati memo 9/19/49
Re: Stephan Thuransky, was.
[IS-R and HU] (X) (U)
62-84468-17
(3)

About August 15, 1949 Ferenc Nagy, of Herndon, Va, furnished information concerning Dr. Barna Balogh, of Hungary, who arrived in the US in July 1948. Nagy could not say whether or not there was any unusual significance to Balogh's coming to this country on a student's visa because he did not know whether the government was still selecting students on a scholarship alone at that time.

Balogh wrote Nagy a letter reporting his arrival in this country and offered his services, but Nagy said he had had no contact with him.

Richmond Rpt. 8/19/49
Re: Dr. Barna Balogh
[SM-R and HU] (X) (U)
100-357265-12
(25)

*The name of Ferenc Nagy was written on the letter in blue pencil.

TOP SECRET

On 1/31/50, [redacted] b7D
NYC, advised that on 3/10/48 he married [redacted]
a Hungarian, at [redacted]
[redacted] (U)

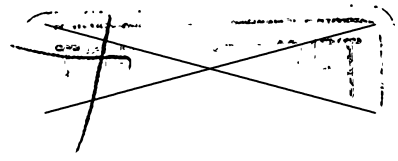
[redacted] and his wife entered the US at Boston, b7D
Mass. on [redacted] (U)

During September 1949, [redacted] received an
invitation from Nagy and Zoltan Pfeiffer, prominent members of
the HNC. [redacted] (U)

[redacted] advised that Henry Hives, Chief of the
Office of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, and who was a member
of the underground, was [redacted] When during the
Spring of 1947, Hungarian Communists engineered and forced
resignation of Nagy in Switzerland, [redacted] sent word
through American channels to Hines, who accompanied Nagy
to Switzerland, not to return to Hungary as his life would
be in danger. (U)

[redacted] said that the Hungarian White Book pub-
lished in 1947 asserted that contact between Nagy and Martin
Himmler, an [redacted] Representative in Hungary was maintained through b7D
Henry Hines and [redacted] (U)

NY memo 2/3/50
Re: [redacted] b7D
[redacted]
100-364069-4
(26) (U)



On 3/26/54, CIC Salzburg, Austria, made available a report concerning additional interviews which had been conducted with Arnoldo Cantoni. Among other things, he furnished information concerning Laszlo Sandor and his daughter, Lilian Sandor, whom he first met about 7/10/46 in Innsbruck, Austria.

Cantoni advised that Laszlo was employed at the Rothschild Hospital in Vienna, (date not indicated). Cantoni said that according to Lilian he was also working for the [redacted] (not identified) in Vienna but he did not know in what capacity. He said he only recalled being told by Lilián that Laszlo Sandor had [redacted] one Dr. Csepeli, whose first name he did not know, for [redacted] Allegedly Laszlo had given Csepeli quite a sum of money and sent him to Salzburg on a mission for the [redacted] Cantoni also reported that Dr. Csepeli was allegedly the former secretary to Ferenc Nagy, former president of Hungary. He last saw Laszlo about 9/5/49 in Vienna. b7D

[Salzburg, Austria, rpt. 3/29/54
Re: Laszlo Sandor, wa;
[redacted]
(11)] (U) b3 b7E

This reference is the translations of material from the Polish language, concerning the trial of Laszlo Rajk, of Hungary, which began 9/16/49. (U)

One item reported "Rajk and his partners differ from Ferenc Nagy and his conspirators, and Jozef Mindszenty, also a sworn enemy of the people's democracy, because they stole into the administration of their country and then tried to overthrow its government according to instructions from foreign imperialists." (U)

Translations also included a list of persons named in articles on the Rajk trial which appeared in the Polish press. The name of Ferenc Nagy was included on the list, and the reason given for listing his name was as follows: (U)

Witness Ivan Feldy stated that one Ferenc Nagy was recruited by American Intelligence through defendant Tibor Szonyi. (U)

Witness Endre Szebenyi stated that at the home of one of the conspirators a letter was found disclosing that Ferenc Nagy was head of the anti-republican conspiracy. Rajk confiscated this letter. (U)

The cover page of these translations contained the following note: "For Source see [redacted]." (U)

It was noted that this reference reported that on 10/4/49 the Legat of London furnished newspaper clippings which appeared in the Polish Press regarding the trial of Laszlo Rajk, who had been found guilty of espionage on behalf of Yugoslavia and America, and for which he had [redacted] during the latter part of September, 1949. This material was made available by [redacted] (Original clippings enclosed with [redacted]) (U)

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b6
b7C
b7E
b7D

Serial described above
[redacted] pp. 7,25
(10)

On 9/21/49 the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary furnished the State Dept., Wash., D.C., with copies of a Hungarian Press Summary for September 17-19, 1949.

This summary contained excerpts from the trial of *Laszlo Rajk, which revealed that Lazar Brankov testified on 9/17/49. The Legation reported that Brankov although technically a defendant, appeared to be the state's star witness in its tirade against Tito, using the trial as its vehicle. He rendered a complete account of the Yugoslav espionage activities in Eastern Europe since the war, indicating that Tito's agents were active in all people's democracies.

In giving examples of the espionage network, Brankov stated "We also received data on the plot of Nagy, Ferenc, which was handed over to us by **Szebenyi at the instructions of Rajk. This material was forwarded by ***Cicmil to the American Legation at the beginning of 1947, because - as he stated - he had established connections with the British and American representatives." Brankov said "the data on the plot of Nagy Ferenc were taken to the Americans by the personal secretary of Cicmil, Nina Spasojevich.

A copy of the Hungarian Press Summary enclosed with A copy of a letter from the American Legation, Budapest, to the State Dept., Wash., DC dated 9/21/49 [redacted] encl. p.10 (10)

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b7C
b7E

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

*Found guilty of espionage on behalf of Yugoslavia and America and [redacted] during the latter part of September, 1949.

**Endre Szebenyi, Hungarian citizen and member of the espionage system.

***Col. Onrad Cicmil, head of the Yugoslav military mission which first came to Hungary in 1945.

On 9/20/49 an article in the New York "Herald Tribune" identified George Telegdy as a son-in-law of Charles Peyer, exiled former Hungarian cabinet minister who had been sentenced in absentia by the Hungarian Communist Government to eight years imprisonment for alleged plotting against the government. He arrived on the French liner "De Grasse." After fleeing Hungary, he came to the U.S. to join other members of the HNC including former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy.

NY rpt. 3/5/53
Re: Ladislaus Pongo, was.
[redacted] (U)
[redacted] p.6
(35)

b3
b7E

On 10/31/49 [redacted] advised the Bureau that Istvan Csicsery-Ronay, a Hungarian of [redacted] France, was expected to enter the US as a visitor sometime in November 1949 to take part in operations under the cognizance of that office. (U)

b6
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In giving background data on Istvan, they advised he was Second Secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and had been a personal secretary to Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Premier. (U)

[redacted] memo to the Director,
dated 10/31/49
[redacted] (U)
(8)

"~~SECRET~~"

TOP SECRET

In the latter part of October or first part of November, 1949, Stephen J. Peteri, who resided at Dedham, Mass., and was Assistant Professor of Economics at Boston College, advised that he was a naturalized citizen of the US and was for five years the Under Secretary of State for Industry in Hungary. He stated that his position could better be described as "Minister of Production."

With reference to anti-Communist organizations set up in the US by "Hungarian refugees, Peteri stated that the outstanding one was the "Hungarian Committee," and gave information concerning its members.

Peteri named Ferenc Nagy as a member of the Committee and furnished the following information concerning him:

Nagy was Prime Minister in the post World War II coalition government, "who, after collaborating with the Communists, fled his country, came to the United States as a political refugee and promptly wrote his story for the 'Saturday Evening Post.' His address is Washington, D.C. Peteri stated that this man will be hung by the Hungarians if he ever returns to his native land. Peteri further stated that while Nagy was collaborating with the Communists, he literally signed death warrants for many anti-Communists. The Catholic population of Hungary, seventy-three per cent, is particularly mindful of this, Peteri describes him as an opportunist whom he would not trust but who is well-trusted and well-regarded by the US Department of State."

Tihamer, I. Fabinyi, former Minister of Commerce and Minister of Finance in Hungary, and Assistant Professor of Economics at Boston College as of November 1949, said he was in the process of becoming a naturalized citizen of the US. Fabinyi stated that "Nagy was unable to lead the Coalition in the fashion required by the Soviet. To have imprisoned him would have been to make him a martyr, to have removed him from power and left him in the country would have created dissension. He was 'literally shoved out.'" Both Peteri and Fabinyi doubted that Nagy would ever work for the Soviets but they also doubted that he would ever work very hard against them.

Boston memo, 11/21/49
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-288, p.4
(23) (U)

TOP SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

A translation of the 12/13/49 issue of "Magyar Jovo" revealed that it contained an article concerning Ferenc Nagy, which began "There are men who always insist on putting their foot into their mouth when they speak. Ferenc Nagy belongs to this group. The Truman Govt. sent him to Anakara and he blurted out why he was sent and who sent him, and the Trumans hastily called him home, to his Virginia farm to take care of his 32 cows...."

Article also reported that Nagy wrote an article for the "Amerikai Magyarsag," the week before, in which he stated that "the most practical method of bringing about international order would be thru war."

The article of 12/13/49 also noted that "Insofar as it has not been denied that F. Nagy receives $300. monthly from official sources, it may be assumed that F. Nagy's article is in harmony with State Department tactics of war-mongering. Wonder what the Trumans will do with the big-mouthed Ferenc Nagy?"

Translations and copy of above mentioned paper enclosed with Cincinnati memo 1/18/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-HU and R
100-89211-53
(14) (U)

This reference is a memorandum, dated 12/27/49, from [redacted] ~~classified Top Secret~~ relative to the registration of members of the HNC under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. It reflected in detail the aims and purposes of the HNC, as well as recommendations concerning the group. (U)

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b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reference reported that the HNC could accurately be said to be founded with U.S. encouragement and guidance; supported by funds of American origin, and not responsible to any foreign principal. (S) (U)

This memo enclosed Biographic sketches on members of the HNC Executive Committee, including Ferenc Nagy. (S) (U)

Information concerning Nagy was as follows, Nationality: Hungarian; Current Location: United States; Birth Place: Bisse; Birth Date: 1903; Sex: Male; Marital Status: Married; Children: 3. It was noted that the biographic information on Ferenc Nagy was being revised and would be forwarded as soon as completed. (S) (U)

[redacted]

(29)

b3
b7E

Correlator's note: By memo, dated 3/1/50, NY Office and WFO were advised that the contents of the [redacted] *memo mentioned above were extremely confidential and under no circumstances should information appearing therein reflecting* [redacted] *interest in the HNC appear in reports or other material which might be disseminated outside the Bureau.* (S) (U) *(100-11669-5)*

~~"TOP SECRET AND SECRET"~~ (U)

On 1/18/50 [redacted] *furnished a copy of a Biographical Report, dated 12/29/49, on Ferenc Nagy, in accordance with the note contained in the enclosure mentioned in above reference. This report listed the activities of Nagy for the period 1924 to 1948. Remarks, were lengthy and set out in detail.* (S) (U)

b3
b7E

Photostatic copy of biographic report mentioned above enclosed with [redacted] *memo 1/18/50* (S) (U)

[redacted]

(29)

~~"SECRET AND TOP SECRET"~~

Ferenc Nagy

pages 154-255

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 3/7/55, the former Hungarian General Albert de Bartha, Hotel Orleans, NYC, NY, advised that he became Minister of Defense of Hungary on 8/20/46. General Bartha reported that he represented the policy of non-cooperation with the Russian demands, whereas Ferenc Nagy advocated a policy which indicated he desired to please the Russian authorities. He said Nagy and many members of Parliament received invitations for themselves and their wives to visit Moscow, which they did. During these visits, the more influential Hungarians received gifts of automobiles from the Russians and their wives received expensive fur coats. According to Bartha, the President of the Hungarian Republic, Zoltan Tildy and Nagy requested his resignation from the post of Minister of Defense on 3/12/46. Bartha tendered his resignation to Nagy and suggested to him that the entire Hungarian Government resign.

RUSSIA

The General mentioned that during 1947 Nagy went to Switzerland and subsequently into exile.

About the latter part of 1950 Bartha wrote a letter to Nagy, who was in the US at that time, concerning a note which appeared on the application he had submitted for admission to the US while in Salzburg, Austria. The note was to the effect that it was possible that Bartha was a Communist and was being sent to the US by the top Hungarian Communist, Matyas Rakosi. Nagy replied that he knew nothing concerning the matter. Bartha did not believe that Nagy really represented the Hungarian people. Bartha arrived in the US as a displaced person on 10/23/51.

In June, 1954 Bartha expected to testify before a Congressional Committee in Wash, DC, but was not called upon to do so. It was Bartha's opinion that Nagy and his supporters were the ones who opposed his appearance before the committee.

According to Bartha, he had information in his possession which could prove embarrassing to some of the leaders of the HNC, including Nagy.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Bartha furnished a typewritten script which he wrote entitled,

"How the Hungarian Army Became Communist."

In this script Bartha described his dealings with Ferenc Nagy regarding military matters; his resignation as Minister of War, and the activities concerning Nagy's departure to Switzerland and his resignation as Prime Minister.

The information furnished by Bartha was submitted in blank memorandum form.

Copy of above mentioned memo,
and copies of above mentioned
script enclosed with
NY memo, 3/31/55
Re: General Albert DeBartha
Information Concerning
[redacted] encl. pp. Memo 4,5,7,8
Script pp. 10,15,22,23,24,25,26,27
(35)

b3
b7E

On 9/24/53, in reply to a name check request from INS for information concerning Alexander Kovacs, who was born 11/2/88, and who entered the US on 6/24/52, [redacted] furnished various information contained in their files on one Kovacs, fnu, who might have been identifiable with Alexander Kovacs. (S) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

The information furnished stated in part: "According to a report received through an official British channel, in February 1951, from a source believed to be reliable, one Kovacs, fnu, a Hungarian living in Colombia who described himself as a refugee, was associated with Major General Ziegler, former head of the Hungarian Army Technical Services, and other technicians who were working on arms production in Colombia. The location of the factory was reported to be unknown. The report stated that about the middle of 1950, Kovacs submitted a prospectus of two light machine carbines through one Nagy, fnu, (possibly the former Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy) to the Swiss military authorities who turned down an offer by Kovacs to demonstrate the weapons and did not pursue the matter. Toward the end of 1950, Kovacs allegedly visited Hungary and had discussions with the Security Police there, returning to Colombia afterward. Source stated that Nagy and his fellow emigres from Hungary considered that Kovacs should be regarded with suspicion and that his activities were in all probability connected with Russia and the Satellite Countries." (S) (U)

This information was furnished to the Assistant AG.

[Memo from [redacted] to the Bureau, dated 9/24/53 [redacted] (34) ✓] (S) (U)

"~~SECRET CONTROL-US OFFICIALS ONLY~~"

b3
b7D
b7E

In January 1950 Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that the French Ambassador, Henry Bonnet, received a communication from the Acting French Consulate General, Puaux (full name not given), in NY, NY, which concerned Hungarian activities in the US. (S) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

According to this communication, the HNC comprised most of the exiled political officials, including Ferenc Nagy, former President of the Council and Chairman of the Small Landholders Party, resigning in 1947. The members of the Council also included Imre Kovacs, former member of the CP and Secretary General of National Peasant Party, Communistic, who was introduced into the Council at the request of Nagy. The HNC leaned upon a secret organization called "Hungarian Community" founded in 1946 in Hungary by a group of Young Deputies of the right wing of the Small Landholders Party with plan of thwarting the Communist thrust. Nagy, then Prime Minister, had been accused of being a member of it, but the Communist Political Police and the discovery of this plot had precipitated his voyage to Switzerland during which he was forced to resign. (U)

This communication also reported that "It seems that this organization is on the Hitler type which requires an oath and proof of Aryan ancestry going back four generations; it continues to function in the United States where it has been revived by a Young Deputy, Mr. Kalman Salata, who arrived in July, 1948, and was immediately appointed, thanks to the help from Mr. Ferenc Nagy, Secretary to the President of the National Committee, Head of the Refugees Office, Official in the Voice of America, and entrusted with the liaison between the Council and the Free Europe Committee. Mr. Salata could have succeeded from then on in appointing many adherents of the movement to various positions in the National Council..... An inquiry was opened within the National Council but made no progress because of the temporazing role played by President Bela Varga, whom one might suspect of having connections with the 'Hungarian Community." The consequence of this situation was estranging of many Hungarian personages who held themselves with great reserve toward the Council and thus, among 28 college professors now in refuge in the United States, 26 of these would refuse to cooperate with the National Council as long as the latter will not eliminate the members of the 'Hungarian Community'....." (U)

WFO letter 5/29/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-118, pp. 2,3,4
(17) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

About January, 1950 [redacted] furnished information relative to the Hungarian National Council (HNC, aka as the Hungarian National Commission and the Hungarian National Committee). According to informant Ferenc Nagy was a member of the Executive Committee and was in charge of finances. Committee members received a monthly salary of approximately $300.00 from the Washington Office of the HNC which in turn received $10,000.00 a month from the National Committee for Free Europe, Inc. Nagy was responsible for allocating the funds of the HNC. The principal members of the HNC more or less openly split into two factions because of different opinions on policy. Dezso Sulyok took the part of a bystander. During the summer of 1949 Sulyok was silently expelled from the Executive Committee of the HNC, presumably because of his firm stand against what he considered to be the domineering tendencies of certain Committee members. (C) (U)

b7D
b7E

During August, 1949 Sulyok, at NYC, prepared a "strictly ~~confidential~~" Hungarian political report captioned "Memoirs." The manuscript outlined past and "present" political errors and alleged political crimes committed by exiled and refugee politicians in the US said to be pursuing the same erroneous policies which led to the complete seizure of power by the Communists in Hungary; reported how his refugee colleagues turned against Sulyok because of his insistance on democratic procedures in conducting the affairs of the HNC; gave a vivid picture of the intricacies of Hungarian political affairs; and submitted a political platform which Sulyok believed the HNC had to pursue if Hungary was to be saved when liberation arrived. He attempted to salvage all middle-of-the-road politicians for working together for a new and democratic Hungary. (C) (U)

A lengthy resume of Sulyok's 71 page document, which was prepared by [redacted], was set forth in this reference. (C) (U)

b7D
b7E

Summarizations of the accusations against the principal individuals and groups discussed in Sulyok's manuscript, including Ferenc Nagy, which were made by [redacted], were also set forth in this reference. (C) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

According to informant, Sulyok advised that in February 1945, the Russians summoned 3 politicians, including Ferenc Nagy, to their hdqrs. in Hungary. Sulyok said the 3 politicians signed a document which made them handy tools of the Soviet Government. (U)

Inft. also reported that Nagy was a member of "Hungarian Kinship" (Magyar Kozosseg), purpose of which was to hold together the exiled politicians and leading personalities. It also endeavored to assist displaced persons who desired to become members of the organization, to enter the US. (U)

Photostatic copy of the above mentioned 71 page document (in Hungarian language enclosed with NY letter, 1/24/50
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-280, pp. 4,5,10,11,13,20, 21,23,24,25
(23)
SI as par 6 above (NY 100-89696) (U)
100-354194-387
(23)

On 1/24/50 [redacted] reported that George Lajos Szanto, a tobacco grower in the vicinity of Richmond, Va., and Rev. George Borshy-Kerekes, of Washington,* ~~(evidently Wash., D.C.)~~, jointly purchased a half interest in the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" from Zoltan Gombos, whom they previously opposed on political grounds. Informant said by this transaction one faction of the HNC, including Ferenc Nagy and Zoltan Pfeiffer, will have some influence in the affairs of the paper, while [redacted], an ardent opponent of Gombos, was expected to to refrain from any activities connected with "Nepszava." (U)

b7D
b7E

NY rpt. 3/17/50
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-335, p.30 (U)
(23)

[*Probably Wash., D.C.] (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 2/8/50 Alan DeMuray, 1645 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C., advised that he arrived in the US on 11/30/47. DeMuray held several important jobs in the Hungarian Government from 1925 to about 1944.

Among other things, DeMuray stated in his opinion those officials of the coalition governments set up in Hungary between 1945 and 1947, could definitely be called collaborators with the Soviets and were in his opinion not to be trusted. He stated that he considered both Aladar Szegedy - Maszak and Ferenc Nagy, both officers of the Committee for Free Europe, to be in this category. DeMuray stated that at least he would not place these individuals, who were in his opinion quislings, in a committee which was set up to organize a free Hungarian Government in this country.

DeMuray stated that Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary then in exile in the US, was in his opinion, a simple, uneducated man who, prior to the end of World War II, was unknown in Hungary and of no importance.

DeMuray said that he had heard that one Swift, a Journalist who had changed his German-Jewish name to the Hungarian name of Swift, and who had assisted Nagy in the editing-writing of a book, was anti-Hungarian, was a Communist, and arrived in the US under the pretext of being anti-Fascist.

The files of the WFO revealed that the one Swift mentioned above was evidently Stephen K. Swift, 853 Riverside Drive, NYC, who had been in close collaboration with Nagy in his preparation of a book.

WFO memo 2/14/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R & HU
100-89-54-96, pp 5,6,7
(16)

(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 3/7/50 the NY Field Office, by teletype, quoted a report which had been prepared for [redacted], to be given to Nikola Kozul at "their meet to be held March eighth." (U) b7D b7E

This report advised that on 2/13/50 Milos Tupananin (not identified) went to Wash., DC, to meet with the important leaders among the Peasant Parties. He attended a dinner given in his honor by the Serbian Peasant Union. While in Wash, he met the head of the Balkan Section of the State Dept. whom he had met in Istanbul in 1942. He also conferred with Ferenc Nagy, the former leader of the Hungarian Peasant Party, who was then living on a farm in Va. (U)

This report also advised that Tupananin returned to Wash. on 3/5/50 to attend a conference of the Executive Committee of the IPU, which was to be held March 6th to 8th, 1950. Report noted that Nagy was a member of this Executive Committee. (U)

New York requested approval of this report. (U)

A typed copy of this report was attached to this reference, which contained a note to the effect that clearance for the above message was telephoned to NY, 3/8/50, 4:50 PM by A. H. Belmont with certain conditions. These conditions were listed in the note. (U)

This copy also contained a note that the message was cleared with Mr. Neal of the Dept. of State, [3/8/50,] which was signed "R." (U)

Reason for giving the report to Kozula not clearly indicated. (U)

[*NY teletype, 3/7/50*
Re: Nikola Kozul, via.
IS-YU
[redacted]
(32)] (U) b3 b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 2/15/50 Ferenc Nagy attended a reception at the home of Georgi Dimitrov in Washington, D.C. This reception was generally social in nature in honor of Milos Tupananin (who had just arrived from NY and who was here as a representative of Milan Gavrilovic of the Serbian Agrarian Party and connected with the Yugoslav National Committee in London). The Yugoslav political situation was only generally discussed. (C)(U)

[redacted]
WFO memo, 2/20/50
Re: Dr. Slavko Zore
IS-YU
100-342609-289
(20) (C)(U)

b7D
b7E

On 2/21/50 [redacted] of Wash, DC, (reliability not given) advised that he had entered the Foreign Service of the US Dept of State in February 1942, served as [redacted] in the US Legation in Budapest, Hungary, from April 1947 to May 1949, returned to this country and was sent to Italy in the Fall of 1949 and had returned to the US in January 1950. b7D

Regarding the Hungarian refugees then in the US, [redacted] stated in his opinion Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, was an opportunist, at least not courageous, was not well regarded by the Hungarian people, and was not worth the attention of the US authorities.

WFO letter 3/2/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US;
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-106, p.6
(17) (C)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] furnished the text of a letter written to Msgr. Bela Varga, President of the HNC at NYC, by Gusztav Kover, former member of the Hungarian Parliament. The letter, dated at Geneva, Switzerland, 2/26/50, was written in the Hungarian language. According to informant Kover was a member of the HNC. (U) b7D b7E

In his letter, Kover asserted that more than 200 former members of the Hungarian Parliamant then resided west of the Iron-Curtain and attached a list of 177 of these individuals. (U)

This list of names, which was set out in this reference, included Ferenc Nagy, PO Box 305, Herndon, Va. (U)

[NY] Letter, 6/8/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R-HU
100-89-35-75
(15) (U)

This reference consists of "Notes From The Foreign Language Press," Hungarian, for March 4th to 10th, 1950. (U)

The 3/9/50 issue of "Magyar Banyaszlap" reported that "until now exiled politicians confined themselves to the relating of atrocities, to the recapitulation of the hardships they themselves suffered, but said nothing of what kind of a Hungary they would actually desire. The Peasant Federation makes it clear that it does not want the pseudo-Parliamentary system of 1919-1945 and keeps away from the plan of a Hapsburg restoration. It also upholds the land reform. The personalities of Ferenc Nagy and Imre Kovacs are a guarantee that they will try to carry out their program if and when the opportunity arises." (U)

The 3/4/50 issue of "Magyar Jovo" attacked the Free Europe Radio calling it the "Renegade Radio." Article stated in part "Ferenc Nagy and Bela Fabian participate in the new Wall Street Imperialist attack against Peoples Democracies. This Reactionary gang will begin the operations of a new huge secret radio next month..... (U)

"Truman thinks, probably, that if the Hungarian peasant hears the voice of Ferenc Nagy, he will immediately return his land to the aristocrats and to the bankers....." (U)

"Maybe Ferenc Nagy will be able to add another 30 cows and another 100 acres to his Virginia farm....." (U)

The cover page of this reference contained the following notation in black pencil "Rec'd 4/5/50 from Mr. [redacted]. RWL" (U) b3 b7E

Serial described above
[100-89-159, pp.4,7,8]
(13) (U)

On 3/14/50 [redacted] b7D
[redacted] (reliability not given) advised that he was only slightly acquainted with John Fischer but had known his brother, Dr. Andrew Fischer, a physician, for sometime. He stated that Dr. Andrew Fischer was well acquainted with Senator Warren G. Magnuson, and Szegedy-Maszak believed that this association might have been used in connection with obtaining John Fischer a position with the Committee for Free Europe. John was, at that time, employed by the Committee in the Law Library at the Library of Congress, Wash., DC. (U)

[redacted] further advised that in obtaining this position, John Fischer was given a letter of introduction or recommendation by Janos Eross, an individual who escaped from Hungary in March, 1948 and came to the U.S. on the recommendation of Ferenc Nagy to attend a conference of the IPU and had remained here since on extended visas. He stated that Eross had the reputation of being extremely anti-Communist and was head of the Reparation Committee and later minister of supply in the Hungarian Cabinet of Ferenc Nagy. [redacted] said he had no specific reason to distrust John Fischer and on the other hand, had no reason to believe that he was the type of individual that should be employed by such an organization as the Committee for Free Europe. (C) (U) b7D

(C) (U)
[WFO Memo 3/20/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the U.S.
IS-R and HU
100-89154-100X
(16)
SI 100-358568-25] (C) (U)
(26)

(C) (U)

About March or April 1950 Stephen E. Balogh, Executive Secretary, AHF, Wash., DC, furnished various information concerning Ferenc Nagy, including how and why he was appointed Prime Minister of Hungary; how he was criticised; and the plans to oust him from office. (C) (U)

Balogh submitted an article clipped from the 3/29/50 issue of the "New York Times" which dealt with the testimony before a Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee by Steve J. Thuransky, a naturalized Hungarian, of Huntington, W. Va. In response to this newspaper article Balogh directed a letter, dated 3/29/50, to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Wash, DC, in which he stated that it had come to the attention of the AHF that Thuransky had publicly attacked such distinguished Hungarian political, anti-Communist exiles as ex-Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and Msgr. Bela Varga, a high ranking member of the Catholic hierarchy, for alleged pro-Communist activities. Balogh said that such charges were utterly ridiculous. (U)

On 3/30/50 [redacted] advised that Dezlo Sulyok was a former member of the Hungarian Parliament, and was head of a Government Agency under Ferenc Nagy. This Agency's main field was the regulation of the Hungarian banks. Informant thought it was odd that Sulyok had been permitted to remain in this position for approximately two months after Nagy was expelled from Hungary, and that this fact might indicate Sulyok was looked upon with favor by the new Government in Hungary. (U)

b7D
b7E

[Copy of the newspaper clipping and the letter mentioned above enclosed with
WFO letter 4/6/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-105
(16)] (U)

[redacted] ascertained that the adherents of "Magyar Kozosseg," an organization originally founded along lines of racial discrimination in Hungary, at the HNC had indicated they would sacrifice Monsignor Bela Varga, President of the HNC, if by doing so would assure Ferenc Nagy a dominant role in the HNC. (no date given)(X)(U) b7D b7E

T-4, of unknown reliability, advised during April* ~~(evidently 1950)~~ that a displaced person, considered extremely reliable by T-4, asserted that former Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, and others, were supposedly in constant communication with one Tibor Ham, a Communist in Paris, France. (X)(U)

(T-4: [redacted] (X)(U)

According to information received from T-5: a confidential reliable source who in turn received it from an extremely delicate source believed to be reliable, in November, 1945, Tibor Ham was elected to Parliament in Hungary on the Smallholders ticket and was arrested in February, 1947 in connection with the so-called conspiracy which ended the regime of Ferenc Nagy.(X)(U)

According to this informant, Ham, who resided in Paris, was a confidential friend of Nagy, who resided in the US, and collaborated intimately with him. Informant reported that reliable Hungarians in Paris advised that Ham made regular visits to the Hungarian Communist Legation in Paris and informed on the activities of Nagy and passed on to the Communists information which he received from Kalman Salata, the aid of Ferenc Nagy. Ham received regular instructions from the Budapest Government via the Hungarian Legation in Paris which it was said he in turn communicated to his friends in the U.S. (X)(U)

[*Evidently 1950] (X)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

According to information furnished by the State Dept., Ham was a member of the leading clique of the Smallholders Party which included Kalman Salata and Ferenc Nagy.

It was noted that information attributed to T-5 could not be disseminated outside the Bureau. (C) (U)

[NY rpt. 12/18/50 (C) (U)
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-35194-680, pp. 7,8,9,10,11
(24)] (C) (U)

About April, 1950 [redacted] b7D
[redacted] Georgetown University, Wash., DC, (reliability not given), advised that Stephen Brunauer, a Hungarian of Wash., DC, was known to be a close associate and adviser of Ferenc Nagy. (C) (U)

[WFO letter 4/27/50 (C) (U)
Re: Hungarian Activities in US
IS R and HU
100-89-54-111
(17)] (C) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

TOP SECRET

(X) (U) [redacted] advised that on or about 4/23/50 he received a letter from an associate he deemed trustworthy in Vienna. This communication mentioned an individual named Robert Major, who resided in Rome, Italy, at that time. The writer of the letter alleged that Major had furnished information to the former Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy, at that time a political exile in the U.S., and also to the Hungarian Secret Police in Budapest. The informant's source offered no elaboration. (X) (U) b7D b7E

(X) (U) [redacted] advised that he did not know Major personally, but he had learned that Major appeared to be interested in Jewish questions, for which reason he came in conflict with Dr. Bela Fabian, a member of the Executive Committee of the HNC, since Fabian claimed to be the authoritative spokesman of Hungarian Jews in the US. (X) (U)

Informant pointed out that Dr. Fabian was known as a close associate of [redacted]; further, that although both [redacted] and Nagy were members of the Executive Committee of the HNC, they were known to belong to different political factions concerning Hungarian matters. (X) (U) b7D b7E

(X) (U) [redacted] reported that he was not personally acquainted with Major but that friends had told him that Major had a good reputation as a writer and did not appear to be politically involved. (X) (U)

Informant stated that Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Premier, was known to be well acquainted with Major.

(X) (U) (X) (U)
NY rpt. 1/9/52
Re: Robert Major [redacted]
[redacted] (X) (U) pp. 4,5,6 b3 b7E
(34)
SI as par. 1 above (NY 100-89696)
100-35194-380
(33) (X) (U)

TOP SECRET

On 11/14/50 the NY Field Office furnished a lengthy report concerning the activities of the HNC and the NCFE, which was based upon data furnished by [redacted]. (C) (U)

According to this report, the informant, in May 1950, reported a deep rift within the Executive Committee of the HNC which followed the resignation of Aladar Szegedi-Maszak. Informant said various factions were shifting and the balance of power at that time was in the hands of [redacted]. (C) (U) b7D b7E

This report included various information on Ferenc Nagy and his activities in connection with the HNC. Nagy was a member of the Executive Committee, and President of the Committee for Finances of HNC. (C) (U)

According to this report, the Executive Committee had not lived up to expectation; there was no cooperation between the HNC and the NCFE; and plans were being made by the US State Department and British Government officials to establish a Federation of The Eastern European States. (C) (U)

[redacted] made available a copy of a letter of Dr. Dezso Sulyok, who was accused by the HNC of having Communist ties, to the Hungarian Press. The letter concerned charges against a speech made by Bela Varga, chairman of the HNC, at the Conference of Christians and Jews, held in Washington on 11/10/49. Accord- to this letter, Varga reported that Ferenc Nagy the protestant elder curator, Bela Fabian the Jewish leader, and himself the Catholic Vicar were persecuted, jailed and condemned to death by Hitler's Nazism. (C) (U) b7D b7E

It was noted that in the event of outside dissemination of this information the identity of [redacted] should be carefully protected. (U) b7D b7E

Photostatic copy of above mentioned letter enclosed with NY letter 11/14/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-85-82, pp. 3,6,7,8,10
(15) (U)

About May, 1950 [redacted] furnished a list of "Free Hungarian International Organizations" which had been compiled by the HNC, 339 E. 52nd. St., NYC. The "Hungarian Peasant Union" was listed as a political organization and its President was listed as "Ferenc Nagy, c/o Imre Kovacs, 2242 Cathedral Ave., NW, Washington, DC." (U) b7D b7E

It was suggested that in the event of outside dissemination the source should be adequately protected.

(U)
NY memo, 5/31/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-162
(13) (U)

TOP SECRET

This reference enclosed a copy of Parts 1,2, and 3 of printed testimony of Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, pursuant to S. Res. 231, a resolution to investigate whether there were employees in the State Dept. disloyal to the U.S..

Part 2, the appendix, set forth a letter, dated 5/8/50, from Stephen Brunauer, [redacted] Wash., D.C., to the Honorable Millard E. Tydings, US Senate, Wash., DC. Brunauer, who was employed by the Navy Dept., advised that he was enclosing material which he hoped would be of use to the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in examining the charges which Senator McCarthy had made against his wife, an employee of the State Dept. b6 b7C

According to the enclosures (described in testimony) Senator McCarthy had also made charges against Stephen Brunauer.

Enclosure Number II was a file of testimonial letters, most of which were written at his request, together with a copy of his request for the letters. Request letter was set out in this report. A list of the testimonial letters, which was set out in this report, revealed that one of the letters was from "Mr. Ferenc Nagy, Herndon, Virginia, Formerly Prime Minister of Hungary."

TOP SECRET

Enclosure number III, a copy of statement by the Navy Dept., dated 3/13/50, concerning Brunauer, which was set out in this report, revealed that Brunauer had been charged with being a Communist. The Navy reported that an investigation did not reveal sufficient evidence to warrant Dr. Brunauer's being charged with having been disloyal and for that his case had not been referred to the Loyalty Board.

Copy of above mentioned Hearings enclosed with Bureau memo, 10/2/50 Re: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (Tydings Committee) 121-23278-267X12, encl. p.1862 (47)

*About June, 1950 [redacted] furnished a copy of the "Draft of the Resolution on International Affairs," as adopted by the Commission on International Affairs and submitted to the Plenary Session of the Annual Congress of the IPU, held May 8 to 10, 1950.** (U)* b7D b7E

*Informant also furnished a copy of an address to the International Affairs Commission of the IPU made by Ferenc Nagy.*** (U)

**According to not recorded serial dated 5/23/50 just below serial [redacted] of [redacted] the Annual Congress was held in Wash., D.C.* b3 b7E

***Date and locality not clearly indicated.* (U)

The lengthy address ~~(consisting of 4 typewritten pages)~~ began, "Addressing the meeting of the Commission on International Affairs and the introduction of the proposals of the Central Committee of the International Peasant Union imposed a rather ardous task on me. A report on the development in the international field can not be pleasant for the present and hardly encouraging for the future....." (U)

His last statement was as follows: "The peasantry of our nations will take its due part of all the phasis of the struggle with all its faith, strength and endurance." (U)

Copies of above mentioned
items enclosed with
WFO memo 6/8/50
Re: IPU
[redacted] (U)
(Not listed on SS)

b3
b7E

A report, dated 5/15/50, entitled "Green International Congress" advised that the Second Annual Congress of the IPU was held at the National Press Club, Wash., DC, from May 8 through May 10. (U)

According to this report, a resolution dealing with US policy toward Tito's Yugoslavia was discussed. In this regard, Ferenc Nagy, a vice-President of the IPU and a representative of the Hungarian Peasant Federation (Smallholders Party), stressed the dangers of a policy of expediency and the necessity of safeguarding "the integrity of our moral base." (U)

The resolution, as finally adopted by the Congress avoided any direct denunciation of U.S. policy. (Resolution quoted in reference). (U)

Report also advised that a who's who for the IPU Congress listed Nagy as a vice-President of the IPU, and as a delegate from the Hungarian Smallholders Party (Hungarian Peasant Federation). (U)

Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with
*A Note *Rec'd from [redacted] on 6/15/50 [redacted] encl, pp. 3,9* (U) b3 b7E
(28)
SI [redacted] encl pp. 3,9
(28)

"~~RESTRICTED~~"

On 5/16/50 [redacted] Georgetown University, Wash., DC, (reliability not given) furnished the Bureau the following information as received from his informants: (U) b7D

Ferenc Nagy still corresponded with Reverend Bela Balogh, a Catholic priest disrobed by the church, and who was then strongly associated with the Hungarian Government. (U)

**Written in ink in upper left hand of the cover note, followed by the initials "RWL cjo."* (U)

Mrs. Imre Kovacs, wife of Imre Kovacs who was formerly a member of the Hungarian Peasant Party, made frequent visits while in Paris to the Hungarian Legation and was generally suspected of being a Communist spy. Mr. and Mrs. Kovacs arrived in the US in September 1949, where they allegedly immediately contacted the Ferenc Nagy "Group" and Kovacs was appointed to a position with the National Committee for Free Europe at the Library of Congress, Wash., DC. (X)(U)

Kalman Salata became a member of the Hungarian Parliament in 1945 as a representative of the left-wing of the Small Land Holders Party. Salata allegedly escaped Hungary in the Summer of 1947, due to his previous association with Ferenc Nagy, lived until 1948 in Austria, and then went to Germany. (X)(U)

(X)(U)

*[WFO letter 6/7/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-120
(17)]* (X)(U)

On 6/2/50 [redacted] b7D
[redacted] *Georgetown University, Wash., DC (reliability not given) advised that he was acquainted with one *Swift who was a member of a group of closely knit Government employees, all of whom were of the Jewish faith. According to* [redacted] *they were a selfish, and "cliquish" group. He stated they could not be classified as a Communist group or a group of Communist sympathizers; however, he would not trust them because they were such a closely knit group; that they, in his opinion, went out of their way to get into government employment; they were personal friends and rejected for employment those individuals who were better qualified for vacancies.* (X)(U)

**The name Stephen Keledoy Swift was written on the mail in black pencil.* (X)(U)

[redacted] described Swift as being a translator for Ferenc Nagy, but stated that he knew nothing of a disloyal nature regarding Swift. (X)(U)

b7D

(X)(U)
WFO letter 6/12/50
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-122
(17) (X)(U)

On 7/29/50 Dr. Joseph (Josef) Berke, a Hungarian, advised an SA of the NY Field Office that he arrived in the US at Houston, Texas on 7/19/50 and immediately came to NYC. Berke said he had traveled to the US about 8 to 10 times before, his last trip being in July, 1948. He came to the US from Bogota, Colombia where he made arrangements for bringing a team of expert soccer players from Italy to Colombia for a match in November 1950. He said that while enroute to, from Houston to NYC he stopped in Washington and visited with Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, and one Paul Zzabo, who was residing with Nagy at that time and had been there for 3 or 4 months. Dr. Berke stated that he could furnish no information concerning the political situation in Europe, nor could he furnish information of a military significance. He was extremely pessimistic over the outlook in Europe and believed war was inevitable.

NY memo 9/1/50
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-517
(24) (X)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 8/29/50 Albert Szent-Gyorgi, a refugee Hungarian scientist, was interviewed at his home, Penzance Point, Woods Hole, Massachusetts. Szent-Gyorgi stated that he had no objection to the "ideal of Communism" but detested the tyranny of the then current Russian regime. He furnished various information concerning Istvan (Stephen) Rath. He said that about June or July, 1945 Rath told him he was an industrialist and was prepared to finance scientific research with the aim of developing a chemical industry for a profit motive in Hungary. Rath claimed to be influential with prominent personages in the Hungarian Coalition Government.

Szent-Gyorgi said that Rath claimed to be, and that he had ascertained that Rath was, on very friendly terms with Ferenec Nagy, then Premier (no dates given). Szent-Gyorgi noted that Nagy recommended Rath to him as a responsible individual and a loyal Hungarian. He further noted that Nagy had since fled Hungary and was believed to be residing in Wash., D.C.

Boston rpt. 9/20/50
Re: Stephen Rath, was;
[IS-R and HU] (C) (U)
40-84216-27, p.4
(50)

This reference enclosed a copy of a lengthy article which had been translated from the Hungarian language. The article, dated 9/15/50, was entitled "A Political Picture of Hungarian Emigration." The article contained an outline classifying the Hungarian political organizations into five catagories, namely, I. National Council, II. National Emigration, III. The Civil Nationalists Line, IV. The Habsburg-Combine, and V. The Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans. On this outline under I. National Council, Ferenc Nagy was listed as the leader of the "Peasant Federation."

In connection with this outline, the article set forth in detail various information concerning facts, persons, convictions, programs, power relationships, possibilities, as well as pro and contra opinions. The name of Ferenc Nagy and the Ferenc Nagy Line were referred to a number of times throughout the article.

A copy of above mentioned article in the Hungarian language and also a copy of the translations enclosed with WFO memo, 2/15/52
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-1262, encl. pp. 1,3, 4,6,7,9,10,11,16,17, (25) (S)(U)

On 10/26/50 the State Dept. furnished two copies of Intelligence Notes on the Fifteenth Triennial Convention of the American Hungarian Federation, held October 6/7/1950, NY, NY. This report noted the relations between the AHF and the Hungarian National Council, which was composed of Hungarians in exile. (S)(U)

In giving a brief record of the AHF, this report noted that in 1947 the Federation extended its support to Smallholder Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy when he was forced into exile by the Communist elements in the Hungarian government. Subsequently, as the HNC came into being the Federation extended its support to cover the Council's membership and policies in general. (S)(U)

Nagy, and other members of the HNC, only attended some of the sessions of the convention. (S)(U)

At the second session of the first day's business meeting of the convention Albert B. Mark, member of the directorate of the Federation delivered a stinging attack on Monsignor Bela Varga, president of the National Council. Mark said Varga made a speech in the Hungarian House of Representatives on 7/1/41, in which he supported the Nazi race theories and the deportations of Hungarians of Jewish faith, and generally spoke in an extremely anti-liberal, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic manner. (S)(U)

Concerning this incident, Ferenc Nagy personally assured Mark that the whole matter would receive the official consideration of the Council with a view to appropriate action and that a statement to this effect would be published in American Hungarian newspapers within a few days. (S)(U)

According to this report, the Federation held Ferenc Nagy in respect, considered him personally honest and reliable, and were inclined to support him irrespective of serious doubt as to whether he had any popular following left in Hungary, but they felt Nagy was not capable of exerting strong leadership and was too often prevailed upon by others in the Council toward whom American Hungarians were far less sympathetic. (S)(U)

Two copies of above mentioned report enclosed with.
Copy of a State Department (Inter Office) memo, dated 10/26/50 100-143751-110, encl. pp. 6,9,12,13 (19)

"~~SECRET~~"

The 10/14/50 issue of "Glos Ludowy" ("People's Voice"--Communist dominated Polish language weekly newspaper, Detroit), section 2, page 3, column 3, carried an article captioned "Free Europe Committee Purchases Exiles to Spy and Plot Against Countries of Origin." This article, in part, stated that from the inner sanctum of the NCFE (National Committee for a Free Europe) crawled out a rogue-like gallery of exiles, the scum of a dying society. To mislead the American people and to exploit their native generosity, the executive directors of the NCFE-the Allan Dulleses and the General Clays and their errand boys of the Victor Reuther stripe (Educational Director of UAW-CIO), described these exiles as intellectual and political leaders who came to our shores to seek the freedom denied them in their own lands. This article named some of the members of the rogue-like gallery of exiles, which included Ferenc Nagy of Hungary. Article further stated that these individuals all had one objective in common, to plot the overthrow of the democratic regime of their home lands, in order to return to their native lands and begin where they left off.

Detroit Administrative rpt. 11/22/50
Re: Polish Intelligence Activities in th
United States
IS-R and PO
100-350264-831, p. 13
(21)

(X) (U)

On 11/4/54 the WFO furnished copies of "Secret" (U) INS Reports dated 1/15/51 and 3/15/51, for the completion of the Bureau files on Gilbert Zimmerman, INS-SGE, and David Karr, INS-DAPLI. (X) (U)

These reports concerned William Fleigelman, an INS inspector, who was alleged to have associated and collaborated with Ferenc Gondor, editor of the pro-Communist Hungarian language newspaper "Az Ember." (S)(U)

The report dated 1/15/51 noted that on 12/18/50 I. (J or L not clear) Hattayer, U.S. Citizen, owner of the Monuments Corp., 546 Rockaway Ave., Brooklyn, NY., advised he did not believe that Gondor was a member of the CP, but believed him to be an opportunist who swayed with the wind. Hattayer stated that as of that time (12/18/50) Gondor was associated indirectly with the National Committee of Hungary, which included such members as Ferenc Nagy, and others, who were all influential members of the Hungarian government, and who had taken refuge in the U.S. (S)(U)

According to the report of 3/15/51, Lajos Marschalko, a detainee on Ellis Island, NY Harbor, advised, on 3/13/51, that Andor Gelbert (or Gellert), at the end of the war, was appointed as head of the Hungarian Repatriation Commission to Saltzburg, Austria, by a coalition government headed by Ferenc Nagy and by the Communist Rakosi (first name not given). Marschalko did not know whether Gellert was a Communist or not, but knew he had worked with them. (S)(U)

This report noted that the NY file of INS on Pal Szabo, a national of Hungary, revealed that he arrived in NY on 4/11/50 on the SS "Queen Elizabeth." He was admitted as a non-immigrant until 9/11/50. He was destined to Ferenc Nagy, P.O. Box 305, Herndon, Va. (S)(U)

Photostatic copies of above mentioned reports attached to Airtel from WFO, 11/4/54
Re: Gilbert Zimmerman, INS-SGE,
David Karr, INS-DAPLI,
77-63190-8, encl. pp. 2, 16E, 20E (11)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 1/25/51 the Legat, of Paris, France, furnished a copy of a dispatch, dated 12/28/50, on the subject of "Political Aspects of the Hungarian Emigration in France," which was prepared by the Political Section of the American Embassy in Paris. (S)(U)

Concerning the HNC, this dispatch noted that the Hungarian Peasant Association group in the US was headed by Ferenc Nagy. It stated that the leadership of the Association reflected a considerable Protestant influence, stemming largely from the position of Nagy as a lay Protestant leader. It also stated that of the various Hungarian refugee "peasant" politicians only Nagy was of truly peasant origin and upbringing. (S)(U)

The dispatch reported that the "Hungarian Community" was a secret organization with Protestant and peasant associations. The organization was allegedly dissolved as a gesture of appeasement by Nagy, and his protege Kalman Salata, to the Rightist elements of the HNC, who objected to its activities. It was this group who was the accused in the Hungarian "conspiracy" trials of early 1947, which were used by the Soviets as the pretext for the expulsion of Ferenc Nagy, which was in turn the signal for the Communist coup d'etat of June, 1947. (S)(U)

Copy of above mentioned dispatch, ~~classified~~ ~~Secret~~ enclosed with Memo from Legal Attache, Paris, 1/25/51
Re: Hungarian Emigration in France
Foreign Political
[redacted] encl. pp. 3,4,9 (S)(U) b3 b7E
(37)

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 3/3/52 the Dept. of State, Wash., D.C., advised that a review of their files revealed various information regarding Istvan Barancovics, an anti-Communist and leader, 1945-1949, of the Democratic Peoples Party in Hungary. The State Dept. furnished a copy of the Biographical Data Report, dated 2/2/51, furnished by Istvan when he made application for a Displaced Persons Visa. (~~S~~)(U)

This report revealed that under question XV, "Names and addresses of American citizen relatives and friends and members of the various refugee national committees resident in the United Stated who may be known to the applicant and who may be able to supply background information and/or the required Assurance regarding employment, housing, and the public charge clause," Istvan had listed "Mr. Ferenc Nagy, P.O. Box 305, Herndon, Virginia," and others. (~~S~~)(U)

Istvan was in Austria at the time the application was made. (Application was stamped "Con~~fidential~~") (~~C~~)(U)

The State Dept. also advised that Istvan and his wife were issued Hungarian Non-Preference visa nos. 594 and 595 in 1951. (~~S~~)(U)

[*Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with Memo from the State Department, Wash., DC. dated 3/3/52 100-354194-1281 (25)*] (~~S~~)(U) (~~C~~)(U)

"~~SECRET~~ - ~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

A typewritten document, dated 2/19/51, reported that a group of exiles from ten Eastern European countries met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pa., on the eve of Lincoln's Birthday, and adopted ten Principles of Liberation in the spirit of American democracy. The resolutions were listed in this document and the signers were also listed, which included Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister, Hungary. (U)

According to this document, this ceremony and the "Declaration of Liberation" were the results of the cooperation of many exiles from different countries, working voluntarily as free men. (U)

Document included a speech made by the Hon. Joseph C. Grew, chairman of the National Committee for a Free Europe, on Sunday, February, 11. (U)

The following penciled notation appeared on the first page of this document "Rec'd 2/21/51 from [redacted] thru O.H. Bartlett, GC". (U)

b3
b7E

Above mentioned document enclosed with [redacted] Transmittal Slip, dated 2/20/51 (U)
[redacted] encl. p.3 (U)
(32)

~~TOP SECRET~~

TOP SECRET

Records of the INS, 1020 Broad Street, Newark, NJ, revealed that Ferenec Nagy, Sr., former Prime Minister of Hungary and Leader of the Small Landholder's Party, Ferenec Nagy, Jr., and his daughter, Julianc were interviewed by INS at Nagy, Sr's home in Herndon, Va. (no date given). This interview concerned their knowledge of Bela Juth, formerly of Hungary. Only Nagy, Sr. knew Juth but said his acquaintance was slight and he could furnish no definite information.

Newark rpt, 2/23/51
Re: Bela Adelbert Juth, was.
[redacted] (X) (U) p. 78
(50)

b3
b7E

A review of the files of the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary, revealed a Biographical Data Report in connection with the application of Julius Eroes for a visa, under the provisions of Section 2 (d) of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, for entry into the US. This report was dated 3/21/51 at Sydney, Australia, and it revealed that Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary was listed as a character reference. (X) (U)

In giving his reason for eligibility under Section 2 (d), Eroes stated that in February 1946 he was asked by Nagy to serve as editor of Domestic Politics with the three newspapers of the Smallholders Party. He said that during that year, he concentrated on hundreds of articles favorable to the ideas of the Western Democracies and fighting Communist influence. In February 1947, due to one of his articles, he was arrested and accused of agitation against the Republic, the CP and the Russian Army. He was released through the intervention of the Prime Minister, Nagy, and the President of Parliament, Bela Varga. (X) (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

As a result of this he was asked by the leaders of the Smallholders Party to revise his political opinion in accordance with the national situation. He refused to collaborate with the Communists and pro-Communists in the Party and was dismissed from his position with the newspapers, expelled from the Party and threatened with arrest by the police. (U)

Copy of above mentioned Biographical Data Report enclosed with Memo from the Dept. of State dated 1/29/52 123-12501-9, encl. pp. 5,7 (43) (U)

"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

About March or April, 1951 Domokos Fekete advised that in 1939 his uncle, Ferencz Farkas, of Budapest, Hungary, became affiliated with a group of anti-Fascist Hungarians and bought a newspaper "Szabad Szo" (Free World), located at Muzum Krt. 15, Budapest. He stated this group subsequently affiliated with Ferenc Nagy, who later became head of the Small Holders Party and still later Premier of Hungary. The group formed the National Peasant Party (Nemzeti Paraasztpart) which went underground about 1943.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Fekete also advised that the only underground movement he knew of during the German occupation of Hungary was that on the part of the Small Land Holders Party of which Ferencz was the head.

Los Angeles rpt. 4/30/51
Re: Domokos Fekete, was. [redacted] (X)(U)
[redacted] *pp. 3,6*
(10)

b3
b7D
b7E

During April 1951 [redacted] *furnished a survey of activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). According to this survey, the ABN expressed opposition to the so-called Green Internationale (Peasant Parties of Europe) for being tainted with previous collaboration with Bolshevism. Among those denounced was the Polish leader, Mikolajczyk and the Hungarian Small Holders Party spokesman Ferenc Nagy, both of whom resided in the United States in April 1951.* (X)(U)

T-4, of unknown reliability, advised that ABN was organized after World War II by Ukrainian Nationals and was anti-Communist in nature. T-4 also advised that he was not sympathetic with ABN since he understood the organization favored "one strong nationalist party dictatorship like in Spain," for occupied Soviet countries in the event of their liberation.

T-4: [redacted] b7D
(X) *[NY] rpt. 9/2/52*
(U) *Re: Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), aka* (X)(U)
[IS-Ukrainian;] Registration Act 100-346220-16, p.14
(20)

~~TOP SECRET~~

TOP SECRET

On 4/15/51 [redacted] advised that the constitutional meeting of the Central Eastern European Committee (CEEC) would be held on 4/16/51 at the Hotel Ambassador in Wash., D.C. According to this informant, Ferenc Nagy, formerly of the Smallholders Party in Hungary, was one of the individuals who had assured their presence and their willingness in the membership of the committee. (X)(U)

b3
b7D
b7E

Informant also furnished the Constitutional Resolution of the CEEC, which was quoted in full in this reference. (X)(U)

[WFO] (X)(U) memo 5/1/51
Re: Miscellaneous Yugoslav Activity in the US
[redacted] changed to [redacted] (X)(U)
(32)

Translations of material in the 5/15/51 issue of the *"Monitorul" revealed that it contained an unsigned article on page 5, cols. 1, 2, and 3, captioned "The Creation of the Central and Eastern European Committee" (CEEC). This article revealed that at a meeting held at Wash., DC, on 4/16/51, the Executive Committee of the IPU decided to create a CEEC. The purpose of this committee was to maintain a close collaboration among the representatives of it in order to establish a healthy democracy in their respective countries, after they were liberated.

*Bulletin in the Rumanian language edited by the Rumanian National Committee, located at 2910 Q Street, N.W., Wash., DC.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Ferenc Nagy, a member of the HNC and former Prime Minister of Hungary, opened this meeting. All those in attendance at the meeting promised their full support to the CEEC and as a result of these promises, Nagy declared the CEEC formally constituted and named.

Copies of the above mentioned Translations enclosed with WFO memo, 6/26/51 Re: "Monitorul"

[redacted] (8)

[redacted] (33)

b3
b7E

Records of INS revealed that on 3/22/51 Tibor Ham filed an application for Immigration Visa and Alien Registration No. [redacted] *at Paris, France, under the Displaced Persons Act. According to this application, Ham stated he intended to join Ferenc Nagy at Herndon, Va.; to remain permanently in the US and engage in his occupation as a physician.*

b6
b7C

The good faith affidavit, one of the documents filed with Ham's application, dated 8/21/46 at Budapest, Hungary, was signed by Ferenc Nagy, Prime Minister, and attested to the fact that Tibor Ham, a physician and member of Parliament, participated in the "National opposition movement and the fight against Fascism." Dr. Ham arrived in the US by steamer on 4/30/51.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

An article in the "New York Daily News" of 3/1/51, concerning the arrival of Dr. Ham in the US, reported that Ham said he would make his home in NY after a visit with Nagy, in Wash., D.C.

T-3, whose reliability had not been fully established but who had furnished accurate information in the past, said that Dr. Ham was a close friend of Ferenc Nagy of Herndon, Va. (U)

(T-3: [redacted] (U) b7D

[NY] rpt. 10/22/51 (U)
Re: Dr. Tibor Gustav Ham
[redacted] (U) pp. 2,3,5,7 b3 b7E
(33)

Translations of the "Easter, 1951" edition of the "Hidverok" (Bridge Builders), published semi-monthly in the Hungarian language (locality not given) under the editorship of Geza Alfoldi, revealed that page 28 contained pictures of Ferenc Nagy, Prime Minister, receiving dignitaries in Hungary. Page 28 also contained a picture of Nagy with President Zoltan Tildy. (No further details were given). (U)

Copy of translations enclosed with
WFC memo 10/17/51
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-181, encl. p.10 (U)
(17)

Correlators Note: The cover page of this reference contained a notation that the original publication had been placed in publication files. However, publication files were unable to locate same. (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of a document, dated 5/31/51, entitled "Memorandum Concerning an Insecure Hungarian Intelligence Network." (U)

This memo reported that in 1944, after the Nazis took over the Government of Hungary, the Anti-Nazi group formed an organization called "Magyar Kozosseg," (Hungarian Community) (HC). (U)

When the Soviet Army occupied Hungary and a coalition government was first organized, the "HC" again started its intelligence work. It recruited a few prominent members of the Small Holders' Party. They established secret contacts with Ferenc Nagy when he became Prime Minister. (U)

When Moscow decided to eliminate the anti-Communist Parties from the coalition government in Hungary, the leading members of the "HC" were arrested, and Nagy was ousted as Prime Minister. (U)

This memo names and sets out various information on individuals who worked for or in very close contact with Ference Nagy. Many of the individuals were considered insecure and unreliable. (U)

This information was intended to prove that the intelligence built up around Ferenc Nagy leaked on both ends and should have been considered as completely insecure. (U)

Per notation on this memo it was received from Pat O'Brien (not further identified) on 6/6/51. (U)

A memo, dated 7/12/51, to NY, which was also included in this reference, reported that the memorandum was furnished by a reliable and confidential informant. However, it was pointed out that although the informant was considered reliable, the reliability of the sources available to the informant was not known. NY was advised that if the information was used the identity of the source should be concealed, and the evaluation of the source set forth as above. (U)

The following notation was written in black pencil in the margin of page 1 of this memo, "See 100-354194-1221 for G-2 evaluation of this info." (U)

[100-354194-1022] (U)
(25)

About June 1951 the NY Field Office reported on the Yugoslav activities in the US. In this connection it was reported that the anti-Tito, anti-Cominform and anti-Fascist segment of the Serbian group of the Yugoslav colony in NYC and in the US generally, continued to follow the leadership of exiled Yugoslav politicians such as Dr. Milan Gavrilovich, and others. (U)

(U) [Gavrilovich represented the Serbian faction of the Yugoslavs in anti-Communist organizations such as] the IPU, and the Central Eastern European Committee (CEEC), of which both maintained offices in Wash., DC.

It was noted that the IPU and the CEEC included the chief exiled leaders of all of the satellite countries and included such persons as Ferenc Nagy of Hungary, and others.

(No informant given for any of the above information)

NY rpt. 8/17/51
[Re: Yugoslav Activities in the US
IS-YU
100-32820-1142, p.25] (U)
(18)

About September, 1951 [redacted] furnished a photostatic copy of a 50 page typewritten document in the Hungarian language. This document was dated at NYC, 6/8/51, and was submitted by Zoltan Pfeiffer and Karoly Peyer on behalf of the so-called Committee on Credentials and Incompatibility of the HNC (CCIHNC). (U)

This document reported that this committee voted on a resolution (3 to 1) that it was incompatible for a member of the HNC to be a member of the Comradeship of The Hungarian Warriors. Ferenc Nagy was one of the three that voted for this resolution. (U) b7D b7E

This resolution was directed at [redacted] HNC, because of his open adherence to the group known as Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (Comradeship of the Hungarian Warriors: Magyar Harcosok Bajtarsi Kozossege: MHBK), which was registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. (U)

It was noted that above mentioned document was forwarded to the WFO by letter dated 10/23/51. (U)

(U)
NY memo 9/12/51
Re: Hungtel
IS-R and HU
100-354194-1146
(25) (U)

On 7/11/51, in NYC, [redacted] met with Rade Lukic and furnished him with an unclassified report which revealed that on 4/16/51 a general meeting of the Central Eastern European Committee was held at the Hotel Ambassador in Wash., D.C. According to this report, the official membership of this committee included "Nagy, Ferenc, Small Holders Party, Hungary." (U) b7D b7E

On 8/1/51 [redacted] furnished Lukic with an unclassified report which indicated that about the latter part of July 1951 Dr. Milan Gavrilovich, a Yugoslav leader in exile, left NYC for Wash., D.C., where he would be joined later by Dr. Milos Tupanjanin, who was active in the Serbian Peasant Party. In Washington, both of these individuals were supposed to have held meetings with the various leaders of the peasant parties of Eastern Europe, including Nagy. (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

(U)
NY Rpt. 4/4/52
Re: Rade Lukic
[redacted]
[redacted] pp 19, 23 (U)
(33)

In May and July, 1951 Dr. Tibor Ham of [redacted] Alexandria, Va., furnished [redacted] various information. Among other things Ham advised that he was a member of the Hungarian Parliament, Governor of Sopron County, a member of the Smallholders Party, and was held in great respect and esteem by the rank and file of his political associates during the premiership of Ferenc Nagy. (No further details were given) (U)

Ham indicated interest in establishing underground activities in Hungary. (U)

b3
b7E

WFO rpt. 3/24/52
Re: Dr. Tibor Gustav Ham
[redacted] (U)
(33)

~~NOF SOURCE~~

On 8/27/51 the WFO furnished copy number 41 of a report entitled "Hungarian Political Exiles," prepared by the Office of Intelligence Research, US Dept. of State. (X)(U)

In giving information concerning Exile Political Organizations, this report named Ferenc Nagy as a member of the Executive Committee of the HNC, and noted that he represented the original Hungarian Smallholders Party. A list of the committees of the HNC revealed that Nagy was chairman of Economic Affairs Committee and a member of the Accreditations and Conflicts Committee. (X)(U)

Information concerning the Hungarian Peasant Federation, (HPF) which was established in 1948 and maintained hdqrs. in Paris, France, revealed that Nagy was a US representative of the HPF. He was one of the principal leaders and was virtually the only genuine peasant in the Federation. (X)(U)

This report contained biographies of the leading exiles, including a lengthy one ($2\frac{1}{2}$ typewritten pages) of Ferenc Nagy. (X)(U)

Copy of above mentioned
report enclosed with
WFO memo 8/27/51 (WFO 100-10332)
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-54-174, encl pp. 5,6,7,62,
63,64
(17) (X)(U)

This reference sets out in detail various information concerning the activities of Dr. Tibor Ham before and after he entered the US from Hungary, including his connection and association with Ferenc Nagy, and other activities of Nagy prior to his, Nagy's, arrival in the U.S.

Ham was suspected of having worked with the pro-Soviet Hungarian government. Nagy regarded Ham as anti-Communistic in political beliefs and not a collaborator with the Hungarian Communist government.

Ham was elected to the Hungarian Parliament on the Smallholders ticket in November 1945; he arrived in the US about 5/1/51; Nagy aided Ham to enter the US; Ham entered Doctors Hospital, Wash., DC, as a medical interne on 6/1/51; Nagy recommended Ham for this position to Dr. Harry Lee Cloud, a member of the hospital staff and a close friend of Nagy.

T-1: A confidential, reliable source, whose information was received from a source believed to be reliable. (X)(U)

T-3: [redacted] *Georgetown Univ., Wash, DC, considered a reliable individual, but whose sources of information were unknown.* (X)(U)

T-4: A reliable and confidential informant. The reliability of the sources of this informant could not be appraised. (X)(U)

[redacted] *reliability not given.* (X)(U)

[redacted]

reliability not given

[redacted] *on 9/22/51.*

reliability not given.

WFO rpt 10/9/51
Re: Dr. Tibor Gustav Ham

[redacted] (X)(U) *pp. 2,3,4,5,6,7,8*

(33)

b3
b7D
b7E

TOP SECRET

An article in the 10/10/51 issue of "Hidverok" alleged that paintings from the Hungarian Art Museum (HAM) were being sold in Brazil.

Confidential Informant T-6, of known reliability, advised that "Hidverok" (Bridge Builders) was an "extreme rightist or Hungarian fascist-inspired publication printed in Germany." (T-6, not identified on informant page).

This article by "Ghouls" revealed that correspondence had been received from two co-workers in Brazil in regard to the valuable pictures of the HAM being sold in Rio de Janeiro. This article also included information contained in the correspondence. One of the writers, Kalman Szegedi, said he was informed that the pictures were bought in 1947 from the Hungarian Government. Szegedi also wrote in part, "The so-called members of the Hungarian National Council are here in Brazil! What have they done in the interests of the salvation of these pictures? Are they keeping quiet because in 1947, when the sales took place, the Hungarian government and leaders were Bela Varga, Ferenc Nagy, Zoltan Pfeiffer, Sulyok, Nyari and others? We would like to know who sold these pictures. Why is Ferenc Nagy keeping quiet about the sale of these pictures, who at that time was responsible for their sale.-------How much of the responsibility rests with them who sold the pictures of the Hungarian Arts Museum to dogs? At the same time, I would like for them to know that these three owners look upon them as Communists. Seek satisfaction from these 'slanderers' and prove that Varga-Nagy-Tildy-Co. was not Communist. Sue them Mr. Nagy and Mr. Varga and show who sold these pictures! "

The article in "Hidverok," which quoted the report of Szegedi, was quoted in full in this reference.

NY rpt. 6/9/52
Re: Traffic in Confiscated Works of Art

(U) [redacted] p.16 b3 b7E
(46)

On 1/18/54 G-2 furnished a Summary of Information, dated 12/23/53, relative to a Stephen Swift, who was possibly identical with a Stephen K. Swift. This summary contained the results of a review of records Hdqrs. 66th CIC Corps Group, APO 154, US Army which revealed the following information: G-2 Secret correspondence, dated 10/18/51, indicated that Stephen Swift, literary agent for Ferenc Nagy, was known as an agent of "American counter intelligence (probably CIC)." Swift's original name was Somlo. Records of the pre-war Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs listed Swift as a Communist agent of Hungarian descent in the U.S. Intelligence Report, Vienna, dated September 1948, on the subject "Visit of Ferency Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister to Innsbruck," indicated that a Mr. (fnu) Swift, arrived at Innsbruck, Austria, with Ferency Nagy. (Information in summary was unevaluated). (S) (U)

Copy of above mentioned Summary of Information enclosed with Memo from [redacted] to the Bureau, dated 1/18/54 [redacted] (11) (S) (U)

b3
b7E
b7D

"~~SECRET~~"

On 12/9/51 Istvan Szemes sailed from Bremen, Germany on the SS Hershey, enroute to the US. He was admitted to the US as a displaced person. Szemes listed Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, of Herndon, Va., and other members of the HNC Executive Committee all of whom were residing in the US, as references.*

T-1: [redacted] b7D

New York Rpt. 2/18/53
Re: Istvan Jeno Szemes, wa.
[redacted] (34) (S) (U)

b3
b7E

*Evidently on his visa application.

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 12/26/51 [redacted] of Wash., DC reported that it had not, as of that date, come to the attention of the US Forces in Austria that the "Hungarian Community" (Magyar Kozeaseg) was or ever had been an intelligence organization. "Magyar Kozosseg" was a group which was believed to control the Hungarian Peasant Federation, headed by Ferenc Nagy. Its aim was to insert persons of pure Hungarian descent into the key positions of all Hungarian organizations. The group was said to be split into several factions. (X)(U) b7D

[Memo from [redacted] dated 12/26/51] (X)(U)
[100-354194-1221] (X)(U)
(25)

"~~SECRET-SECURITY INFORMATION~~"

About January or February, 1952, during an investigation of Frederick Klay, an employee of the State Department, Wash., DC, Robert M. McKisson, who was in charge of the Hungarian Desk, Balkan Affairs, State Dept, was contacted regarding Klay's employment, associates and acquaintances.

McKisson said he did not know if Klay was acquainted or associated with Stephen Swift, whom he knew as a journalist. McKisson said Swift was a friend and close associate of Ferenc Nagy, and had made a trip to Europe with Nagy.

McKisson also advised that Nagy had been accused of being an appeaser and collaborator and a Communist because he was unfortunate enough to be in power when the Communist coup came into Hungary. In his opinion Nagy was not a Communist or a Communist sympathizer.

~~TOP SECRET~~

T-9: of known reliability, advised that he had been acquainted with Klay for a number of years. He knew of no Communist sympathy or activities on Klay's part and believed Klay would be loyal to the US. Informant also furnished much and varied information on other individuals believed to be acquaintances and/or associates of Klay (which was set out in detail in reference). (T-9: [redacted] Given temporary informant symbol because of constant contact concerning Hungarian matters). b7D

Remarks pertaining to the Ferenc Nagy group; faction in the HNC; group in the HNC; regime; political views; and government appeared at various times throughout the reference.

Other than the informants already given these remarks were attributed to the following informants.

T-6, of known reliability: (S) (U) [redacted] (S) (U) b7D

T-7, of unknown reliability: [redacted] (S) (U)

(S) (U)

WFO rpt. 2/25/52
Re: Frederick Andor C. Klay, aka., Intelligence Research Specialist, Dept. of State, Wash., DC.
LGE
121-34297-15
(42)

TOP SECRET

This reference is a copy of a booklet entitled "The Organization and Strategy of the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party," edited by the Hungarian Section of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Research and Publications Service, 110 West 57th St., NY 19, NY, in July, 1952. (U)

The preface of this booklet noted that this manuscript contained a complete description of the organization and functions of the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party. (U)

According to this booklet, an article which appeared in the "Szabad Nep," a Hungarian CP newspaper, dated 2/2/52, reported that their propaganda had reached the masses of workers and peasants, and the intellectual strata too over the heads of "so-called workers' leaders and peasants' leaders, the Peyers and the Ferenc Nagys." (U)

Chapter eight of this booklet listed the members of the Presidium, Heads of the National Assembly and the State Organs. (U)

According to this list: Nagy was a speaker in Parliament from 11/15/45 to 2/1/46; Chairman of the Council of Ministers from 2/4/46 to 5/30/47; and Minister of Construction from 5/11/45 to 11/15/45. (U)

According to a notation on the cover, this booklet was received from [redacted] *through Liaison Channels on 8/13/52.* (U) b3 b7E

62-90601-162 pp. 52,71,72,75,82
(4)

TOP SECRET

SECRET

About the early part of May, 1952 [redacted] b7D
[redacted], furnished information concerning Robert Major, of NYC, formerly of Budapest, Hungary. [redacted] reported that he had been acquainted with Major since 1945. He described Major as having strong principles as a democrat; being strongly anti-Communist; being a capable economist and one who would play an important part in the rebuilding of economic life in Hungary when that country was liberated.

Richmond rpt. 5/15/52
Re: Robert Major
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] b3
(34) b7E

The 5/5/52 issue of the "New York Times" contained an article entitled "Anti-Bolshevist Rally Here Calls on U.N. To Demand Soviet Free Satellite States." This article concerned a rally held at Manhattan Center, NYC, on 5/4/42, reportedly sponsored by The American Friends of Anti-Bolshevist Block of Nations, Inc. The speakers included the former Hungarian General Ferenc Farkas De Kisbarnak, referred to in the article as chief of military commission of the anti-Bolshevist group and leader of the Hungarian Freedom Movement.

On 5/6/52 [redacted] Gala Plastics b7D
Corporation, 30 W. 15 St., NYC, telephonically advised the NYO that he had noticed the above mentioned article in the paper. [redacted] advised that General De Kisbarnak had been "a direct appointee of Hitler as an executioner in Hungary." He further advised that Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, and Dr. Istvan Barankovics, former Hungarian Minister of Justice, were condemned to death by Farkas in Hungary, but later managed to escape. (Reliability of [redacted] not given).

SECRET

TOP SECRET

This reference enclosed a copy of the front page of the 6/7/52 issue of "Az Ember," in the Hungarian language, which contained an article that made reference to Ferenc Nagy. (Article not translated).

NY advised that according to an item in the "Az Ember" (date not given) General Farkas DeKisbarnak had "recently" returned to Germany after U.S. immigration authorities declined to renew his visitor's visa.

Copies of above mentioned
items enclosed with
NY memo, 6/16/52
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89242
(13) (U)

On 5/20/52 in NYC, [redacted] met *Rade Lukic, at which time the informant furnished Lukic with copies of various items, including mimeographed copies of speeches issued in connection with the "recent" IPU Congress held in Wash., DC. (U)

A list of the items furnished included, "Report from Hungary by Ferenc Nagy." (No further details were given). (U)

Informant and Lukic discussed the Hungarian and Yugoslav Governments. (U)

(U)
NY memo 5/28/52
Re: Rade Lukic
[redacted]
(33) (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

*A Yugoslav Vice Consul at New York per [redacted]. (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 4/28/52 the WFO furnished various material concerning the "International Peasant Union" for review by the Bureau. The Bureau was requested to advise the NY Field Office as to whether or not this material would be suitable for distribution to Rade Lukic.* (U)

This material was furnished by [redacted] b7D whose identity was known to the Bu. and the NY Office, and the WFO advised that should [redacted] be used as a source of information at any time in the future, his name should be appropriately protected by a T symbol. (U)

This material was in the form of mimeographed leaflets, and consisted of 19 pieces, the titles of which were set out in this reference. The three titles which mentioned the name of Ferenc Nagy were as follows: (U)

"No. 10. Third Congress of the IPU Applications for Membership Rapporteur: Ferenc Nagy. (U)

No. 11. Opening Speech by Ferenc Nagy, President of the Commission on International Affairs at the session of the IPU's Commission on International Affairs at the yearly convention of the IPU on May 27, 1952. (U)

No. 12. Third Congress of the IPU Commission on International Affairs, President: Ferenc Nagy." (U)

All of the enclosures mentioned above were forwarded to NY Field Office by memo, dated 5/14/52.. (U)

WFO memo, 4/28/52
Re: Rade Lukic
[redacted] (U) b3 b7E
(33)

*Yugoslav Vice Consul at NYC, per [redacted] (U)

~~Secret~~

TOP SECRET

[redacted] advised that Rade Lukic, Vice-Consul, Yugoslav Consulate, NYC, handled visa matters at the Consulate and received incoming Yugoslav officials. (U)

b7D
b7E

Informant also advised that he met Lukic on various dates during the period 1/22/52 to 6/10/52, at which time he furnished Lukic with various material and/or reports, written in the Serbo-Croatian language, on Yugoslav and exiled group activities. A verbatim translation of these reports was set forth in this reference. (U)

It was noted that the material or reports furnished on 2/5/52, 2/26/52, 4/29/52, 5/20/52 and 6/10/52 contained information in regard to Ferenc Nagy. This information concerned his activities in the IPU; Central Eastern European Committee; HNC; NCFE; and the Hungarian Small Holders Party. (U)

The enclosures, forwarded with this reference, consisted of reports in the Serbo-Croatian language and English translations thereof; photostatic copies or typed or mimeographed copies of various publications and speeches in connection with Yugoslav matters and photostatic copies of the front cover of various Yugoslav publications. (U)

These enclosures contained information concerning Nagy, including addresses or reports given by him. (U)

Enclosures mentioned above enclosed with
(U) NY rpt. 8/4/52
Re: Rade Lukic;
[redacted] pp. 15, 16, 17, 25, 61,62,67,75,86,88,89, encl. 118 (33) (U)

b3
b7E

TOP SECRET

On 7/19/51, [redacted], NYC, (reliability not given) advised that he arrived in the US on 6/1/51 as a displaced person aboard the SS General Taylor from Bremerhaven, Germany arriving at the port of NY. (C)(U)

Concerning [redacted] background, he advised that from 1945 to 1947, while in Budapest, Hungary, he was a [redacted] of Ferencs Nagy, [redacted] now in the United States with the National Committee for Free Europe." (C)(U)

b3
b7E
b7D

(C)(U) [NY rpt. 8/28/51 Re: [redacted] was. [redacted] TS p.10 (45)] (C)(U)

On 6/17/52, in reply to a request from the Bureau, [redacted] furnished identifying data on certain individuals, and their connections with Radio Free Europe or the National Committee for Free Europe (NCFE) which were mentioned in the case of [redacted] (S)(U)

These individuals included Ferencs Nagy. As noted in the reference above [redacted] believed Nagy to be connected with the NCFE. (S)(U)

b3
b7E
b7D

[redacted] advised that Ferenc Nagy was believed to be identical with the former premier of Hungary and leader of the Smallholders Party. [redacted] also furnished detailed background information on Nagy. (S)(U)

Nothing was mentioned regarding his connection with the NCFE. (S)(U)

[Memo from [redacted] dated 6/17/52 [redacted] (10)] (S)(U) (C)(U)

"~~SECRET~~"

*Believe this should be "Kis Uysag," or "Kis Ujsag," official newspaper of the Small Holders' Party. (C)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 8/19/52 furnished the Bureau a copy of a report, dated July 1952, on Hungarian Ethnic Group Study, one of the series of Ethnic Group Studies prepared by for the use of its field offices. (U) b3 b7E

Concerning Ferenc Nagy, the following was noted in this report: (U)

> February 1946, Nagy became Prime Minister of the newly established Hungarian Republic.
> May 1947, a Communist coup drove Nagy from power. (U)
>
> Nagy, who had also been the founder of a Peasant League in 1941, which he revived after the war, was forced to resign as Prime Minister and later to flee the country. (U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

The democratic portion of the Hungarian political groups in exile was represented by the traditionally pro-western exile politicians, both inside of and outside of the HNC. "The Center is perhaps best exemplified by Ferenc Nagy (although he considers himself a member of the Left-wing)." (U)

Nagy was a member of the Executive Committee of the HNC, and was considered one of the best representatives of Hungarian sentiments. Nagy represented the peasants. Concerning a split in the Council between the Left and the Right wings, this report noted that there had been attempts by Nagy, and others, to achieve White House support for their faction as representing the "democratic" wing. (U)

The members of the Hungarian Peasant Federation, a member organization of the IPU, who were in the US included Ferenc Nagy, who was listed as "one of the principal." (U)

Regarding publications of political groups in exile, the report listed Ferenc Nagy as editor of the "Parasztszovetsegi Ertesito," monthly organ of the Hungarian Peasant Federation, School Street, Herndon, Virginia. (U)

Copy of above mentioned report enclosed with [redacted] transmittal slip, dated 8/19/52 (U) [100-89-257, encl. pp. 5,6,9,10,11,16 (14)] (U)

b3
b7E

"~~CONFIDENTIAL-SECURITY INFORMATION~~"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

On 7/16/52 the NY Field Office reported that their indices failed to reflect any reference identifiable with Frank Nagy. They reported, however, that one Ferenc (Hungarian for Frank or Francis) Nagy was identified, and listed 10 communications in the case of "Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the US" between the Bureau, NY and the WFO in which Nagy's activities had been set out. Dates of the communications were between the period 8/10/48 and 2/15/52. (S)(U)

NY memo 7/16/52
Re: Hungarian Intelligence
Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-354194-1487
(25) (S)(U)

In August, 1952 [redacted] stated that Ferenc Szucs, the Military and Air Attache of the Hungarian Legation, Wash., DC, had remarked on one occasion that [redacted] World War II [redacted] Hungarian President, Ferenc Nagy. As of the latter part of 1952, Nagy resided in Herndon, Va. (S)(U)

b3
b7D
b7E
b6
b7C

(S)(U) WFO rpt. 12/4/52
Re: Ferenc Szucs
[redacted] p.2 (S)(U)
(33)

~~TOP SECRET~~

This reference is the original handwritten letter, dated 9/17/52, received from Louis K. Smith, Jr.

Smith reported that a "Hungarian D.P., using the name of Fred Miller and working in Raleigh, N.C. at the Melville Dairy Products Co. requested that I give him the names of other Hungarian exiles."

According to this letter, Smith gave Miller a list of names which he compiled from the monthly bulletin of the IPU, dated May 1952. This list, as set forth in this reference, included the name of Ferenc Nagy.

Smith stated that when he was in Raleigh the week before, his mother advised him that Miller knew several of the names on the list and stated that "one-undesignated-was a Communist."

Smith said if further information was desired he could be reached at the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, US Dept. of Agriculture, code 161, ext. 3156.

100-394784-1
(27)

Ference Vandor was interviewed (11/13/52), by SAs of the Newark Field Office, in a private office of Reverend Gasper, at 223 Third St., Passaic, NJ. Rev. Gasper, who was considered reliable by the Newark Office, acted as interpreter.

~~TOP SECRET~~

During this interview, Vandor made reference to Ferenc Nagy. According to Father Gasper, the two men attacked each others political views and policies often and quite openly. Father Gasper said Nagy and his supporters used the "Az Ember," a Hungarian language newspaper, as a sounding board for their political views.

Vandor said Nagy's views were quite liberal, but he would hesitate to say that he was a Communist sympathizer. He said the only indication of collaboration with the Communist regime by Nagy, that he could "presently" think of, was the fact that Nagy's son received an automobile from a Russian Army Colonel in Budapest.

Newark memo 11/28/52
Re: Ferenc Vandor
SI-C
100-385543-12
(27)

This reference is a copy of a memo entitled "Notes from the Foreign Language Press, Hungarian," which covers the period December 20-26, 1952. It was received from [redacted] on 1/30/53. (U) b3 b7E

~~TOP SECRET~~

This memo reported that Ferenc Nagy wrote two articles in "Szabadsag" and "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava," December 21 and 22, 1952, entitled: "Hard Christmas, by Ferenc Nagy, Hungary's Last Constitutional Prime Minister." This memo contained a lengthy summary of the articles which compared Christmas in America with that of Hungary, and also discussed Communism. The summary began, "No people in the world prepare for Christmas in such a lavish and elaborate fashion as Americans. Hungarian exiles are grateful that they have an opportunity to live in their midst. Yet, their souls are heavily burdened. The contrast between the old country and America causes pain. There is no peace in Hungary, not even at Christmas-time. There is only fear and hatred of the oppressor, and even envy of those who live in the free world." (U)

This reference also reported on the comments of the Catholic-conservative "Delamerikai Magyarsag (Buenos Aires, November 21). This paper reported that [redacted], who regarded [redacted] the HNC, did not believe the HNC represented the Hungarian emigration, or the Hungarian people, because at least 50 - 60 emigres, who were members of the Hungarian Parliament in 1939, had not been invited to join it. According to the paper, Bela Varga promised [redacted] several times that he would put an end to this impossible state of affairs but had done nothing about it. The paper continued "It seems that Msgr. Varga is under the influence 'of the terror exerted by Ferenc Nagy and his left-wing clique, and, as a man of weak character, cannot establish order.'" (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

Serial described above
[redacted] pp.1,9
(31)

On 1/9/53 Ferenc Nagy's Christmas article (mentioned in above reference) received sharp criticism from Father Jozsef Galambos, Right-wing columnist of "Katolikus Magyarok Vasarnapja," of Cleveland. Father Galambos agreed with the contents of these articles but he regarded Premier Nagy as a "Summer soldier and fair weather patriot" who together with his colleagues had a lion's share in creating the situation in the Iron Curtain countries. Father Galambos said "When Ferenc Nagy blames 'Fellow-travellers' why does he not blame himself? Is it only now that Ferenc Nagy discovers that fellow-travellers serve the Communists in order to escape the gallows? Hasn't he done so himself?-----" (U)

[Copy of a memo received from [redacted] on 2/13/53 [redacted] pp. 11,12 (31)] (U) b3 b7E

On 2/10/53 [redacted] furnished information concerning Paul Fabry, former chief of the Research Section of the National Committee for a Free Europe. Informant believed Fabry was fired from his job because of certain alleged pro-Communist writings by Fabry, which appeared in the official publication of Free Europe, and which were reported to Free Europe by informant. (U) b7D b7E

On 12/31/52 [redacted] furnished information concerning Paul Fabry, and his wife. Informant advised that Fabry had been a member of the Hungarian Smallholders Party in Hungary and that he "adheres to the group of Former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, presently in the US." (U)

[redacted] had no information to substantiate the allegation that either Fabry or his wife possessed pro-Communist sympathies or that either of them had ever engaged in Soviet espionage. (C)(U) b7D b7E

(C)(U)
[NY] memo, 2/24/53
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89-35-108
(15) (C)(U)

About April 14, 1953 [redacted] informed that he had been acquainted with Ferenc Simonfay since 1945 when Simonfay was sent by his government to Italy for the purpose of observing the economic situation there for Hungarian trade. In 1947 Simonfay went to Italy where he remained until December of 1952 or January of 1953 when he came to the US. [redacted] said he had known Simonfay's father for many years as the elder Simonfay operated a very popular restaurant in Becs, Hungary. b7D

[redacted] commented that he was sent to Italy by the Readers Digest in 1948 and while there he saw Simonfay, at which time Simonfay introduced him to several of the Di Gasperi Party leaders during his visit there. [redacted] described Simonfay as a sincere Democrat who was violently opposed to Communism.

Richmond rpt. 4/17/53
Re: Ferenc Simonfay, aka.
[redacted] (C)(U)
[redacted]
(35) b3 b7E

TOP SECRET

On 4/23/53 Stephen Balogh, Executive Secretary, AHF, Connecticut Ave. and I St., N.W., Washington, DC, furnished various information on Ferenc Simonfay which he had received from Ferenc Nagy. Since this information agreed with that furnished by [redacted] about 4/14/53, as reported in the above reference, it is not being repeated here. (U) b7D

(U)
[WFO] memo, 4/24/53
Re: Ferenc Simonfay, was.
[redacted] (U) b3
(35) b7E

Approximately June or July 1953, [redacted] advised that he was acquainted with both Ferenc Nagy and Eugene J. Nagy, 853 Fox St., NY, NY. He considered Ferenc Nagy, a former Prime Minister of Hungary, extremely honest, reliable and loyal to the U.S. (U) b7D

Concerning Eugene J. Nagy, [redacted] stated that in the majority of the cases he was reliable, but occasionally in order to appear important in the eyes of the FBI, Nagy would furnish information which was not completely accurate. (U) b7E

(U)
[NY] memo, 7/8/53
Re: Eugene Francois Gonda
Assistant Editor, Library of Congress
Wash., D.C.
Security of Government Employees
121-44215-3
(42)

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

On 9/22/53 [redacted] furnished a copy of a memo entitled "News from the Foreign Language Press, Hungarian," for the period July 13 - August 2, 1953. (U) b3 b7E

According to this memo, Former Premier Ferenc Nagy contributed a lecture to a conference on world affairs held at Colgate University.* An ample summary appeared in the "Exiled Hungary" supplement of "Szabadsag" (July 28) and "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" (July 25). This reference contained a summary of the lecture, which stated in part: "Stalin's successors are unable to change the basic line of Soviet foreign policy, namely world conquest. Tactical changes were caused by the crisis which Stalin's death brought about. Malenkov must either raise the standard of living or make war. He seems to hesitate to do the latter because defeat will result in the collapse of the Soviet regime....." (U)

This memo reported the following information concerning Nagy. (U)

Nagy wrote letters to the Editors of the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post" in which he stressed the resistance of Hungarian peasants to Communist policies which resulted in a temporary retreat of the Rakosi regime. These letters were quoted with approval by "Az Ember" (July 25, resp. August 1). (U)

The Communist "Amerikai Magyar Szo" (July 23) in a first page editorial entitled "Ferenc Nagy Commits Arson," asserted, among other things, that the former peasant leader really intended to encourage American leaders to start an "armed provocation" against the Soviet Union. (U)

*Hamilton, NY, about the middle of July, 1953 (U)

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

The Hungarian Peasant Union under the chairmanship of Ferenc Nagy held a conference in New York and issued a statement, dated July 13. ("Az Ember," July 18). The statement expressed appreciation of the Hungarian peasantry the resistance of which prevented the carrying out of Communist Agrarian policies. (C)(U)

The Rightist "Magyarsag" (Pittsburgh, July 31) Editor Jeno Szebedinszki, added former Premier Ferenc Nagy to the list of "troublemakers" which included Ferenc Gondor, Editor of "Az Ember;" Zoltan Gombos, publisher of "Szabadsag" and "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava;" and Marton Himler, former chief of the "OSS" Hungarian section in Europe which had the task to arrest Hungarian war criminals. The editor reported that only when these men disappeared from the scene would it be possible to create unity among the Hungarian emigration in America. (C)(U)

According to the "Az Ember" (July 18), Hungarian Rightist exiles were spreading rumors that Imre Nagy, the "new Hungarian Communist Premier" and the former Small Farmers Premier, Ferenc Nagy, were first cousins. The paper reported that "Nagy" was one of the most frequent Hungarian names, and such rumors could only be believed by non-Hungarians. The paper also reported that there was no relationship whatsoever between Imre and Ferenc Nagy. (C)(U)

Serial described above
[redacted] *pp. 7,8,15,19* b3 b7E
(32) ✓

TOP SECRET

On 9/21/53 T-1, of unknown reliability, but who was in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that Dr. Beno Vajda was not personally known to him, but he gave information he had learned from other sources.

T-1 reported that it was his understanding Vajda had contacted Ferenc Nagy of Herndon, Va. (No date or further detail regarding contact was given).

T-1: [redacted] b7D

WFO rpt. 10/21/53
Re: Doctor Beno Sandor Vajda, was;
Dr. Benjamin Vajda
[redacted] (U) p.5 b3
(35) b7E

On 10/14/53 the Bureau furnished the US Civil Service Commission with all the pertinent data in the Bureau files pertaining to the loyalty of Michael Hogye, Assistant Editor, Library of Congress, Wash.,DC.

Hogye's connection with the Ferenc Nagy group and the Nagy political party and his association with Nagy was noted.

TOP SECRET

This data also contained a lengthy statement by Ferenc Nagy concerning background information on Hogye. Nagy said he had been acquainted with Hogye on a personal basis since 1942. He considered Hogye to be one of his most trusted friends, and recommended him very highly.

Memo from the Bureau to US
Civil Service Commission,
Wash., D.C., 10/14/53
Re: Michael Hogye, aka Mihaly Hogye,
Assistant Editor, Library of Congress,
Wash., DC
Security of Government Employees
140-746-6
(43)

On 5/15/56 T-4, reliability not given, advised that in December 1953 Ferenc Nagy attended [redacted] b7D

(T-4: [redacted]

The 12/19/53 issue of the "Az Ember" carried an article concerning the above mentioned reception. It reported that Nagy had made the trip to NY to greet "the two wonderful artists who chose freedom instead of dictatorship."

NY rpt. 5/17/56
Re: Nora Kovacs, was.
Istvan Rabovsky, was.
[redacted] (U) pp.3,7 b3 b7E
(37)

TOP SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

About December, 1953, [redacted] furnished information concerning Dr. Beno Vajda, who was then residing in Wash., D.C. b7D

[redacted] reported that he did not have personal aquaintance with Vajda until both of them came to the U.S. He became aware of Vajda's communist activities and from friends he learned that the Magyar Kozosseg, group of fanatical Hungarian nationalists, sent him into the CP. Two members of that group informed [redacted] they had given Vajda affidavits to that effect. (Information set out in detail in reference).

Richmond rpt. 12/24/53
Re: Doctor Beno Sandor Vajda, wa.,
Dr. Benjamin Vajda
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] b3
(35) b7E

On 12/21/53 [redacted] b7D
NYC, advised that he had never consciously worked with the Communists, and that when the US released $40,000,000 in gold to the Hungarian Government which had been frozen in the US during World War II, he had broken State Dept. rules by personally taking Ferenc Nagy to the Voice of America (VOA) to broadcast the news to Hungary in order to prevent Matyas Rakosci from claiming credit for the release of the gold. (No date given) [redacted] said he was [redacted] VOA at this time, and that he performed this act because he knew that if he requested permission from his superiors, they would have refused because of a wish to avoid offending Rakosci the Communist who subsequently seized power in Hungary and who was also in the delegation to the U.S.

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[redacted] stated that he had been discharged from VOA by the State Dept. for subversive reasons. b7D

NY memo, 1/7/54
Re: [redacted]

(X) (U) [redacted]
NY Division
(This memo encloses a NY rpt. of same date which contained the same information on Nagy)
100-350857-12
(21)

On 1/26/54 [redacted] furnished a copy of a memo entitled "News from the Foreign Language Press, Hungarian," for the period December 14-20, 1953. (X) (U) b3 b7E

This memo reported that a Christmas article by Ferenc Nagy appeared in "Szabadsag" (December 19), and Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" (December 22). (X) (U)

A summary of this article, which was set forth in this memo, noted that Nagy was impressed by the tremendous efforts made in this country for the celebration of Christmas. He stated, "It brings out in clear contrast the misery of life in Hungary today. Yet there is much light in Hungary, too. The light of resistance has shown clearly this year that it is not possible to suppress the Hungarian people. Particularly the Hungarian peasantry is regarded today in the free world as a rock which has withstood the attacks of Communist ideology. (X) (U)
....."

Serial described above
[redacted] b3 b7E
(32)

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Approximately the first of February 1954, Elizabeth Oldfield, [redacted] Silver Spring, Md., telephonically contacted the WFO and identified herself as a former newspaper reporter and said at that time she was doing free-lance writing and editing. She stated she had been approached by Mrs. Stephen Thursansky, who wished to obtain her, Oldfield's, services in "ghost writing" a book. b6 b7C

Oldfield furnished the following information concerning Mrs. Thursansky. She was a U.S. citizen, who had gone to Hungary after World War II and had remained there when the Communists took over the country. The book she wished to write would concern her life in Hungary and the difficulties she had in returning to the US. While in Hungary, Mrs. Thursansky learned that Ferenc Nagy, the former Premier of Hungary, "presently lives in Herndon, Virginia," and was actually a sympathizer with the Communists, even though he professed to be anti-Communist; Nagy visited Stalin in Moscow prior to Stalin's death and Stalin bestowed upon him a very expensive automobile; Stalin asked Nagy if he would become the Communist Premier of Hungary, which he declined stating he could be of more value elsewhere. Mrs. Thursansky also said that further evidence of Nagy's friendship with Stalin was the fact that he got his son out of Hungary and into the US in a very short time and with no difficulty. Mrs. Thursansky believed Nagy to be a Communist Agent operating in the U.S., and since articles by Nagy had appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post" she, Mrs. Thursansky, believed it was a Communist dominated and sponsored magazine.

The WFO noted that Mrs. Thuransky had previously furnished information to the Bureau and it was questionable whether or not she or her husband were reliable and/or [redacted] b3 b7E b6 b7C

WFO memo, 2/5/54
Re: Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Thuransky
[redacted] (U)
(36)

About March 1954 Ferenc Nagy, Herndon, Va., advised that Dr. Vena Sandor Vajda and his wife, Patricia Vajda, visited Walter Bastedo and his wife, Ethel Ruth, in Herndon for several weeks during the late summer or fall of 1953, prior to establishing residence in Wash., D.C. Nagy said Patricia Vajda was related to Mrs. Bastedo, but he did not know the specific relationship. He reported he had only met Mrs. Bastedo on three or four occasions, the main one being when she called on him to request any assistance he could give regarding obtaining a visa for Dr. Vajda. Nagy knew of no additional information concerning the Bastedos and their association with the Vajdas. (no further details were given).

WFO memo, 3/29/54
Re: Ethel Ruth Bastedo, nee Sharp, aka Mrs. Ethel R. Brand, Mrs. Walter Bastedo, Mrs. Royden E. Brand
Applicant, U.S. Civil Service Commission
Wash., D.C.
Security of Government Employees
140-2888-7
(43)

The 4/3/54 issue of the "Az Ember" contained an article entitled "Ferenc Nagy Has Gone To Japan." A translated summary of this article reported, "Sunday noon Ferenc Nagy took off for San Francisco. He accepted the invitation of the Japanese Foreign Affairs Institute to present a series of twelve lectures in Japan's biggest cities. He will speak on the methods, power politics and false slogans of the Communists. He will be accompanied by Michael Hogye, member of the Peasant Federation, who will serve as his secretary.

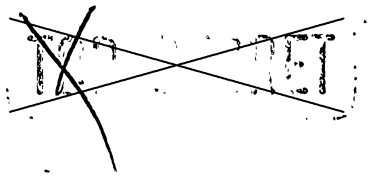
CALIFORNIA

It is doubted whether a better qualified man could have been found for this important assignment than Ferenc Nagy. In the war against Communism he may be considered one of the trump cards."

Above mentioned translations
enclosed with
NY memo, 7/12/54
Re: Hungact
IS-HU
100-5176-24
(17)

(U)

About June 1954 Ferenc Nagy of Herndon, Va., advised that he had known Zoltan Bay closely since 1946. Prior to 1946, he was acquainted with Bay by reputation only.



Nagy said that in the Fall of 1946 he selected Bay to be one of the leaders of the Prime Minister Council of Scientists, which was organized to establish and promote Atomic Energy in Hungary for civilian use. Nagy said he found Bay to be the most trusted anti-Communist scientist; had no personal knowledge of Bay's activities during period June, 1947 to September 1948, at which time Bay arrived in the US; Bay had adopted this country, and in his opinion, Bay and his wife were loyal and Bay was doing everything in his power to help combat Communism; he had the highest trust and confidence for Bay, and his wife, and would recommend Bay for a position of a confidential nature; he had no knowledge of Bay's former wife, and was not acquainted with his daughter and could not furnish any information concerning her activities.

In giving the above information Nagy also included some background information on himself.

WFO Rpt. 7/14/54
Re: Zoltan Bay, aka
AEA-A
116-394935-25, pp. 10,11,12
(42)

TOP SECRET

On 10/19/54 Confidential Source [redacted] b7D
[redacted] NYC, advised of the formation of the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN) on September 20 and 21, 1954 under the sponsorship of the NCFE. It was composed of committees representing the anti-Communist elements of the so-called "Iron Curtain" countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. The aims of the ACEN were to speak for the peoples of the Soviet dominated countries before the world; to remain united in the service of the dignity of man's basic human rights, national independence and freedom; to promote a united Europe; to defend against the destruction of Christian and all other civilizations threatened by the spread of International Communism, and to promote a lasting peace based on freedom, democracy, justice, and decency. (U)

[redacted] made available seven documents pertaining to the ACEN, which included a photostatic copy of a list of delegates to the ACEN. The name of Ferenc Nagy appeared on this list under the heading "International Peasant Union." b7D

Copies of above mentioned documents enclosed with NY memo, 10/25/54
Re: Assembly of Captive European Nations.

[redacted] encl. p.1 b3
(36) b7E

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On 9/3/54 Francis J. McGlynn, Philatelic Dealer, 1420 New York Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C., advised that Jeno Cseplo, one of his customers, had identified himself as being the former Secretary to Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy, and was a political exile from Hungary. Cseplo asked McGlynn to allow him to use his name and address as a mail drop in order that he might hear from his relatives in Hungary. McGlynn furnished a letter he received from Cseplo's relatives in Hungary, which did not appear to be of interest to the Bureau.

On 9/22/54 George E.K. Borsky, executive Secretary of the Hungarian Reformed Federation, Wash., D.C., advised that Cseplo had been a tenant on Nagy's farm at Herndon, Va., for two or three years. Borsky said he knew little regarding Cseplo, however, he saw Cseplo in Wash., "two or three weeks ago" when Cseplo said he was trying to "go it alone" then.

WFO memo, 9/28/54
Re: Jeno Cseplo
[IS-HU] (S) [redacted] (U)
(36) ✓

b3
b7E

On 10/27/54 [redacted] advised that the Hungarian Legation, Wash., D.C., had "recently" received, via mail, a list which was addressed to the former Premier of Hungary, Ferenc Nagy, and erroneously routed to the Legation. The letter contained an invitation to Nagy to attend a Lithuanian and other Baltic states joint reception "next month." The letter was given to Laszlo Hars at the Legation who advised that it would not be forwarded to Nagy. (S) (U)

b3
b7D
b7E

It was noted that if information furnished by [redacted] was subsequently utilized the informant should be protected. (S) (U)

(S) (U)

[WFO] memo, 11/2/54
Re: Hungarian Diplomatic Activities in the U.S.
[redacted]
(36) ✓

(S) (U)

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On December 3 and December 6-1954 Dr. Beno Vajda furnished various information including background data on himself and his activities before and after entering the US as a non-quota immigrant on 7/23/53 at Miami, Florida.

Vajda arrived in Cuba on 2/1/49. He said that while in Cuba he joined the Hungarian Peasant Federation, which he said was organized under the leadership of Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, then residing in Herndon, Va.

WFO Rpt. 12/13/54
Re: Dr. Ben o Sandor Vajda, wa.
[redacted] (C) (U)
[redacted] p.13 b3
(35) b7E

In connection with the activities of and the contacts made by [redacted] b7D
[redacted] in the U.S. and possibly Canada, during his visits to NYC from 4/1/55 to 9/1/55, the NY Field Office furnished the following information. (C) (U)

On 7/25/55 [redacted] (not identified) advised that he had been contacted by [redacted] during the latter part of May, 1955. [redacted] presented a letter from [redacted] mother imploring him to return to Hungary. (C) (U)

[redacted] also advised that he had made this information available to former Hungarian Minister Ferenc Nagy and one or two friends in Washington. He was told to make this information known to the NCFE and, upon speaking with a high official of NCFE, he was told not to mention this matter to anyone else. Therefore, [redacted] stated, he was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said he would recontact the officials of NCFE to determine whether any further information of this type should be furnished to the Bureau. (C)(U) b3 b7E b7D

NY rpt., 10/25/55 and
NY Memo. 10/25/55
Re: [redacted] (C)(U)
(10)

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] of Hungarian Peasant Party, advised that he had been contacted during the period 5/26/55 and 12/15/55 by [redacted] of the Hungarian Legation, Wash., D.C., who attempted to influence him to return to Hungary pursuant to amnesty proclamation. (C)(U)

On 11/17/55 [redacted] advised that about the latter part of June or first part of July 1955, he was contacted by [redacted] at which time, [redacted] said he would appreciate information about political exiles in the U.S. In this connection [redacted] specifically mentioned Ferenc Nagy. Referring to the book by Nagy (title not given), [redacted] stated that Nagy had indulged in lies about the Hungarian regime and had failed to make any constructive contributions by his efforts. (C)(U)

Again on 7/30/55 [redacted] about Hungarian political exiles and indicated interest in the activities of Nagy. (U) b7D

A review of the INS files of NYC, revealed that [redacted] arrived in the U.S. on 4/11/50, as a visitor, from Paris, France. He arrived at NYC aboard the "Queen Elizabeth," destined to Ferenc Nagy, P.O. Box 305, Herndon, Va. According to these files, [redacted] left the Netherlands in September 1948 and went to France, where he entered a refugee camp at Jory-sur-Morin. He undertook the trip to France at the suggestion of Ferenc Nagy. He remained in the camp until 3/23/49. [redacted] was financially supported by Nagy for a time after he arrived in the U.S. [redacted] desired to establish permanent residence in the U.S. The INS file contained a letter, dated 5/19/52, from Nagy, in which he furnished information regarding [redacted] and vouched for the good moral character and political reliability of [redacted]

NY rpt. 3/1/56
Re: [redacted] (U)
[redacted] pp. 5,8,15,16,17
(37) ✓
SI as pars. 1 and 2 above
[redacted] b3 b7E
(36) ✓

b7D

This reference is a copy of a [redacted] Information Report, dated 10/3/55, on the subject of views on Coexistence and Redefection in Hungary. This information was acquired in early August 1955 in Paris, France. (U)

~~TS~~

This report advised that, according to an official in the Hungarian Diplomatic Service, the Hungarian Government was interested in the return of only the most important exiles. Those named included Ferenc Nagy. (~~S~~)(U)

Source evaluated as fairly reliable, reliability of person from whom information was obtained was listed as unknown, and information was evaluated as possibly true. (~~S~~)(U)

[redacted] (36) (~~S~~)(U)

b3
b7E

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~~No Form/No Dissemination Abroad~~
~~Limited/Background Use Only~~

On 1/4/56 Dr. Ferenc Vandor advised SA's of the Newark Field Office, in the presence of Reverend Gasper, who acted as an interpreter, that he was a member of the HNC in NYC from 1950 to 1955. He said he resigned because he disagreed with theories of Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, and other associatess of the Hungarian Council.

Vandor furnished 3 documents written by him in the Hungarian language, which set forth information regarding the HNC and why he resigned from it in 1955.

Brief summary translations of these documents revealed that in a letter dated June, 1954, and a letter dated 1/1/55, Vandor attacked Ferenc Nagy and his activities in the HNC.

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Vandor said, among other things that some of Nagy's actions had reflected disloyalty to the Hungarian people. He called Nagy a "worthless liar."

It was noted that the 3 documents in the Hungarian language were returned to the Newark Office by letter dated 2/1/56.

The brief summary translations of these 3 documents mentioned above were enclosed with this reference.

Newark Memo 1/11/56
Re: Dr. Ferenc Vandor, wa.
IS-HU (U)
100-385543-45
(46)

On 1/18/56 [redacted] a confidential source of the WFO, advised that Elizabeth Vasvary, wife of Edmund Vasvary, auditor of the Hungarian Reformed Federation, Wash., D.C., was then employed as the secretary of Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary. [redacted] noted that in this capacity Mrs. Vasvary had access to information concerning Nagy and the IPU with which Nagy was affiliated. [redacted] said it was alleged that Nagy had made trips to Europe, India, and Japan during the last year for the Dept. of State, and Nagy's reports in this regard would be available to Mrs. Vasvary. (U) b7D

TOP SECRET

[redacted] further advised that he had learned that Mr. Vasvary had been a former school mate and personal friend of the former Hungarian Minister to the U.S., Andrew Sik. [redacted] did not know whether Vasvary would be sympathetic to the "present" Hungarian regime or disloyal to the US or the Hungarian Reformed Federation, however, he just wished to point out this association. (U) b7D

[redacted] also reported that he believed Sandor Kalossay, Elizabeth Vasvary's brother, who had served two terms in the Ohio penitentiary, would do anything for money. (U)

On 1/3/56 Robert McKisson, Hungarian Desk, US Dept. of State, Wash., D.C., when asked if he knew of any employment of Ferenc Nagy by the Dept. of State, stated that he frequently talked with Nagy and had considerable respect for Nagy and his opinions. He said Nagy visited Japan during 1955, at the instigation of the "Free Asia Committee" and the Japanese Institution for Foreign Affairs. He believed Nagy had visited Europe and India in the last year, however, he felt positive that none of the trips were promoted by or paid for by the State Dept. He stated Nagy had been most cooperative in that he had visited the State Dept. prior to and after all these trips, to furnish any pertinent observations. (U)

(U)
[WFO] Memo 2/6/56
Re: Hungarian Activities in the US
IS-R and HU
100-89254-232
(17)

This reference is an unidentified memo dated 9/25/56, on the subject of George Mantello, and the following was noted thereon, "[redacted]" This memo contained the following pencil notation, "Rec. from [redacted] 9/27/56[redacted]" (S)(U) b7D

According to this memo, Mantello, of Basel, Switzerland, contacted the NY law firm of Kramer, Marx, Greenlee, Backus and MacMahon. Mantello represented a firm in Basel called Permindex, Ltd., and wanted to have a contract drawn between Permindex and Andrews Bartlett and Co., Ltd., Cleveland, Ohio, which was engaged in the business of exposition management and production, appointing the Bartlett firm the sole U.S. representative of Permindex Ltd., of Basel to rent space to U.S. firms in the International Trade Fair building which was being set up in Basel, The building had not been erected at this time. (S)(U)

This document reported that while in the U.S. (no dates given), Mantello had been in contact with Ferenc Nagy, a former Hungarian Prime Minister, and a resident of Washington. Nagy was interested in furthering Mantello's business in the U.S. Henry Marx, of the above mentioned law firm, stated that he had checked with one of his Hungarian contacts on Nagy and had been told that he was a "peasant" who was simple and honest, and probably not too familiar with the nature of Mantello's business. (S)(U)

[redacted] (34) (S)(U) b3 b7E

"~~SECRET~~"

On 11/29/56 the Legat, Paris, France forwarded to the Bureau one copy of Foreign Service Dispatch No. 832 dated 11/26/56 from the American Embassy, Paris, to the Department of State, Wash., D.C. This dispatch advised that the fifth IPU Congress was held at the Grand Hotel in Paris October 28th to the 30th, 1956 in an atmosphere of tension over events in Hungary. At the opening session a Special Resolution was was unanimously adopted calling on the Security Council of the United Nations to send a special commission to Hungary in order to end hostilities and for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Hungarian soil.

This dispatch enclosed 14 documents regarding the Congress, which were made available by the International Peasant Party. The documents included, "Copy of speech by Ferenc Nagy, Vice President of the International Peasant Union."

This dispatch was stamped "Unclassified."

The Legal Attache advised that only one copy of the enclosures mentioned in the dispatch were obtained. These had been sent to Washington, where they were available for review if desired.

Copy of above mentioned dispatch
enclosed with
Memo from Legat, Paris, 11/29/56
Re: Fifth International Peasant
Congress, Information Concerning
[redacted] b3 b7E
(28)

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The references set forth below are newspaper articles and other publications concerning Ferenc Nagy; the fall of Nagy's government in Hungary in 1947; the taking over by the Communists and his activities since he fled to this country. If the statement under the heading of subject matter is in quotes, it is the exact heading of the article; otherwise, it has been paraphrased to give the general contents of the article.

File #	SSp#	Paper or other Publication	Date	Subject Matter or Headline
100-3-81-A	(13)	"Daily Worker"	6/16/47	"Soviet Rejects British Protest On Hungary"
[100-32820-A] (X) (U)	(18)	"New York Times"	8/29/47	"Leader of Croats Assails Tito Rule"
100-3-70-A	(12)	"Washington Evening Star"	2/2/48	"Standley, Nagy called in Red Curb Hearings"
100-3-70-A	(12)	"Daily Worker"	2/3/48	"'Un-Americans' To Open Hearing On Anti-Red Bills" (Ferenc Nagy scheduled as witness)
100-3-70-A	(13)	"Washington Post"	2/7/48	"Waldman Has Plan to Learn Stand on Reds" (Nagy testified before HCUA 2/6/48)
100-3-70-A	(not indexed)	"Washington Evening Star	2/7/48	"Nixon Favors Forcing Candidates' Views on Communist Support" (Nagy testified before HCUA 2/6/48)

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[100-89-A] (C) (U)	(14)	"New York News"	9/16/49	"Reds Plot Tito Attack: Peyer" (Karol Peyer, former Hungarian cabinet minister came to US to join HNC, headed by Nagy)
[100-89-A] (C) (U)	(14)	"Washington Post"	11/11/49	"Iron Curtain Exiles Join NCCJ Panel" (Nagy spoke before National Conference of Christians and Jews)
[61-16-A] (C) (U)	(2)	"Washington Post"	11/16/47	"2 New Internationales in Century-Old 'war'" (Nagy, a leader of the "Peasants 'Internationale" Photo of Nagy)
77-31810-A	(11)	"Washington News"	9/27/47	Article by Evelyn Peyton Gordon in which she stated "Speaking of Hungarians, I hear that exiled Premier Ferenc Nagy is looking for a country estate preferably in Virginia. My goodness, these European exiles are choosey!"

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[redacted]	(X) (U) (5)	"New York Times"	8/24/54	"Five Testify Reds Oppress Hungary" (Nagy a witness before a Congressional inquiry on 8/23/54)
[redacted]	(X) (U) (5)	"Daily Worker"	5/31/47	"Hungary Premier Quits Under Fire"
[redacted]	(X) (U) (5)	"Washington Post"	6/7/47	Matyas Rakosi, virtual dictator of Hungary and leader of the CP in Hungary, accompanied Ferenc Nagy to Wash., DC about June 1946 on a mission in which the US restored to Hungary gold which Germany had stolen from her.
[redacted]	(X) (U) (5)	"World Report" p. 10	6/24/47	"Rock Road Confronts Hungarian Communists." (Photo of Nagy)
[redacted]	(X) (U) (5)	"Daily Worker"	7/5/47	"Matthis Rakosis Reply." (Rakosi discussed the resignation of Nagy)

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TOP SECRET

[redacted]	(U) (4)	"Washington Evening Star"	3/14/46	"Reds in Hungary Will Continue To Censor 'Untrue' Dispatches." (Article reported Nagy announced a political agreement which gave in to Communist-sponsored demands for nationalization of industries)
[redacted]	(U) (4)	"New York Times"	6/13/46	"Hungarians Back Byrnes On Danube." (Nagy, in Washington, DC, looks to talks here to clarify river control problem. Nagy asked return of Nazi loot.
61-7582-A	(45)	"PM Daily"	2/7/48	"Free Advice For Wallace From Law Group." (Nagy testified, before HCUA, that exposure was a powerful weapon against Communists)
94-8-66-A	(11)	"Washington Times Herald"	11/12/47	"Capital Circus." (Editorial by Frank Holeman in which he discussed, among other things, the short time it took Nagy to reach NYC after fleeing Budapest, Hungary)

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TOP SECRET

100-348490-A	(21)	"New York Sun"	5/6/49	"Exiles Pledge Anti-Red Fight." (Nagy was one of the speakers at a rally held at Carnegie Hall on 5/5/49)
100-330514-A	(20)	"Daily Worker"	11/5/47	"British Mum on Mikolajczyk 'Escape'" (Stanislaw Mikolajczyk out of Poland)
100-330514-A	(20)	"Washington Evening Star"	11/4/47	"Mikolajczyk Expects Poland To Launch Attack on Catholics." Sub-heading "Polish Peasant. Leader to Leave London Soon to Visit Friends in United States." (Nagy, member of Central Committee of the IPU.)
100-330514-A	(20)	"Washington Times Herald"	1/18/48	"Mikolajczyk's Career Likened To Poland Story" (Mikolajczyk. would meet on 1/19/48, in Wash. DC, with other foreign leaders, also in exile, including Nagy, to formulate an appeal to the United Nations.)

TOP SECRET

[100-89-35-A]	(U) (16)	"New York Times"	8/21/49	"Hungary's Holiday Observed By Mass." (Ferenc Nagy attended the mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral in NYC)
[redacted]	(U) (9)	"New York Times"	6/3/47	"US Stops Credits To Hungary Regime As Coup Is Studied." (Nagy's visit to Washington and his resignation as Premier was mentioned)
[redacted]	(U) (9)	"New York Times"	6/22/47	"Hungary Charges US Aid To Nagy, British Espionage"
[redacted]	(U) (6)	"New York Times"	7/8/46	"Purge in Hungary Ordered by Russia."
[redacted]	(29)	"New York Brooklyn Eagle"	1/16/48	"Nagy to Testify On Vajtha Charges." (Nagy had charged that Ferenc Vajtha, also a Hungarian refugee, was a top Nazi)
[redacted]	(29)	"New York Times"	1/16/48	"Nagy Calls Vajta Nazi."

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[redacted]	(29)	"Washington Post"	1/16/48	"Hungarian Named Nazi Chief."(Nagy identified Ferenc Vajtha as a prominent Nazi official in Hungary)
[redacted]	(28)	"Washington Daily News"	11/12/47	"Anti-Red Hungarian Leader Flies to DC to Plan Counter-Attack." (Zoltan Pfeiffer enroute to US Nagy would be one of the first persons he would see in US)
[redacted]	(29)	"Washington Post"	11/13/47	"Pfeiffer, Coming Here, Says Reds 'Have Dropped Mask.'"
[redacted]	(28)	"New York News"	11/27/47	Column entitled "Capital Circus" by Gus Tarry. Announced arrival in NY of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk from Poland Georgi M. Dimitrov, leader of the Central Committee of Exiled Leaders met frequently with Ferenc Nagy, and others.
[redacted]	(not listed on SS)	"Daily Worker"	11/27/47	"Admits Peasant Party Traitors Plot Terror Wave in Homelands" (Name spelled Ferenz Nagy)

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[redacted] (U)	(42)	"Washington Post"	2/26/48	"Reaction to Coup In Czechoslovakia." (Statement by Ferenc Nagy: "The fate of Czechoslovakia shows how indefensible the other nations were whose governments were unseated by Moscow. Czechoslovakia was the only middle European nation not occupied by Russian troops, and yet nothing could save her.")
[redacted] (U)	(37)	"Washington Post"	10/17/49	"Soviet Union Picks Pushkin To Guide East German State." (Gregori M. Pushkin, former Soviet Ambassador to Hungary, failed to lift a hand when the Communist forced the resignation of Premier Ferenc Nagy in May, 1947
[redacted] (U)	(38)	"Washington Star"	6/8/47	"Statesmen Fear Moscow May Control Italy Next" (The recent Soviet coup in Hungary where the "pink" government of Ferenc Nagy was unceremoniously replaced overnight by one with a thoroughly "red" complexion, (cont.)

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				has once more demonstrated that the USSR is not bothered with any international commitments or with the desires of the country they wish to take over.)
[redacted] (U)	(37)	"Washington Times Herald"	11/29/47	"Peasant Leaders Fight Commies From DC. HQ"
[redacted]	(28)	"New York Times"	4/23/48	"Inquiry on Russia Sought by Exiles." (Nagy, member of IPU which asked the United Nations to investigate Soviet aggression in 6 nations. Nagy offered to testify before UN Security Council
[redacted]	(28)	"New York Times"	4/29/48	"4 Exiled Leaders Due at Anti-Red Parade." (Nagy as member of IPU, would review the Anti-Communist May Day parade on 5th Ave., NYC)

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TOP SECRET

[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Washington Daily News	3/25/46	"Russia's Iron Curtain" (Political situation in Hungary)
[redacted]	(1) (U)	"PM Daily"	5/30/47	"Communist Coup Reported in Hungary." (Political situation in Hungary. contained photo of Nagy).
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Washington Star"	6/1/47	"US Is Expected to Condemn Russia's 'Grab' of Hungary"
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Daily Worker"	6/2/47	"Hungary Premier Asks Friendship with Big 3." (Nagy was replaced as Premier by Janoes Dinnyes)
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Washington Post"	6/2/47	"Varga, no. 2 Man to Nagy, Flees Hungary and Arrest."
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"New York Times"	6/6/47	"US Called Enemy by Reds In Rallies All Over Hungary" (Political situation in Hungary after coup)

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TOP SECRET

NO SECRET

[redacted]	(Not indexed) (U)	"New York Times"	6/6/47	"Yalta Breach Seen; US Note Prods Russia--A Terrible Situation, the President Says."
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Daily Worker"	6/7/47	Regarding coup in Hungary.
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Daily Worker"	6/7/47	"Inside Story of: The Fascist Plot in Hungary"
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"The Worker"	6/8/47	"How Hungary Licked Its Plotters and Checkmated Truman Doctrine."
[redacted]	(41) (U)	(Sunday) "Washington Star"	6/8/47	"Reds Prematurely Announced Resignation, Nagy charges"
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Washington Post"	6/11/47	"Reds Links Acheson To 'Plot' by Nagy." Another article in this issue was entitled: "US Explodes Acheson-Nagy Tieup Charge."
[redacted]	(41) (U)	"Washington Post"	6/13/47	"Parliament Thrown Into Uproar by Attack on All Who Had Hand in Crisis" (Political situation in Hungary after coup).

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NO SECRET

[redacted]	(U) (41)	"Washington Star"	6/14/47	"Nagy calls Coup By Reds Result of US Policy" (Nagy due to arrive in NY about 7:30 PM 6/14/47)
[redacted]	(U) (41)	"New York Times"	6/16/47	"Hungary Said To Set Trial Of Nagy to Proclaim Guilt." (Regarding trial of Nagy in Absentia)
[redacted]	(U) (42)	"Washington Post"	6/23/47	"1945 Hapsburg 'Plot' Revealed." (Regarding coup in Hungary)
[redacted]	(U) (42)	"New York Herald Tribune"	12/9/48	"Smuggled Letter Hints Primate Expects Hungary to Silence Him." (The last pastorial letter of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, in which he implied that he expected "to be silenced soon," was published in the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" whose staff writers included former Premier Ferenc Nagy).

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[redacted]	(X)(U) (42)	"Washington Evening Star"	1/1/49	"Regime in Hungary Revamped to Conform To Red Bloc States."
[redacted]	(42) (X)(U)	"New York World Telegram"	9/15/49	Ferenc Nagy and a party of members of the HNC in exile met Charles Peyer, former Hungarian Cabinet Minister when he arrived in NY aboard the French liner DeGrasse on 9/14/49.
Subv. Publ. "Plain Talk" p.26	(2)		October, 1948	Prime minister Ferenc Nagy forced to resign by the Communists for having allegedly conspired to overthrow his own government.
Subv. Publ. "Slavs"	(45)		March, 1948	Ference Nagy, one of the leaders of the so-called "Union of Agrarian Parties of Europe"

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The following references are copies of memos, received from [redacted] entitled "Notes From The Foreign Language Press"-Hungarian." The purpose of these notes was to summarize the most important items in the US foreign-language press. (U)

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These notes contained information regarding political exiles, including Ferenc Nagy. This information concerned his activities in connection with the Hungarian National Council; Hungarian Peasant Federation; International Peasant Union; Central East European Committee; the American Hungarian Federation; and other Hungarian matters, including articles written by him for Hungarian papers. (U)

File #	SSp#	Date	Security Classification
[redacted] p.2	(46)	April 1-7, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 1,2	(30)	April 8-14, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] p.1	(30)	April 29-May 5, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] p.5	(30)	May 27-June 2, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] p.2	(30)	June 10-16, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 7,8	(30)	June 24-July 7, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] p.6	(30)	August 12-September 1, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] p.3	(30)	September 9-15, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 1,2,3,4	(30)	October 7-13, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"

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(U)

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[redacted] p.5	(30)	December 23-29, 1950	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 1,11,12	(30)	April 14-20, 1951	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 5,8	(30)	May 12-18, 1951	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 1,2,10	(31)	May 26-June 2, 1951	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 2,3,4,7,8, 10,11,14	(31)	June 23-29, 1951	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 3,10,11,12	(31)	July 14-20, 1951	"~~Restricted~~"
[redacted] pp. 1,4,5,7	(31)	July 5-11, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] pp 2,4	(31)	August 16-29, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] pp. 1,2,3,5	(31)	August 30-September 5, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] pp 6,9	(31)	September 13-19, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] pp. 3,4,5,18	(31)	September 27-October 3, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] p. 11	(31)	October 4-10, 1952	(Not given)
[redacted] p.4	(32)	May 18-24, 1953	(Not given)

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[redacted] pp.1,10	(32)	May 25-June 7, 1953	(Not given)
[redacted] pp. 2,6,7,8	(32)	June 8-21, 1953	(Not given)
[redacted] pp. 1,7,8	(32)	June 22-July 12, 1953	(Not given)

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(U)

TOP SECRET

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references contain information which is set forth in the corresponding serial of the main file 62-83632 on Ferenc Nagy.

File #	SSp.#	MF Serial
100-89-154 (X) (U)	(13)	Not recorded serial dated 4/19/50 underneath serial 20
100-354194-2082 (X) (U)	(25)	Not recorded serials dated 4/28/55 and 4/12/55, underneath serial 22
100-385543-7	(26)	Not recorded serial dated 6/24/52, underneath serial 20
100-394784-7	(27)	Not recorded serial dated 3/18/53 underneath serial 20
[redacted] (X) (U)	(37)	Not recorded serial dated 9/18/56, above [redacted]
[redacted] (X) (U)	(39)	6
[redacted] (X) (U)	(39)	6X

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TOP SECRET

The following references which have not been reviewed contain information which has been placed under restricted dissemination.

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(~~C~~)(U) ~~TOP SECRET~~

b3
b7E

The following references which were found to be identical with the subject contain information of a confidential nature:

(48)
(9)
(9)

(~~C~~)(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1443537-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 1
Page 46 ~ b3; b7D; b7E;

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X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
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Ferenc D. Nagy 44

Ferenc Geza Nagy 44

Ferency Seprodi Nagy 44

Ference Nagy 45-47

Ferency Nagy 48-49

Ferene Nagy 50

Ferenec Nagy 50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. BY [redacted]

DECLASS. ON

b6
b7C

4/6/83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-83632-26

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Written by
A Reynolds
11/27/56

CONFIDENTIAL

457 Refs

ALL REF.
SEARCHED
11/28/56.

Nagy, Ferenc

HF 62-83632

(b) (U)

VR [98-42570 February 1955 Paris, France,

(b) (U)

[redacted] PM Daily 5/30/47 photo

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b7E

IR 39-0-56705 summ 5/55 Ferenc Nagy
Born 2-9-15
Bicse, Hungary

CONFIDENTIAL

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NF 62-83632-24 Summ 5/56

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ✓ Subv. Publ. "Plain Talk" 10/48 [redacted]

VR 39-0-38114X Ferenc Nagy, Jr. Born [redacted] Bicske, Hungary b6 b7C

I ✓ ~~40-0-4121~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~40-83733-1~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~40-84192-1~~ DESTROY

I ✓ Do not destroy [61-16-A] (C) (U) Wash Post 11-16-47 Photo

I ✓ ~~61-6361-54~~ p28, 29, 36, 37, 38 DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7E

SI [redacted] ~~61-7341-6-53 p10~~ ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ~~61-7582-1505 ep 1d~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~62-39749-1102X p3, 6~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~[62-77435-10]~~ (~~C~~) (U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~[62-80518-242X]~~ (~~C~~) (U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~62-82351-4~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~8~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~62-84468-16~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~17~~ ~~DESTROY~~ (4)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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(4)

I SI 62-84468-16(3)

~~62-84468-20~~ DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ~~62-88217-21 pt #2 end p 927~~ DESTROY

NR 62-88483-1173 Arrived on the General Hershey at port of NY on or about 8-16-50. Destination, 205 20 Monroe St., Detroit, Mich.

NR ~~-1882 ep 306 Bnr. 6-23-29 Congr. Bridges, Hearings~~

I ~~62-90001-77 ep 42~~ DESTROY (4)

I ~~-462 p82, 52, 71, 72, 75~~ DESTROY

I [redacted] (c)(U) ~~Wash. Even. Star 3/14/46~~ DESTROY

I ~~-NY Times 6/13/46~~ DESTROY

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I [redacted] (c)(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

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I [redacted] p. 28] (c)(U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I [redacted] (c)(U) ~~DESTROY~~ b3 b7E

Destroy old card, make new card on Rv-idk, indexing on p. 16 of enclosure [redacted] Ferenc Nagy, Jr.] (c)(U) ~~DESTROY~~ old card

I [redacted] (c)(U) DESTROY

I [redacted] (c)(U) DESTROY

VR [redacted] 1952 assistant at Physical Chemistry Institute of the Eoetvoes Lorand University in Hungary. Born approx. 1929. Group trustee of the CP. Working on Dr. degree in 1952

I [redacted] (c)(U) DW 5/31/47 DESTROY b3 b7E

I ~~Wash. Post 6/7/47~~ DESTROY

I ~~World Rpt 6/24/47~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~DW 7-5-47~~ DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

[redacted] (U) N.Y. Times 8/24/54 DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] (U) DESTROY

[redacted] (U) DESTROY

[redacted] (U) N.Y. Times 7/8/46 ~~DESTROY~~

~~Restricted dissemination~~ [redacted] (U)

b3
b7E

~~Restricted dissemination~~ [redacted] (U)

~~Restricted dissemination~~ [redacted] (U)

~~Restricted dissemination~~ [redacted] (U)

~~Restricted dissemination~~ [redacted] (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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b7E

[redacted] (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Withdrawn Document

[redacted] (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] (U)

[redacted] (U)

[redacted] (U)

[redacted] (U)

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b7E

I [redacted] (U) DESTROY

I [redacted] (U) DESTROY

I [redacted] (U) DESTROY

I [redacted] ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I [redacted] DESTROY

SI 00-357509-8(21) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ~~-26~~ DESTROY

I ~~-44~~ DESTROY

I [redacted] (C)(U) ~~N.Y. Times 6/3/47~~ DESTROY

I ~~-N.Y. Times 6/22/47~~ DESTROY

b3
b7E

I [redacted] (C)(U) DESTROY

I [redacted] (C)(U) ~~(to individual file)~~ DESTROY

~~(to general file)~~

I [redacted] (C)(U) ~~Honolulu Magazine, Hawaii, June 1947~~ DESTROY old card

Pull file & fit as strength indexing on p. 2 of enclosure.

I [redacted] ~~ep 47~~ (C)(U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I ✓ [redacted] (c)(U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SI 100-212169-663 p46(19)

I ✓ [redacted] DESTROY

I ✓ [redacted] (c)(U) DESTROY

[redacted] (c)(U) DESTROY

b3
b7E

I ✓ [redacted] p 10 (c)(U) DESTROY

Destroy old card, make new card. [redacted] p 7, 25 (c)(U) new card: Ferenc Nagy (The Young Jet) p. 26 DESTROY old card

I ✓ [redacted] p 5, 6 DESTROY

Destroy old card, make new card. [redacted] (c)(U) (2 cards) add to card on Fr: Ferenc Nagy, Jr., 3rd Secretary to Hungarian Legation, Wash, D.C. DESTROY old card on S

(c)(U)

I ✓ [redacted] (c)(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I [redacted] ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I [redacted] (U) ~~DESTROY~~

I [redacted] (U) ~~DESTROY~~ b3 b7E

I [redacted] (U) ~~DESTROY~~

I [redacted] p31 (U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~77-31810-A-Wash News 9/27/47~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~77-63190-Sep 2, 16b, 20b~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ~~94-8-66-A-Wash Times-Herald 11/12/47~~ ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I ✓ [redacted] ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ✓ [redacted] ~~DESTROY~~

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b7E

I ✓ [redacted] ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [redacted] ~~DESTROY~~

NI [98-40138-13] (U) [1950 screened by USAREUR investigator as a prospective immigrant] (U)

SI 61-7582-1505 (3)

I ✓ ~~100-3-70-323~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~100-3-70-H-Wash Evening Star 2/2/48~~ ~~DESTROY~~

SI

I ✓ ~~- Wash Star 2/2/48~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~- DW 2/3/48~~ ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I ✓ ~~100-3-70-A-Wash Post 2/7/48~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~100-3-74-1414 ep 112~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~100-3-81-A-DW 6/16/47~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[100-66-76 x ep 22]~~ (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[100-89-70]~~ (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [SI Ing 62-83632 Not Recorded serial underneath serial 20 ~~754 dated 4-19-50~~] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[-159]~~ (C)(U) ~~(2 cards)~~ DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[-162]~~ (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[-789]~~ (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ ~~[-242]~~ (C)(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

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I ✓ [100-89-257 ep 5,6,9,10,11,16] (C) (U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ✓ [100-89-A] (C) (U) NY Times 9/16/49 DESTROY

I ✓ Wash Post 11/11/49 DESTROY

I ✓ [100-89-11-20] (C) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [23 ep 16] (C) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [25 ep 4,5,6,13,32,34] (C) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [28 ep 14,43,46,69,70] (C) (U) DESTROY

T ✓ [28 ep 46] (C) (U) DESTROY

T ✓ [28 ep 69] (C) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [53] (C) (U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I ✓ [100-89-12-10] (C)(U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ✓ [100-89-31-5] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

NR [100-89-35-5] (C)(U) 1942 Reverend Ferenc Nagy, 1118 N. Darr Avenue, Farrell, Pa.

I ✓ [-35X1] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-42] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-55] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-60] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-75] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-82p3] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-108] (C)(U) DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I ✓ [100-89-55-14] (C)(U) N.Y. Times 8/21/49 DESTROY

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I ✓ [100-89-54-10] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-11X1p5] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-11X1p9] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-12] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-15] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-45X1] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-53X] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-96] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-100X] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-105] (C)(U) DESTROY

CONFIDENTIAL

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I ✓ [100-89-54-106] (C)(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-111] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-118] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-120] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-122] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-174 ep 5, 67, 62, 63, 64] ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-174 ep 62] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-181] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-232] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ 100-5029-9 ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ 100-5176-24 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~DESTROY~~

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I ✓ [100-7660-4346 p57] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-4349] (X) (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DESTROY

I ✓ [-4387] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-4433 p30] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-4470 p 63] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ 100-15252-41 ep 795, 114, 115, 116, 654 DESTROY

I ✓ [100-32820-422] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-485] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-1142 p25] (X) (U) DESTROY

I ✓ [100-32820-A] (X) (U) N.Y. Times 8/29/47 DESTROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I ✓ 100-49207-13 DESTROY

I ✓ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 100-98594-56 DESTROY

I ✓ 100-143751-95 DESTROY

I ✓ Destroy old card, make new card on Peveren & Magy - see p. 4 for additional indexing ~~99~~ ~~DESTROY~~ old card

I ✓ ~~110 ep 13~~ DESTROY

I ✓ 100-154857-21 DESTROY

I ✓ 100-168563-2 DESTROY

I ✓ 100-178123-15 DESTROY

I ✓ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~100-212169 663 p 46~~ DESTROY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I ✓ ~~100-330514-A- Wash Evening Star 11/4/47~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~-DW 11/5/47~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~-Washington Times Herald 1/18/48~~ ~~DESTROY~~

VI [100-339003-1 1944 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil] (X)(U)

I ✓ ~~[100-342609-289]~~ (X)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~100-346220-16~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~100-349169-4~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~[100-349398-121]~~ (X)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-139] (X)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I ✓ ~~100-348490-A-NY Sum 5/6/49~~ ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I ✓ ~~[100-350264-831 ep 13]~~ (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~100-350857-12~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~100-351013-13~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~22 ep 1, 3, 4~~ ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~[100-351153-3]~~ (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~[100-351509-6]~~ (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~[-8]~~ (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ ~~[100-352480-2]~~ (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I ✓ [100-352480-3] (C)(U) DESTROY

[ST 100-352480-2(21) 5p2] (C)(U) DESTROY

CONFIDENTIAL

I ✓ [100-352596-1] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [100-353813-45X] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ 100-353887-X DESTROY

I ✓ [100-354030-65p6] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [100-354194-7] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-29] (C)(U) DESTROY

I ✓ [-33] (C)(U) DESTROY

CONFIDENTIAL

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I ✓ [100-354194-55p1] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-91] (C)(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~DESTROY~~

Destroy old card, make new card - pull file & do additional indexing p. 69

✓ [-95 p 69] Ferenc Nagy, Jr. (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~ old card

I ✓ [-150] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-179] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

VR [-182 ep 11] (C)(U) June, 1948 Ferenc Nagy, Jr.

I ✓ [-280 p 4] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-288] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

I ✓ [-335 p 30] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

[redacted] ✓ [-380] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~ b3 b7E

S [100-354194-280(23)] ✓ [-387] (C)(U) ~~DESTROY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IR [100-354194-] 415 part #1 ep 312 (B 6/23/05) (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 6/26/00)

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 10/16/74)

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 7/2/94)

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 1898) [illegible]

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 11/20/01)

NI -415 pt 1 ep 312 (Birthday not given)

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 1909)

VR -415 pt 1 ep 312 (B 9-18-87)

IR -415 pt #2 ep 554 [illegible]

E ✓ [-517] (U) ~~DESTROY~~

E ✓ [-581] (U) ~~DESTROY~~

E ✓ [-680] (U) ~~DESTROY~~

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VI [redacted] July 8, 1948. Assistant Director in the International Law Section of the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Budapest, Hungary. See add. indexing p. 2 (C) (U)

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Nagy, Ference

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Nagy, Ferenc

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NR 61-7341-10-54 Born 1885 member of IWO Lodge #1132 at Dayton, Ohio

NR 62-88483-1882 ep306 Born 1873-1 Sept Budapest, Hungary

VI [redacted] Born approximately 1895 p 4 1922 address: Mezsicsi ut 3 I Budapest, Hungary. (U)

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POLITICAL 'RELIEF' FOR EUROPE URGED

Hungarian Ex-Premier Tells House Group U. S. Must Help Free Soviet Satellites

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Feb 6—Ferenc Nagy, exiled former premier of Hungary, told Congress today that to halt imperialist communism, this country would need to give Western Europe political support along with the economic assistance of the Marshall Plan.

Even this "large-scale sacrifice on the part of the United States," he said, would "serve to contain Communist imperialism" only if it were quickly extended to the eight Eastern European countries that must be liberated from Russia

M. Nagy, accompanied by L C Tihany, a State Department official who acted as his interpreter, testified before a house subcommittee on un-American activities in its search for a formula to check communism in this country

While declining because of his status as a visitor to make recommendations on the domestic aspects of this matter, M Nagy said that any action taken by Congress to assure the internal security of the United States would "have a reassuring effect on Democrats everywhere"

That was so, he added, because it was recognized that the eastern European countries, such as his own could hope for no liberation in the future if the United States did not maintain its strength and freedom of action

"I am firmly convinced," M Nagy asserted, "that if the democratic countries fail to take adequate safeguards, communism will sooner or later engulf the whole world

Richberg, Waldman Testify

Two other witnesses, Donald R Richberg, a high adviser in the first New Deal of Franklin D Roosevelt, and Louis Waldman, a veteran labor lawyer, advised the subcommittee that the best way to attack domestic communism would be to bring it under the fullest possible publicity

They opposed any attempt to "outlaw" communism, holding that this would do more harm than good, apart from the question of possible violation of civil liberties

Mr Waldman urged, however, that candidates for federal office who got the nomination or the endorsement of totalitarian parties should be required to repudiate such aid in writing, or to take oath to support the principles of such backers

A party or group could be designated as totalitarian under his

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
Date 2-7-5
Page 6

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Ex-Premier of Hungary Lives Life of Refugee in Herndon

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Staff Writer

He began life, he likes to say, as a "village boy", son of a Hungarian peasant in the provincial town of Bisse, and as a subject of the last emperor of Austria-Hungary, Franz Joseph

Today, 73 years later, he lives in exile in the Fairfax County town of Herndon, the last democratically-elected premier of post-World War II Hungary He resigned from power in the 1947 Communist coup

When the coup took place, Premier Ferenc Nagy was in Geneva, Switzerland Like most of his countrymen opposed to Communist rule, the only options available to him were bitter ones at best

For in return for his resignation, he recalled yesterday, the Communists would allow his [redacted] son, who was still in Hungary, to leave.

"I gave my resignation for my son," Nagy said

Today Nagy and his son live in the United States, but Nagy has never applied for U S citizenship, preferring to live as a resident and exile from his homeland

"I never became an American citizen because how would I be able to explain to my people why I had given up my loyalty to my country by giving up my citizenship?" he said "It never occurred to me that I would leave Hungary for good I thought I would be a prisoner in my own country"

It is now 29 years since he was last in Hungary, and this month was the 20th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian uprising against the communist government Both memories he finds painful

"I didn't do much (during the 1956 revolt) because I didn't want to justify the accusations of the Soviet Union that the revolution was instigated from outside," Nagy said "But I was deeply disappointed" in the lack of American assistance to those participating in the abortive uprising

"I wasn't anticommunist because it was too radical for me but because it was too reactionary," Nagy said "When the Communists took over in

See NAGY, B6, Col. 3

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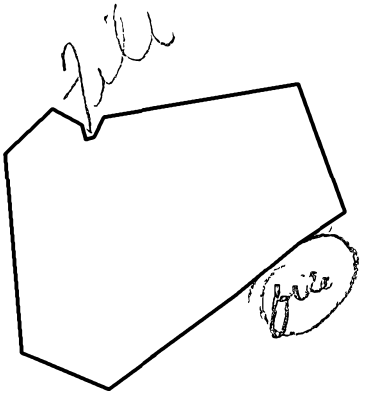

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The National Observer ____
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Hungary they eliminated all the land reforms we had put in

"They re-established large estates in the collective form They abolished political freedoms and created a new class of party functionaries to replace the old aristocracy," he said

His years in the United States have been good to him, all the same, he said He earned enough money through lecturing and writing to buy a 12-room house and 130-acre dairy farm He eventually gave up farming, though, because "my children had ideas other than going into farming" and because he found himself drawn towards political activity with other exiled Hungarians

A balding, slightly built man with old world char m who has developed an affection for Virginia Slims cigarettes, Nagy still lives in the house he bought near his farm He brought nothing with him from Hungary when the coup ended his premiership, as a result his home is furnished simply in unremarkable American style Only a painting of a Hungarian village during winter, painted in his homeland, sets the living room apart from the home of any older American

His five children, two of whom were born in this country, all live in the United States His [redacted]

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"I love the American people," he said in clear, heavily-accented English "They were ready to help us"

Though he longs to return to his country, Nagy doubts he would ever be able to do so "I could not go back without some official acknowledgement (from the present government of Hungary) of wrong-doing against me and against the Hungarian people"

It is unrealistic, he admits, to believe that will ever occur "Why should they do it?" he asked rhetorically

Nagy has retired from the lecture circuit and no longer is active in exile affairs Instead, he spends his time now looking after his wife, [redacted] and following American politics He has strong feelings about how American foreign policy should be handled, because he believes that the Soviet Union is still in firm control of Eastern Europe

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"Detente is a nececessary diplomatic means to keep the peace," he said "But the U S should emphasize that it is possible (to keep detente alive) only if international agreements are observed, like those signed in Helsinki which guarantee the rights of peoples"

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr Felt
Mr Gale
Mr Rosen
Mr Sullivan
Mr Tavel
Mr Trotter
Tele Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Ex Hungarian Leader Sees Peaceful U. S.-Soviet Future

The former prime minister of Hungary predicted Thursday evening "intellectual unrest" would alter Soviet communism within the next 50 years, paving the way for an "era when mankind can live in peace and security"

Dr Ferenc Nagy based his observation on his historical look at communism's 50 years in Russia, presented to approximately 100 persons in the State University of Buffalo's Diefendorf Hall

Dr Nagy, 64, was ousted by the Communists in 1947

"Growing intellectual unrest" will create "evolutionary forces" to "change communism entirely as we know it today," said the balding statesman

Faced with "no basis for reconciliation" with Communist China, Soviet Russia will revert to "traditional Russian policy (that) they must buy peace on one front at any cost," Dr Nagy added

Hostilities Expected

That means the Russians would align with the United States, putting an end to cold war conditions, he explained

"Hostilities will intensify" in the Sino-Soviet split, he said, as Russian unrest forces "further steps towards democracy, towards capitalism, towards human freedom"

More Russian intellectuals realize that nation "is getting out of tune with the age," Dr Nagy added

Speaking as a self-professed "progressive," the former political leader admitted his speech was more of a "criticism" than a history of the 50 years since Russia abandoned centuries of rule by Czars.

In his thick Hungarian accent, Dr Nagy disproved, during his 70-minute lecture, what he said were the purported aims of the Communists when they took control in 1917

Moved Here in Exile

He lamented the "millions who were killed or destroyed for the achievements of these 50 years

"I do not believe anyone can wash off the tremendous blood which covers the 50 years of communism," he added

Dr Nagy, of Herndon, Va, moved to the U S when he was exiled, after serving two years as prime minister He was also one-time minister of reconstruction following World War II and had been president of the national assembly

His lecture was sponsored jointly by the Buffalo Council on World Affairs, the Council on International Studies and World Affairs, UB's Office of Cultural Affairs and Political Science and History Departments

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17

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS
BUFFALO, N.Y.

Date 10/13/67
Edition Complete
Author Financial
Editor
Title Dr. Ferenc Nagy
IS-
Character or Classification
Submitting Office Buffalo
Being Investigated

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NOT RECORDED

46 OCT 25 1967

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Dr. Ferene Nagy, in lecture at UB's Diefendorf Hall, delivers his views on communism's first 50 years as well as its future course. Dr. Nagy was exiled from his native Hungary in 1947 after serving two years as prime minister.

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Lived in Herndon

Ferenc Nagy, 86, Father of Ex-Hungarian Premier

Services for Ferenc Nagy, 86, father of the deposed Hungarian premier, will be held tomorrow at 3 p m in the Green funeral home, 34 Eldon-st, Herndon, Va, with burial in Chestnut Grove Cemetery

Mr Nagy, who came to the United States to join his son, Ferenc, only last year, died yesterday of a heart ailment in the Weakley Nursing Home in Vienna He had been living with the younger Mr Nagy and his family at [redacted] Herndon

His son was deposed as Hungary's premier in 1947 by a communist coup

The elder Mr Nagy, a lifelong farmer in Hungary, had been trying to enter this country since the mid-1950s but it wasn't until last year that he was finally cleared

Besides his son, Mr Nagy is survived by two grandsons and granddaughters One of the grandsons, [redacted] was [redacted] when the communists kidnaped him in Hungary They exchanged his life for his father's capitulation

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File S Callahan
Mr Nagy Jr.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News 32
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

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BS-8 Revised (7-17-5?)

REC 97

Reds Used Kidnap Technique in Hungary

The son of a former Hungarian prime minister now working at [redacted] says that the Communists resorted to kidnapping his [redacted] brother to secure their 1947 takeover of the East European country.

Ferenc Nagy, Jr. considers his present job as [redacted] as his contribution to the United States and its allies in the continuing struggle against the Soviet bloc.

LIVES IN VIRGINIA

The [redacted] says that his father tried to preserve the Democratic-minded coalition government he headed against a militant Communist minority working for its downfall.

He said the Communists, abetted by the Russian chairman of the Allied Control Commission, engineered a putsch, or coup, while his parents were in Switzerland to attend an exposition.

REFUSED TO RESIGN

His father refused to resign as premier, he said, until the Communists threatened to hold the [redacted] son and bring him up as a Communist. Ferenc, Jr says the Russians were following out a time schedule to gain control before a peace treaty could be signed governing Hungary's future.

Today the elder Nagy is doing refugee work for the National Committee for Free Europe. He attended the firss Bandung Conference of Southeast Asian and African nations in 1955.

Ferenc, Jr, long an American citizn, has a [redacted]

LEADERSHIP WEEK

The [redacted] feels the West could have accomplished much through stronger leadership during the anti-Russian Hungarian revolt of 1956 when the Soviet position was shaky in several satellite countries

But he says that the effect of the ill-fated revolt on neutralist opinion elsewhere ~~in the world~~ may have justified the sacrifices of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

Mr. Tolson
Mr Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr Conrad
Mr Evans
Mr Malone
Mr Rosen
Mr Sullivan
Mr Tavel
Mr Trotter
Tele Room
Mr Ingram
Miss Gandy

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Boston American, Boston, Mass.
Boston Globe, Boston, Mass.
X Boston Herald, Boston, Mass.
Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass.
Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.
Daily Record, Boston, Mass.

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Editor: GEORGE E. MINOT
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Hungarian Urges U. S. Peace Plan

The last non-Communist premier of Hungary urged yesterday that the United States announce a peace program attractive to peoples around the world

"Everybody knows what a Communist victory will bring," said Ferenc Nagy, "but most men do not know what will happen if democracy prevails"

Nagy suggested that the United States pledge, if world tension diminishes to the point that it can disarm, to spend most of the billions of dollars now going to defense on "the welfare and betterment of underdeveloped nations."

The pledge, he said, should give an idea how soon money would be provided for "a school in every Indian village," for hospitals, and for roads through the jungle

"We know," Nagy said, "that the great majority of mankind favors freedom, but many persons living in misery think only communism can help them. We should convince them that there is more progress in democracy than in communism, and that the same welfare is better if freedom is added."

Nagy, now owner of a dairy farm near Herndon, Va, and an elder in Trinity Presbyterian Church, Herndon, addressed a meeting of Potomac Presbytery.

The Washington Post and Times Herald A5
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date 5/17/61

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MR. BRANIGAN

Ferenc Nagy Scores 'Puppets'

Former Leader Sees 2d Hungary Revolt

By GEORGE CLIFFORD

Ferenc Nagy, last prime minister of free Hungary, today said the Hungarian people will rise in open revolt again if the Kadar government fails to carry out its promises to have Russian troops leave the country.

FERENC NAGY

'They vowed before to fight to the death," he said. "If there is war again, they will."

AN INVITATION

Mr. Nagy, who lives in Herndon, Va., and has an office at the Hungarian National Councils headquarters at 1507 M-st nw, said he would not return to his homeland until "the people are in a position to invite me."

He said he hopes "the free world will not recognize the Kadar government. It never will be recognized by the Hungarian people."

It would be foolish for any government to try to negotiate with Kadar or the other "puppets" working with him, he said. It would be much simpler — and more direct — to deal directly with Russia, he said.

IN PARIS

Mr. Nagy, who was president of the Smallholders Party before the communists took over his country, was attending the International Peasant Union Congress in Paris when the Hungarian revolution started.

"I was horribly embarrassed to be away from my people while they were fighting," he said. "I tried to get to them, but when I reached Vienna, the Austrian government asked me to leave.

"They didn't want to antagonize the Russians."

(The Austrian government feared an invasion by Russian troops from Hungary. The entire Austrian army was stationed a few miles from the border.)

minor nagy

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date

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SPOKE TO TILDY

Mr Nagy said he spoke to Zoltan Tildy by telephone shortly before he left Vienna Mr Tildy is a non-communist Hungarian political leader who briefly was a member of Imre Nagy's (no relation to Ferenc Nagy) brief "Titoist" administration.

"I asked him 'what can I do?'" he said

Mr Tildy, he said, told him to tell the free world

- The Imre Nagy government is the government of the Hungarian people. It is the only one with national appeal
- To recognize the Nagy regime as the only Hungarian government
- There is some hope for negotiations between Hungary and Russia. If they fail and Russian troops remain in Hungary, the Hungarian people are ready to die.

UN OBSERVERS

Ferenc Nagy said it was imperative that the United Nations carry out its resolution to send observers to Hungary.

"And the observers should be accompanied by a strong police force," he said.

"I don't believe the Russians have lost their heads They have to realize that this oppression can't continue.

"I think the free world can help the Russians find a decent way to give the Hungarian people the right of self determination The free world can direct that decision.

"I don't want to minimize the effect of the material help the Hungarians have been given — food, clothing and medical supplies — but the most important thing the West can give them now is political support."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

MR. BRANIGAN

(IRON CURTAIN MOTHERS)

FERENC NAGY, FORMER HUNGARIAN PRIME MINISTER WHO HAS LIVED IN EXILE HERE SINCE THE COMMUNISTS GRABBED HIS COUNTRY, SAYS MOTHERS ARE THE REAL HEROES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN.

HE SAID HE HAS LEARNED FROM "MANY ESCAPEES" THAT THE MOTHERS ARE KEEPING A LOVE OF FREEDOM ALIVE IN THEIR CHILDREN.

"THEY ARE THE REAL HEROES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN," HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW, "AND BECAUSE OF THEM, COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION OF YOUTH IS FAILING IN THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES."

AMONG HIS SOURCES OF INFORMATION ARE STUDENTS WHO ESCAPED COMMUNIST DOMINATION. THESE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN ARE LIVING EXAMPLES OF THE COURAGE OF THEIR MOTHERS, HE ADDED.

HE SAID THE MOTHERS TEACH THEIR CHILDREN HOW TO LIVE TWO LIVES--ONE AT HOME AND ONE IN THE STREET. THE CHILDREN LEARN HOW TO TALK AND ACT WITH STRANGERS OR AT SCHOOL.

SOMETIMES "OBSERVERS" ARE SURPRISED WHEN THE STUDENTS FLOCK TO THE DEFENSE OF A PARTICULAR COMMUNIST. "BUT THEY DO SO," NAGY SAID, "BECAUSE THEY KNOW WHO IS ON THEIR SIDE AND WHO ISN'T."

HE ESTIMATED THERE ARE 80,000 CIVILIANS IN THE EMPLOY OF THE SECRET POLICE IN HUNGARY. BUT HE STRESSED THAT NOT ALL ARE INFORMERS BECAUSE OF LOYALTY TO COMMUNISM OR LOVE OF MONEY. "IT IS JUST PLAIN BLACKMAIL IN MANY CASES," HE SAID.

THE MOTHERS ATTEMPT TO COUNTERACT THIS BY TEACHING THEIR CHILDREN WHAT LIFE WAS BEFORE THE COMMUNISTS TOOK OVER. THIS MIGHT EXPLAIN, NAGY SAID, WHY TWO YEARS AGO YOUNG HUNGARIAN WRITERS TRIED TO REVOLT AGAINST STALINISM. THEY FAILED. BUT JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO, AFTER THE SOVIET CONGRESS DESANCTIFIED STALIN, THEY STARTED IN AGAIN. HE COULD NOT PREDICT THE END RESULT.

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file main on Ferenc Nagy

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Stalin Letdown

Nagy Asks Reds Prove Sincerity

United Press

Ferenc Nagy, former Premier of Hungary, challenged the Soviet Union yesterday to liberate its Eastern European satellites to prove the sincerity of its recent attacks on the late Josef Stalin.

Nagy

Nagy, in a letter to Communist Party boss Nikita Khrushchev, said the denunciation of Stalin could bring a new era of peace, understanding and prosperity.

But Nagy said the Soviets will "only serve mankind truly" if they begin the "liquidation of Stalin's tactics" and return the right of self-determination to satellite peoples.

"As you have become rid of Stalin," Nagy wrote, "so you must rid yourself of continuing the sins of Stalin. These sins can be expressed in one word: Terror . . . you cannot diminish terror at home, and keep up terror on the international scene."

Nagy told the United Press he mailed the letter to Soviet Ambassador Georgi Zaroubin here, asking that it be transmitted immediately to the Kremlin.

Brennan

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Wash. Post and Times Herald pg 4
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date 3-28-56

APR 3

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Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Congress in Brief

By the Associated Press

Senate:

In recess until Monday.

Republican Policy Committee meets behind closed doors to discuss Senate schedule, including action on civil rights legislation

Senate-House Economic Subcommittee hears labor officials and others on proposed allocation of grain to distilleries

Senate-House Committee discusses legislative budget.

House:

In recess until Monday.

Un-American Activities Subcommittee hears Ferenc Nagy, ex-premier of Hungary, on bills to ban Communist Party

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FERENC NAGY

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WASHINGTON STAR

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Mr Tolson
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Mr Clegg
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Nagy Says Reds Seek Domination of World

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6 (INS) —Former Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy told Congress today "there can no longer be any doubt that under Soviet leadership the purpose of communism is world domination."

Nagy outlined for the House Un-American Activities Committee how Communists directed from Russia engulfed his country and caused his flight to the U S

He urged the U S to fight Communism on an international and national scale, saying.

"In the international field, it is necessary to restore freedom in those countries where a Communist minority has plowed under the majority with the help of Soviet military might

"If the free people of the world are not actively concerned with liberating the eight Eastern European countries, they are in fact giving silent recognition to the right of Communism to expend by force."

Donald R Richberg told the committee that "Communist-inspired" strikes have become an "increasing menace" since the war and would threaten national security in the event of a depression

Richberg, former OPA counsel and NRA chief, declared that Communists and fellow travelers instigate labor disputes to undermine American economic security.

Goodwin

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43 FEB 21 1948

55 FEB 25 1948

THE DAILY MIRROR (NYC)
Page 2
Date February 7, 1948

U. S. Worst Enemy, Democracy Pet Hate of Reds, Says Nagy

Deposed Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy told a House un-American activities subcommittee yesterday that "democracy is the pet hate of Communists" and therefore they consider the United States their "worst enemy."

Nagy testified through an interpreter on bills to outlaw the Communist party. He made no recommendation for legislation but warned that the Reds are "the greatest threat which ever has endangered the peace and existence of mankind."

Richberg Also Testifies

Donald Richberg, one time NRA head, warned that Communist inspired strikes are an "increasing menace," and in a depression could cause a critical situation.

Richberg opposed however legislation which would outlaw the Communist party. He preferred to keep the party out in the open, but with restrictions including registration as foreign agents of personnel of any organization found to be foreign controlled.

"I don't think the Communist program openly debated and openly discussed can make any impact on the people even when they are hungry," he said. But he thought some method should be devised to prevent Reds from making speeches or publishing pamphlets which "incite illiterates and frustrated incompetents."

Waldman Asks Standards

Louis Waldman, chairman of the citizenship committee of the American Bar association, said Congress should set up standards to measure whether the Communist party is totalitarian.

Any candidate for political office indorsed by such a group, would be required either to renounce such support or accept the principles of the organization. He added such a law certainly would affect Wallace's third party candidacy.

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WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
PAGE: 23
DATE: 2-7-48

55 FEB 25 1948

Cleveland Editor Has Goods on Nagy

By Abe Strauss

CLEVELAND

IN A RECENT ISSUE of the **Cleveland Plain Dealer,** Spencer Irwin, its foreign editor, devotes an entire article to a blast against Ferenc Nagy, former prime-minister of Hungary. Irwin, who has been one of the loudest proponents of the Truman Doctrine and urged the State Department to check "the aggressive policies of the Reds in Hungary," is astonished to find out that Nagy, "brutal victim of the Reds," who came to America with $17 in his possession, has now bought for himself an estate in Arlington, Va., "worth tens of thousands of dollars."

Irwin wants to know how this "fair boy of the State Department," who has made two broadcasts to Hungary over the "Voice of America," has gotten rich so quickly. Irwin knows many people in the United States whose fathers and grandfathers have helped to build this country and still have to work hard to make a living, let alone buying estates worth tens of thousands of dollars.

Questioning Nagy's assertions that he at one time fought the Nazi occupation forces in Hungary, Irwin quotes from some of the records taken from the time the Hitler hordes reigned in Hungary, which prove the real fascist character of the "fair-haired boy" of the State Department who was "saved" from the clutches of a Communist plot in Hungary.

On June 9, 1942, Irwin tells us, at the 263rd sitting of the House in Budapest, a bill was introduced against the Jews, calling on the government to confiscate all their "land, woodlands, buildings and equipment."

In his discussion Mr. Nagy said:

"We look upon this bill first of all as a land policy to protect the Hungarian race and strengthen it. From this point of view we can only sanction the fact that this bill aims to give all this land to Christian Hungarian Society. If the sense of the idea in the bill is really to protect the race it will be necessary to go a few steps further and then we will not fear how the Jewish land will be distributed or who will get it."

ECKHARDT
Carried Ball for Nazis

ON JUNE 17—eight days la[illegible] Nagy indulged in a lot of "patr[illegible]etic" oratory. He said:

"We see clearly that Hungarian society has before it two great tasks. The first is to hold out as strongly and effectively as possible in the war effort.

"The second task that we have to think about right now is th[illegible] we must be prepared for [illegible]di-tions that will come after the war. After the war, with new ideas and new organizations, we will have to find our place in a changed world" (all the right-wing deputies, including the fascist Arrow Cross members, applauded this assertion).

"Not only now that Hitler is winning, but long ago as a peasant boy, I thought of those people who recognized the force that lies in organizing society and how to use this force to accomplish big national tasks. We don't have to go too far for examples. Let's look around in Germany. Will they be able to achieve such enormous goals without clever and proper organization? We Hungarians cannot remain behind."

•

FOLLOWING Irwin's article, the following day the **Plain Dealer** writes an editorial under the caption "Tell Me Thy Company" . . . in which it further exposes the treacherous role of this Nazi agent and conspirator against the Hungarian government. The same **Plain Dealer** that only a few weeks ago helped to build up this

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This is a clipping from Page 6 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 10-8-47
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traitor as a "great democrat" who has fallen victim of the "Communist barbarians" in Hungary, is now discovering that not only is there something wrong with Mr. Nagy's record during the war in Hungary, but that he keeps "very bad" company in the United States.

Thus the editorial tells us that at a mass meeting of Hungarians held in Pittsburgh Sept. 7, none other than the notorious Hungarian fascist and Jew-baiter, Tibor Eckhardt, was one of the main speakers of the rally and Nagy's right-hand man. And who is Eckhardt, who also was "fortunate enough" to escape from the clutches of the "Communist barbarians" in Hungary and be "saved" by the Truman-Marshall boys of the State Department? Says the editorial:

But long before he helped establish the Small Holders, Eckhardt in 1920 organized Ebredo Magyarok Egyesulete (Society of the Awakening Magyars) whose fascism pre-dated Mussolini and Hitler. The band was anti-Semitic. It organized street riots in 1920 and protested against the peace terms imposed by the Allies after World War I.

"Eckhardt once gave an English commission composed of delegates from the Trade Union Council visiting Budapest a statement of the aims of the Awakening Magyars. It said in part:

"'The unalterable will of the Awakening Magyars is to renew throughout the entire country clean, Christian morals and a government of national tendencies and to extirpate those destructive teachings disseminated by Jews with which the Christian inhabitants are flooded. . . . We call for the help of all Christianity. . . . During a period of 50 years, liberalism has driven Christian inhabitants from their property.'

"In 1938, just before Munich, Eckhardt advised his fellow countrymen to come to terms with the Germans. In 1940 he voted for the Nazi anti-Semitic laws in parliament when such men as the liberal Karol Rassay and the conservative Count Istvan Bethlen voted against them."

FERENC NAGY, who has long history of scheming against the Hungarian people.

•

THUS, THE Holy Rollers of the Truman and Marshall doctrines, of the Taft press, have become jittery and somewhat alarmed by the course of events which they themselves have created. Now the Nagys and the Eckhardts, who are the "fair-haired boys" of the State Department, have become "too hot to handle."

But aroused American public opinion and especially the Hungarian Americans cannot and will not tolerate the policy now pursued by the Washington administration to save all the former Hitler collaborators and traitors of the democratic peoples' governments of Europe.

Nagy and Eckhardt should be deported back to Hungary where a people's court will mete out justice to these pogrom makers and traitors. Let the American government carry out the desires of the American people to give asylum to the victims of fascism who helped to defeat Hitler on the battlefields of Europe.

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FIVE

HOW MY COUNTRY WAS CONQUERED BY A SMALL COMMUNIST MINORITY

By FERENC NAGY, Former Prime Minister of Hungary

This is the first of three articles in which M. Nagy describes Communist methods in Hungary.

IN 19 months I saw my country conquered from within by a small Communist minority, led by seven men especially trained and directed in this task by the Soviet Union.

This conquest was made under the thin veil of pretended legality. True, it was backed up at all times by the threat of the Russian occupation forces, and it was conducted toward the end with the covert violence of torture and secret arrests. Nevertheless, the outward forms were generally preserved.

Even to-day the régime in Budapest goes through the motions of Parliamentary government. Such patriotic men as still remain within the Government are no longer free agents: they speak and act under dreaded though hidden pressures.

Hungary has become a police State. Politically and economically, at every vital point, it lies within the joint grip of the Communists and the Soviet Union.

How could a small minority so filter and penetrate into our political and economic life that they, and their Russian masters, could grasp absolute power? By what pressures and manœuvres and techniques and devices were the strongest leaders of the majority Smallholders party imprisoned, exiled, or put in the chains of fear?

BY what series of events did I, Prime Minister of Hungary, find myself in a little Swiss border village, on June 2, 1947, exchanging my resignation for the return of my [redacted] son, the while under the fantastic charge that I was conspiring against the very Government of which I was the head, and against the Republic which I had so recently helped to establish?

These are the questions I hope to answer here. I would like to show the people of all lands which are still free the pattern of Communist penetration as it developed under my very eyes in Hungary.

As one of the little group of 14 Smallholders elected to Parliament in 1939—the only party which had dared vote against Hitler's Tripartite Pact—I had in 1944 been imprisoned and, after my release, had been in hiding in Budapest from the Hungarian Nazis.

The Russians entered Budapest at Christmas, 1944. We were happy to see them then—they had relieved us of the Nazis. At Debrecen, 150 miles to the east, they set up a provisional Government, composed of members of various parties, under Gen. Miklos, a Hungarian general who had gone over to the Russians towards the end of the war.

THE provisional Government contained two or three inconspicuous Communists. But the power was wielded by seven other men, most of whom had lived long in Russia and spoke the language, and some of whom had taken out Soviet citizenship and served as officials of the Soviet Government. Now they proclaimed themselves to be pure Hungarians again, happy to be home.

One of these seven was Matthias Rakosi, who after Bela Kun's Communist terror in Hungary in 1919 was imprisoned in Budapest and charged with complicity in several murders. The Russians must have valued him highly since they exchanged for him a number of Hungarian officer prisoners of war and captured Hungarian national relics.

Rakosi went to Moscow, where he was duly trained, and later served as a Russian agent in many European countries, enduring hardships and imprisonment. This short, squat, bullet-headed, shrewd, sometimes entertaining, always formidable man was subsequently to become the Communist Deputy Prime Minister in my coalition Cabinet. The others of the Big Seven were Ernest Gero, Zoltan Vas, Lazlo Rajk, Stephen Kossa, Josef Revai and Mihaly Farkas.

Early in March, 1945, when I was in Budapest trying to reorganise the Smallholders party, a Russian colonel called at my house late at night. "You are to come to Debrecen," he said, "to draft the law to distribute the land among the peasants. The session has already begun. Hurry!"

Here was a reform which I had looked forward to and studied most of my life. Hungarian Liberals had dreamed of it for generations. I had not foreseen a reckless rush through the darkness over broken roads, with a Russian driver who fell asleep and drove us into the ditch. Nor had I thought that the Russians were to push through the land reform in a single day.

I tried to tone down some of the more drastic provisions of the Bill. My friend Zoltan Tildy, of the Smallholders (now President of Hungary), told me I was wasting my time. "Marshal Voroshilov," he said, "has already laid down the rules for Hungarian land reform."

So it turned out, though I did succeed in inserting a provision that the land must be distributed to the peasants individually, instead of forming kolkhozes—collective farms on the Soviet model.

The Communists were trying hard at this time to win over the common people of Hungary. They did not then try to force the kolkhoz idea because they knew the strong individualism of the peasants. They also used the so-called National Peasant party to attract the simpler farmers, who did not realise that this party was a front under Communist control at the top.

M. Nagy signing his resignation of the Premiership at the Swiss border village of Buchs on June 2.

While the provisional Government was practically quarantined by lack of communications, the Communist Big Seven, equipped with Russian Army vehicles, printing presses, radios and loud-speakers, were able to blanket the country with propaganda.

Tens of thousands of Hungarians were seized by the Red Army, before and after the armistice, and shipped off to Russia to labour or imprisonment. The Russians said these were political prisoners — Nazi sympathisers and the like. Some of them undoubtedly were, but many, as we saw, were simply grabbed at random from the streets.

IT was not until much later that we understood one of the purposes of this. The names and addresses of the relatives of these deportees were supplied to the Hungarian Communists, who kept them on file. A Communist would then discreetly approach such a relative, and say, in effect:

"Your son (or father, or brother) is in Russian hands. If you want to make things easier for him, to give him a chance to get back to Hungary alive as soon as possible, you will cooperate with us, do the tasks which we assign, and prove your trustworthiness to the Communist party."

This gave the Communists a simple, powerful and usually secret hold on great numbers of persons throughout Hungary. Playing upon deep emotions of the human heart, they were able to turn otherwise decent people to the work of spies, informers and perjurers. A similar use was made of relatives of Hungarian prisoners of war still held by Russia.

Those who had trafficked with the Germans, and especially the rank and file of the Hungarian Nazi party—the

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OFFICE OF THE LEGAL ATTACHE
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON, ENGLAND
DAILY TELEGRAPH
London, England
September 10, 1947

Arrow-cross were allowed to find safety in the Communist party, with the threat of punishment to ensure their loyalty The Nazi training in staged demonstrations, in the strong-arm work of breaking up opposition meetings, in political blackmail and the use of hostages, could be used without change

Note well, however, that these methods were generally soft-pedalled in 1945 The Communist party was on its good behaviour, looking forward to the elections in the autumn

In May, I was made Minister of Reconstruction in the provisional Government, and we began the heavy task of restoring roads, communications, rails, bridges and factories The Government had now moved to Budapest

There was a temporary political lull that summer We afterwards came to recognise this as a familiar Communist tactic The object is to create the frame of mind in which you say: "At last the Russians are satisfied Now we can work together" It is like Hitler's 'I have no further territorial demands"

In 1945 three pacts were signed affecting Hungary's destiny. The first was the Hungarian Armistice, signed in Moscow on Jan 20 by Voroshilov, on behalf of Russia, Britain and the United States. It set Hungarian reparations at £75,000,000 of which two-thirds was to go to Russia, the remainder to Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia

It set up an Allied Control Commission to represent Russia, the United States and Britain in Hungary, and added a few little words "The Allied Control Commission will be under the direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command"

THE second was the Yalta Agreement of Feb 11, signed by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill It guaranteed to nations such as Hungary the right to "create democratic institutions of their own choice" in accordance with the Atlantic Charter On this rested our hopes

The third was the Potsdam Agreement of Aug 2 This also contained a few little words, giving Russia the right to German assets and enterprises in Hungary I do not think the American and British representatives, with their Western ideas of fair dealing, ever realised what the Russians could do with these little words They became the chief lever in taking over the economy of Hungary

Later, there was another document, the Hungarian peace treaty, to which we looked forward as to a long delayed dawn [The Russians ratified this only 12 days ago.] The important thing about it is the provision that, ninety days after ratification, the Russian occupation troops shall be withdrawn, and independence restored

Their police State grip has, however, now become so strong that they may be able to maintain it without troops Also they have, as usual, in another card up their sleeves They are entitled to keep soldiers in Hungary to "guard communications" with the Russian Zone in Austria To the Russians that can mean an army

After the freely held elections of 4, 1945, when the Smallholders 57 per cent of the total vote, the Communists and Social Democrats each 17 per cent and the Nationalist Peasant party 7 per cent we agreed to establish a coalition Government with M Tildy as Prime Minister. I myself was elected Speaker.

The Communists, schooled by the Russians, insisted on having the Ministry of the Interior as in all Balkan countries, since it was the key position controlling the police

Two months later, in January, 1946, under the new Constitution we had adopted, M Tildy became President of the Republic, and I succeeded him as Premier, with the Communist Rakosi and the Social Democrat leader, Szakasits, as Deputy Prime Minister The latter was even then more under Communist domination than I realised He would pick up remarks dropped by Rakosi, and restate them in more high-flown language, with an air of originality

He learned to describe the free election as "an arithmetical illusion," and to say. "Electoral arithmetic cannot form the basis of political rights"

In March the Communists began a drive to weaken the Smallholders' Parliamentary majority The sequence of events showed clearly their teamwork with the Russians Each time a Smallholder made a self-respecting speech, the Communists attacked him as a reactionary, and immediately thereafter I would receive a new demand from the Russians

FIRST a letter saying we were falling down on reparation payments, then one demanding faster handing over of German assets, then one announcing termination of food loans by the Russians to the people of Budapest, then one charging us with default on the Russo-Hungarian trade agreement, then one demanding more and better food for the Russian army, on pain of drastic further requisitions

Such demands came first from Marshal Voroshilov, as head of the Allied Control Commission In March, 1946, he went to Moscow, ostensibly on a vacation, to be replaced by Lt-Gen V P Sviridov, as "Acting" Chairman of the Commission From then on Voroshilov stayed in Moscow Whenever we, or the American or British representatives, made a request or protest to Sviridov, he could "refer it to Voroshilov"—a process which might take days or weeks or months or eternity

Not only were the Russian reparations draining us of our scanty supplies, and increasing the already runaway inflation, but the Russians were fastening a permanent grip on our entire economic system

For example, here is a Hungarian factory The Germans or their victims formerly owned 20 per cent of the shares The Russians select the very cream of the key equipment, and say "This is our 20 per cent We will wrench this out and carry it to Russia" (This would leave the plant a total wreck) "However, if you take us into 50 per cent partnership, we will leave the factory alone, except for installing a Russian manager"

If there were no alleged or genuine German shares, the Russians could threaten to cart the whole works off for war booty, or could merely deny the plant any raw materials In all this they were ably assisted by Zoltan Vas, one of the Big Seven Hungarian Communists, who became Secretary-General of the Supreme Economic Council

Recently the Russians have developed a new trick The Germans, in their exploitation of Hungary, forced the Hungarian Government to set up credits in their name The collapse of Germany prevented them from using these accounts, which have now been seized upon by the Russians as "German assets" This item alone may run as high as all the original reparations claims

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In his second article, to be published to-morrow, M Nagy describes the secret imprisonment of members of the Smallholders' party by the Communist-controlled Political Police, and the methods used to extort "confessions."

Communist Grip on Hungary—I

POLITICAL POLICE METHODS TO EXTORT "CONFESSIONS"

By FERENC NAGY, Former Prime Minister of Hungary

This is the second of three articles by M. Nagy on what he describes as the Communist conquest of Hungary The first appeared yesterday

M Nagy considered breaking up the coalition with the Communists in the autumn of 1946, but was restrained by the fear that the Russians would "restore order" by installing a puppet Government on the Balkan model.

BY October the attitude of Rakosi, Deputy Prime Minister and one of the Big Seven Hungarian Communists, had become more grim Earlier he had been a somewhat jovial zealot He used to entertain us with tales of his days as a Comintern agent in Western Europe, giving us expert comparisons of living conditions in gaols from Italy to Denmark Now he was getting down to business

I can picture him now as he entered the Cabinet meetings First he drew out and opened his razor-sharp pack-knife With this he carefully cut the paper before him into neat, narrow strips On these he wrote out his instructions, passing the strips not only to his Communist colleagues but to members of the Communist-front National Peasant party and to Arpad Szakasits, leader of the Social Democrats, who was now completely under Rakosi's influence Though Szakasits sat next to him, Rakosi did not speak to him —just passed him the slips in a deadly, expressionless way

IN December, with the tension still rising, I heard confidentially of the secret arrest by the Hungarian Political-Military Police of a number of individuals for "conspiracy against the State" I ordered a full inquiry

That evening there was a knock at the door of my apartment In walked the Russian Gen Kondratov, head of the Military Department of the Allied Control Commission under Gen Sviridov, the acting chairman and real power of the Commission

"Unless the inquiry is dropped at once," he said, "the whole matter of the conspiracy will be taken over by the Soviet military authorities"

This meant that all those arrested, now or later, would be taken off to Russia and might never be seen again, whereas in Hungary they would at least have an open trial I gave the order to stop the inquiry

NEXT morning I instructed Rajk, the Minister of the Interior, to report to me He is the only one of the Big Seven not actually trained in Russia, he received his Communist indoctrination in other European countries

The tall, thin, solemn Rajk entered my office with a confident air I am sure he had heard of Kondratov's move Rajk said the conspiracy was more widespread than at first believed, secret mimeographed military orders had been found, organising all non-Communist army officers and former members of the gendarmerie into groups which would overthrow the Republic and establish "Monarcho-Fascism"

To me it seemed fantastic that any conspirator could dream of such schemes With the Russian Army in occupation they were grotesque, and even after the Russians departed it would be absurd to think that they would permit any such regime to be set up on their border

In a day or two Rajk was back again very grave More arrests had been necessary, he said, and confessions had been made seriously implicating members of the Smallholders party Upon this I asked for an inter-party conference

Rajk appeared at the conference with a variety of police reports and a sheaf of detailed written confessions obtained, he said, from the arrested men Some of the confessions, he regretted to point out, implicated Smallholder Deputies in Parliament, and even a member of the Cabinet, Andrew Misteth, the Minister of Reconstruction

After agonising discussion it was decided that the Smallholders party must agree to the prosecutions, but insist that the accused be brought to public trial as soon as possible Then, if the confessions were false, they could be denied or retracted Some months earlier the Communists had tried to frame two Smallholders on a murder charge, but the trial in court had cleared the two defendants

THIS time, however we were up against something more deeply calculated The Communists had just started Their newspapers began to accuse one Smallholder after another—among them the ablest and the best—of guilt in the conspiracy

Each time a man was mentioned, Rajk's political police produced a confession from those already arrested, implicating those subsequently named. The arrests grew into the hundreds (and since then into the thousands), and, as the weeks passed, every non-Communist dreaded the knock on the door in the night

Next the Communist Press began to attack Bela Kovacs, Secretary-General of the Smallholders party, and my close friend for 20 years Rakosi and Szakasits came and told me that while of course Kovacs was not a conspirator, he had known many of the conspirators So they asked me to send him on a long "furlough" into the country.

ALTHOUGH I flatly refused, I was worried I knew my friend to be a hearty, open, emotional man, who sometimes spoke freely I feared the use the Communists might make of this So, a few days later, I took him off on a short hunting trip, away from possible spies or hidden microphones, and begged him to be careful He promised he would

He said that, as a realist, he believed the coalition to be necessary "But these Communists," he exclaimed, "will use any weapons in heaven or earth to destroy us"

He offered, if it would ease the situation, to resign voluntarily and retire to the country I told him I would not consider it

A few days later the Communists alleged that Kovacs was directly implicated in the "conspiracies," and demanded that his immunity from arrest, as a member of Parliament, be suspended Against this I and the Smallholders stood firm Government business had come now to a virtual standstill

FINALLY it was agreed that Kovacs, without prejudice to his immunity, should voluntarily appear before the police for three successive days, six hours a day, submit to questioning, and reply to the charges

At the end of the first day Kovacs came to see me "They simply spent the six hours yelling at me," he said, "without even giving me a chance to make a statement in reply" Nevertheless, he said resignedly, he might as well go through with the farce That was the last time I ever saw him

During the second day's hearing, Feb 26, 1947, the Russian military secret police swooped down on police headquarters and carried Kovacs away He was charged with plotting against the Russian Army, an idea absurd on the face of it His Parliamentary immunity could not protect him against the Russians

During a sleepless night I decided to resign the Premiership With the morning light I reconsidered, such a move could not help Kovacs, and might be exactly what the Communists desired

Within a few days Britain and America delivered strongly worded Notes to Gen Sviridov, protesting against the arrest of Kovacs and demanding an impartial investigation into the alleged conspiracies

Three days later Russia, through Sviridov, gave her reply a flat rejection The next week Britain and America repeated their requests, even more insistently Again Russia rejected them The Communists became even bolder

It was now becoming known that Rajk's Hungarian political police were using scientific torture on the "conspiracy" prisoners I do not refer to mere crude beatings and clubbings, but to refinements taught by N K V D (Soviet Secret Police) experts

A note was smuggled out written in pencil on a page torn from an old book by a man whose signature was familiar to me He said that during one questioning he was forced to stand under blinding lights, conscious and semi-conscious, for 120 hours on end

LATER there were reports of icy high colonics under great pressure, the use of surgery to impair the central nervous system, and the employment of threats against the wife and children of the accused But apparently the primary reliance was upon the fact that almost every man's nerves will give way under exhaustion sufficiently painful and prolonged

When I attempted to convince the Communists and Russians that their methods must eventually alienate the public opinion of the world, I was assured that only "standard procedures" were being used—perhaps true as Communists use those words

The first "conspiracy" trials were held, as we of the Smallholders party had insisted, publicly But the court was so rigged, under a law originally imposed by the Russians in 1945, that four of the five judges were either Communists or under Communist domination

THE defendants were allowed to see their lawyers for just ten minutes before trial—and then only in the presence of Rajk's political police But the greatest shock was the behaviour of the defendants themselves

Every one of them openly confessed to every charge against him—charges which he knew would send him to imprisonment or death The confessions were long, wordy, and recited as if by rote, with many stereotyped phrases The public looked on in wonder and dread

There was one attempted exception Balint Arany, Secretary in Budapest of the Smallholders party, courageously tried to retract his written confession The presiding Communist judge instantly adjourned the court Soon afterwards Arany was whisked away by the N K V D experts

When he reappeared in the dock a week later there was no outward scar upon him But this time the words of the confession, as Hungarians said, "rolled from his lips like hoops"

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In his next article, to be published to-morrow, M Nagy tells how he was forced to resign

PH AND MORNING
England
1947

Communist Grip on Hungary—III.

FORCED INTO RESIGNING: 'PLOT' CHARGES AND BLACKMAIL

By FERENC NAGY, Former Prime Minister of Hungary

Unwilling to resign lest he should be replaced by a more submissive Premier, and harassed by the Russian seizure of Bela Kovaks, Secretary-General of the Smallholders party and his closest friend, M. Nagy decided to take a brief holiday abroad.

In this article, the last of a series of three, he describes how his resignation was extorted by threats and blackmail.

SUPPOSE you were playing cards in your home with some men you had met Gradually you realise that your visitors are crooks As you seek to break off the game the two gangsters by the door put their hands on their guns

Your wife and children are asleep in the next room You go on playing, trying to lose as little as you can, stalling for time, hoping desperately for the dawn when the policeman will come by, and your deadly visitors will depart

In a sense, that was my position The stakes were the life and liberty of my country The dawn toward which I looked was the peace treaty, and the policeman to whom I could then appeal was the United Nations

When the appeals of America and Britain on behalf of Bela Kovacs had failed, it was natural that mine could not succeed I continued to make them, and the Russians gave me the stock answer "His examination is still proceeding" I could not communicate with him or even find out where the Russians had taken him

OTHERWISE, however, the pressure eased up somewhat in May The Communists were on better behaviour It was another of those lulls which we had learned to distrust, but which always stirred a flicker of false hope The leaders of all parties urged me to take a rest, and joined in promising a political truce until my return

I knew, of course, that the worst battles were still ahead, but the three weeks' vacation in Switzerland would restore my strength—and win time, it would bring the peace treaty three weeks nearer So I reasoned

Just before I left I saw General Sviridov, the Russian head of the Control Commission He showed a surprisingly friendly face, and told me how much he envied me my vacation

My wife and I left for Switzerland by car on May 14, never dreaming that we were heading toward exile I left all my papers and notes in Budapest Our [redacted] son, [redacted] was left with friends in the country

WE had long looked forward to visiting Switzerland Our daughter Juliska was at school there Also, as a peasant leader, I was intensely interested in the modern techniques of Swiss agriculture

After about 10 days in Switzerland I telephoned to President Zoltan Tildy from Vevey He told me that apart from some minor personal attacks on me, the political truce was holding, that I could complete my vacation without further worry.

As I tramped through the sun and the air and the fields, and saw the beautiful work the Swiss were doing with their small farms, my strength and spirit revived The Russians would relax as the war receded The Hungarians, under free institutions at last, would build our country into another such garden spot as Switzerland So it all seemed to me in the high, bright mountain air

When I reached the hotel at Locarno on May 28 at 7 p.m a long-distance call was waiting for me My good secretary Dr Ferenc Kapocs, was calling from Budapest His voice was tense and strained He said that I must return to Budapest at once He could not tell me why on the telephone When I pressed for an explanation Kapocs handed the 'phone to Karoly Baranyos, Minister of Agriculture, who also said I must return immediately

An hour later I called Kapocs back and asked if he could now tell me what was the matter He said Gen Sviridov had an alleged confession from Bela Kovacs implicating me in a conspiracy

Kapocs gave the 'phone to John Gyongyosi, the Foreign Minister, to confirm his words I told Gyongyosi the charge was utter nonsense, but that I would leave for Hungary in the morning

TOWARD midnight another call came in It was from a frightened Government official who told me that Rajk's political police [Rajk was the Communist Minister of the Interior] had seized Dr Kapocs immediately after our second conversation, hustled him to prison, and then proceeded to crack my safe and rifle it of my private and official documents

Early next morning I got a call through to President Tildy He, too, advocated my return, but his voice was uneasy "I hope there is still a chance to save the situation," he said nervously I warned him earnestly to permit no Government changes until I could return and take over

The car needed repairs which would take a couple of hours I seized the opportunity to telephone Rakosi [the Communist Deputy-Premier]

Rakosi blandly informed me that Dr Kapocs was "the leader of a new conspiracy" and that the charges against myself were exceedingly grave I repeated that I was leaving for Budapest within an hour,

I WAS getting into the car when the hotel porter ran after me Another call, this time from Ferenc Gordon, Hungarian Minister in Berne He told me he had just received word from Gyongyosi to warn me not to leave Swiss territory under any circumstances until Erno Mihalyfi arrived in Switzerland to tell me the true situation

I told Gordon I must nevertheless leave for home, but would first stop and see him in Berne Meanwhile I urged him to find out what he could

It was now clear that my trip to Switzerland had been a serious blunder If I had stayed in Budapest they would not have dared to launch this attack Now they had time to get the entire apparatus of propaganda and terror in full blast before my return The voices of my friends told me more clearly than words how deeply fear had already struck

There was no protection or appeal against my arrest by the Russians They had done it to Kovacs, and not even the protests of America and Britain had saved him

WOULD the Russians dare go a step farther and arrest the Prime Minister? I did not believe they would, and yet I had under-estimated the ruthlessness of the Russians before As I passed through the Russian zone of occupied Austria or through rural Hungary they would have a chance to arrest me in secrecy or to arrange a fatal "accident"

I had thought the interest of America and Britain would at least save Bela Kovacs from torture His "confession" made this doubtful It might be a complete fabrication, more likely that the horrible skill of the N K V D [the Russian Gestapo] in three long months had broken even his great valour and ground down his strong peasant nervous system to shuddering helplessness, ready to sign what was put before him Or he might have died under the treatment or succeeded in killing himself

My wife had begun to worry about our little son [redacted]

Messages came in from friends I could trust indicating that the situation was out of hand, and that the Russians would arrest me before I reached Budapest

At 2 p m my friend Stephen Balog, Under-Secretary of the Prime Ministry, called me direct. He said things had reached a point where my return could do no good, it would be better for all if I would remain in Swiss territory and present my resignation from there, at the same time emphasising my innocence

I said that I would consider resigning, but only if several conditions were fulfilled The two most important were that my son, [redacted] should be received by me in Switzerland, and that Dr Kapocs be immediately released and sent to Switzerland I made no political conditions because I knew no one in Hungary could now keep such promises Balog said he would immediately present my conditions to "the authorities"

NOW the blackmail over my child began The Communists announced through the Hungarian News Agency that I had already resigned Then they had an order sent to Gordon that he should ask my resignation at once, without waiting for my son to be sent to me

Joseph Szall, a Communist secretary at our Legation in Berne, came to me and said that he had received a direct order from Rakosi to demand my resignation Szall would take the resignation personally to Budapest and my son would then be released I sent word to Rakosi that I would resign only when I received my son at the Swiss border

On May 31 the Communists forced Tildy to name a new Prime Minister, Lajos Dinnyes, a pleasant man, nominally a Smallholder, far Left by inclination, and now entirely under the Communist domination of fear. But the Communists, who wanted a semblance of legality for their coup, still needed my signed resignation, which was my one weapon for the recovery of my son

ON the next night, June 1, I received word from Innsbruck that my son was on his way My wife and I set out at once for the frontier village of Buchs

When she caught a glimpse of [redacted] just across the border in occupied Austria my wife fainted and was unconscious for some time before the kind Swiss frontier officials could revive her I went forward to confer with the Communist official, Florian, who had brought the child

I asked why he had not also brought Kapocs He said he knew nothing of Kapocs, his only orders were to obtain my resignation before giving me my boy I told him to telephone Budapest at once This took a long time Finally the answer came through It was "No", Kapocs was "a dangerous conspirator"

I did not see what more I could do I made Florian write out and sign the official reply on Kapocs Then I gave him my written resignation, and my wife and I held [redacted] in our arms

I, who tried to co-operate with the Communists, watched the Russian pattern of penetration unfold Hungary has now been brought within the Russian grip, economically and politically Her plight is that of all Eastern Europe, her problem is part of that which weighs on all the world to-day

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The two previous articles by M Nagy appeared on Wednesday and yesterday

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1-15

Jerseyites Give Nagy Heave-Ho

Special to the Daily Worker

NEW BRUNSWICK, N J, July 31—Ferenc Nagy, ousted Premier of Hungary, came here this afternoon and was greeted by a spontaneous demonstration of Hungarian-Americans who told him in no uncertain terms to go back where he came from.

Nagy arrived in New Brunswick from Washington at 4 p m. Two men and a woman from the Hungarian Council for Democracy were at the railroad station with signs saying "We do not welcome the anti-union, anti-democratic Nagy"

Members of Nagy's party immediately began to attack the signs When they did so groups of Hungarian-Americans gathered around, and showed they were remarkably well informed on events in Hungary They told Nagy to go back to Hungary and stand trial

A member of Nagy's party rose in the car and hollered "Come over to Perth Amboy and bring your own bandages" Nagy is scheduled to speak in Perth Amboy at a meeting purportedly sponsored by the Central Labor Union (AFL), really organized by reactionary Hungarian groups.

This is a clipping from Page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 8-1-47

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIVE

6 OCT 16 1947

RECORDED INDEXED

100-83632-A

F B I

63 OCT 2 1947

File

Return

Mr Tolson
Mr E A Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr Tracy
Mr Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr Harbo
Mr Mohr
Mr Quinn Tamm
Mr Nease
Miss Candy

~~U. N.~~ Must Act to Curb Soviet in Europe or Die, Nagy Declares

The United Nations must act vigorously to counteract Russian domination of Southeastern Europe, or it will "go the way of the League of Nations," in the opinion of Ferenc Nagy, former premier of Hungary

The U N is facing a "live or die" test and must do something promptly about Soviet moves in that area, he told the Junior Board of Commerce yesterday at its luncheon in the Burlington Hotel

"New Fires" Threaten World.

"There are new fires burning today in Southeastern Europe that are threatening the whole world with a conflagration," Mr Nagy declared.

He said his own experience in being forced into exile was proof that, "as you could not do business with Hitler, so you cannot do business with Stalin"

In questioning from the floor through an interpreter, ~~Mr. Nagy~~ would not concede war between Russia and the western democracies is inevitable. He said, however, he would not oppose use of an U N international police force against the Soviet, if other means of assuring the small nations' independence failed

Firm Policy Held Essential.

A firm policy now is essential, he insisted, but said it must be adopted by all the countries opposed to Russian methods, "not the United States alone"

"The leaders of the present Eastern ideology know only two situations," Mr. Nagy said "One is to be, in power, the other is to be in jail"

Asked what support the United States could expect from Hungary if it were forced into war with Russia, he replied the aid available in Southeastern Europe would depend on "how much liberty" were left in the area at the time of hostilities.

Mr Nagy said his government was overthrown because Russia "could not put up with a country in Southeastern Europe which was not led by its nose by the agents of Moscow."

RECORDED 42 JUL 22 1947

F B I

EX-23

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 7/18/47

58 JUL 31 1947

Balkan 'Whites' Issue Manifesto

Ferenc Nagy, former Hungary Premier, joined up with Bulgarian and Yugoslav fascist leaders in Washington yesterday in a call for a worldwide campaign against the new democratic governments in Eastern Europe.

The declaration was signed by Nagy, Dr Georgij M. Dimitrov, former member of the Bulgarian Parliament, Dr Vladko Macek, former vice-premier of Yugoslavia, and Dr Milan Gavrilovic, former member of the Yugoslav Government

They appealed to "the democratic peasant parties of other countries . . . to join us in the creation of a democratic international peasant union and with eventual realization of the United States of Europe, with the ultimate aim of establishing worldwide democratic unity"

The four plan to bring charges against the Soviet Union at the September meeting of the United Nations for interfering in the internal affairs of their countries, Dimitrov declared.

He said that the declaration had been submitted to the State Department, but that it drew a "no comment" reply.

RECORDED & INDEXED

F B I

JUL 21 1947

42

EX-39

This is a clipping from Page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 7-4-47

Clipped at the Seat of Government

FIVE

8 JUL 23 1947 15

TILDY IS PICTURED AS CRITIC OF NAGY

Socialist Paper Says He Called Ex-Premier 'Power-Mad'—He Bids Hungary Go Left

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

BUDAPEST, Hungary, June 23 —President Zoltan Tildy found it expedient a fortnight ago to deny a statement by former Premier Ferenc Nagy that the President was being forced by a threat of deportation to retain his office He found it expedient today to give an interview to the Social Democratic newspaper Vilagossag criticizing Mr Nagy as "power-mad"

"The reason for Nagy's fall," the President was quoted as having said, "was that he proved to be too small for events He had no power of judgment and became power-mad He would not learn or read naturally, and when gentlemen of the type of Domonkos Szentivany [one of the alleged conspirators against the Republic] sought his cooperation, Nagy faltered He believed that a change was coming

"Bela Kovacs [secretary of the Small Landholders party] felt the same way, and yet counted on a change and never thought that it would first of all destroy our country completely For the Nagy crowd hoped that war would come between the great powers and that in this way a change would come about

"Bela Varga [former President of the Hungarian Parliament, who escaped when Mr Nagy resigned] could not carry through political thought Nagy was not a sincere man I noticed for a long time that he was avoiding me He said last March at a political committee meeting of the Small Landholders party that the workers' parties see that he did not follow the policy of Zoltan Tildy"

Warns of Soviet Strength

Asked what Hungarian foreign policy should be, Mr Tildy was said to have answered

"First, we must direct our foreign policy in a way that will gain the complete confidence of the Soviet Union We must not speculate on a war adventure Those who do so do not know how strong the Soviet Union is"

About the future of Hungary, the President was quoted as having said "We must go left and take the entire nation with us No one must lag behind on the road of progress"

It was noted yesterday that accusations against Mr Tildy's son-in-law, Victor Chornoky, and mention of the President in the first draft of the White Book on the alleged plot, did not appear in the final version Some observers were inclined to see a connection between this deletion and the President's repudiation of Mr Nagy

Maj Gen Daniel Noce of the United States War Department was to have made a recreational trip up the Danube toward the Csepel Island locks today in the company of Brig Gen George H Weems, American representative on the Allied Control Commission for Hungary, other American officers and Miklos Nuarady, Minister of Finance Suddenly a message arrived from Lieut Gen V D Sviridov, Russian chairman of the commission, that the boat in which they were to have proceeded had not been demagnetized, that grave risk of mines was accordingly to be expected and that the trip should be canceled

Two unusual things about this warning were that it was delivered by Zoltan Vas, Communist head of the Supreme Economic Council and that everyone had thought all mines had been cleared from the Danube near Budapest a year ago The owners of vessels plying the route evidently think so, and their conviction has not been shaken by untoward events

C.I.R.-8

Mr Tolson
Mr E A Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr Glavin
Mr Ladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr Tracy
Mr Egan
Mr Gurnea
Mr Harbo
Mr Mohr
Mr Pennington
Mr Quinn Tamm
Mr Nease
Miss Gandy

EX-16 RECORDED

INDEXED

JUL 11 1947

EX-16

The New York Times
June 24, 1947
Page 11

63 JUL 16 1947

Hungarian Editor Here Shows Nagy Admitted Fascist Threat

Zolltan Deak, editor-in-chief of the leading progressive Hungarian - American daily, Magyar Jovo, has challenged Ferenc Nagy's attacks against the Hungarian coalition government with the record of Nagy's own past statements. Deak, in an editorial in Magyar Jovo, recalled the reply Nagy gave him in Washington a year ago when he asked him why reaction was still so strong in Hungary.

Deak reported Nagy, who was in the United States on a government mission, declared at that time:

"There are reactionaries not only among the large landowners but in the middle class, too. That is why we had to remove many thousands of administrators, dissolved the gendarmerie, relieved part of the old leading cadres. These strata of the population, of course are anxious to bring back the past But we don't have to be worried about this, because the workers, peasants and intellectuals are ready to defend democracy."

DIDN'T OBJECT

Deak observed Nagy did not object when the Hungarian People's Court found 13 of the conspirators guilty and sentenced three of them to death and 10 to prison terms on April 16

"Are you ready to deny the justness of those verdicts?" Deak asks Nagy. "We don't think so because at that time you did not ask for foreign intervention. Perhaps your correspondence with certain foreign gentlemen was not quite up to date at that time"

Nagy's "avowed trust" in Bela Kovacs, arrested general secretary of the Smallholders Party, "does explain a great many things, part of which might come out at your forthcoming trial 'in absentia' for conspiracy," Deak goes on

Deak points up, too, Nagy's assertion that he was ready on May 29 to return to Hungary, after having received Kovac's confession, and that "just a plain phone call" from President Tildy convinced him to remain abroad

BECAME CONVINCED

"Then you were suddenly 'enlightened,' and became convinced that Hungary is something quite different from what you thought, that there were 'grave complications' and to avoid them you resigned

"Do you remember your statement that there could be 'certain changes in the government' but the coalition must continue?

"Well, Mr Nagy, 'certain changes' have been made, the coalition is still governing Hungary, but you slank away and are now seeking from abroad to overthrow the government and are demanding investigation into the internal affairs of your country"

62-83632 -A-
NOT RECORDED
49 JUN 28 1947

This is a clipping from Page 8 of the DAILY WORKER JUN 27 1947

Date _____

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIVE

Hungary - Pol.

Soviet Again Rejects Britain's Request for Data on Hungary

By the Associated Press

LONDON, June 24—An authoritative British source reported today that Russia, for the second time in two weeks, had rejected a British request for "clarification" of the situation in Hungary.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed receipt in London of a Russian reply to the memorandum submitted to Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov in Moscow June 17, but said he could not disclose its contents

The Russian note, the spokesman said, was delivered here over the week end, presumably at the same time that Soviet Ambassador George Zarubin transmitted his government's acceptance of the British-French invitation to attend three-power talks on European reconstruction

Minister of State Hector McNeil told the House of Commons on June 12 that Britain would continue to press for clarification from Russia for events in Hungary despite a previous Soviet rebuff, which charged Britain with "interfering" in Hungarian internal affairs

Ambassador Sir Maurice Peterson reportedly conveyed these views to the Russian government on June 17 The Russian note, according to the informant here, did nothing to clarify the situation in Hungary which culminated in the resignation of Premier Ferenc Nagy

There was no immediate indication of what further action the British government was contemplating in the light of the latest Soviet refusal to detail the charges against Mr Nagy, who was accused of having been implicated in a conspiracy against the Hungarian government

In the latest note Russia repeated its contention that the government changes in Hungary were effected "in a normal constitutional way," the informant said

RECORDED

EX-13 62-93432-A

F B I

41 JUL 18 1947

RECORDED

EX-13

Mr. Tolson
Mr E. A. Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr Glavin
Mr Ladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr Egan
Mr Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr Mohr
Mr Pennington
Mr Quinn Tamm
Mr Nease
Miss Gandy

156

60 AUG 14 1947

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 6-24-47

CHURCH AIDES TIED TO BUDAPEST 'PLOT'

Red Paper Couples Cardinal's Secretary to Rumanians—Tildy Emissary Resigns

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

BUDAPEST, Hungary, June 20—The Communist newspaper Szabadsag announced today that the police had begun to unravel the threads of a plot leading to Rumania and involving Deszo Sulyok's Liberty party and the secretaries of former Premier Ferenc Nagy and of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, who is attending a Catholic conference in Canada.

The paper said arrests within a few days could be expected. The affair was disclosed, it explained, when a military court in Cluj, Rumania, began to try a gang known as the Transylvanian Partisans.

Transylvania, formerly part of Hungary, was awarded to Rumania after World War I, reclaimed by Hungary during World War II and restored to Rumania by the Hungarian peace treaty.

Fear of involvement in the alleged conspiracy against the Hungarian republic is adding new names to the long list of prominent Hungarians who have fled from the leftist terror or refused to return to Hungary. Laszlo Jekely, former Minister of Cabinet under President Zoltan Tildy, who was recently sent abroad to examine the condition of Hungarian diplomatic property in Holland, Belgium

Continued on Page 7, Column 5

CHURCH AIDES TIED TO BUDAPEST 'PLOT'

Continued From Page 1

and Switzerland, announced today he would not return.

The newspaper Vilagossag said Mr Jekely had transferred his fortune abroad and would probably stay away to libel democracy. According to the paper, President Tildy lost confidence in him months ago and he got out of Hungary by misleading the President.

Bereczky Exile Rumored

It was said in the Parliament corridors that Albert Bereczky, Small Landholder Deputy who is the father of President Tildy's daughter-in-law, would remain in exile. He left Hungary a day or two after the resignation of Mr Nagy.

The arrest of Laszlo Laky, chief Hungarian repatriation representative in Munich, who had been kidnapped and returned to Hungary, was officially confirmed today. He is accused of having "helped Fascist conspirators in the west." He was recalled from Munich to Vienna by the Hungarian legation in Vienna, seized there and hustled back to Hungary.

So completely have politics eclipsed every other subject in this capital that when it was announced that the basilica of the cathedral was on fire, a Hungarian, who will probably be the next Minister of Information, said immediately, "It is not a political fire."

Tildy Offer to Quit Reported

GENEVA, Switzerland, June 20 (AP)—Bela Sarossy, former aide to former Premier Nagy, said President Tildy had offered to resign today at an extraordinary session of the Cabinet in Budapest.

He said the resignation was refused for the time being and a "provisional solution" was found but the President would remain in office only "for a few days."

Mr Sarossy made his statement after having announced Mr Jekely's decision to resign and leave for the United States tomorrow. Mr Nagy also is in the United States.

Party Denounces Exiles

LONDON, June 20 (Reuters)—The Budapest radio announced tonight that the political committee of the Small Landholders party had condemned the action of Mr Jekely and his deputy, Gyula Desewffy, "who fled the country and turned against the democracy with others abroad." The committee expelled both from the party.

Mr Tolson
Mr E. A. Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr Glavin
Mr Lladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr Tracy
Mr Egan
Mr Gurnea
Mr Harbo
Mr Mohr
Mr Pennington
Mr Quinn Tamm
Mr Nease
Miss Gandy

62-83632

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Date 6-21-47
Page 1

Hungary - Civil Sec - G

Hungary Says Nagy Plotted with US Gov't

BUDAPEST, June 22.—A White Paper published today by the new Hungarian government charged former Premier Ferenc Nagy sent his son to Washington with letters to Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson and Rep. Sol Bloom (D-NY) in a plan to establish closer connections with the Western powers.

Most of the 100-page document consisted of the depositions previously announced.

The story about Nagy's son being sent to Washington with letters for Acheson (since resigned) and Bloom, however, was new.

"When Ferenc Nagy, Jr, left for the United States I learned from the Premier (Nagy) himself he had received his instructions and a letter to Dean Acheson, acting Secretary of State . . . Also a letter to Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee," the paper said, quoting a confession by Ferenc Kapocs, Nagy's former secretary

"In the first letter, Nagy asked the acting secretary to support his son and as he could see that the conspiracy would have heavy consequences he asked for political support on behalf of the United States," the alleged confession continued.

"Acheson acknowledged receipt of the letter and promised United States support for the policy of Nagy."

The paper said Nagy had spread a network of special envoys in every Hungarian legation abroad to bolster his plan to maintain the Smallholders Party's position until Soviet occupation forces left Hungary and to prepare counter-measures if the Communists took over the government with or without Russian support.

The Communist newspaper Szabad Nep said the Communist Party had dropped its demand for a single government - coalition ticket in a general election to be held this fall.

Szabad Nep devoted most of its first page to an attack on some American and British correspondents for filing "false" dispatches.

Szabad Nep mentioned one dispatch, which proved incorrect, that the manager of the Allied officers club had been arrested and another that long queues formed in front of banks during the first days of the crisis.

G.I.R.5

This is a clipping from Page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date JUN 23 1947

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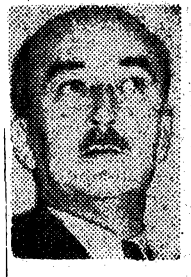
JUL 25 1947

165

Nagy Charges Kovacs Forced To Confess

By Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr.
Post Reporter

Hungary's ousted Premier, Ferenc Nagy, charged yesterday that "the most inhuman methods" had been used to extort a "confession" from Bela Kovacs, arrested leader of the anti-Communist Smallholders Party.



Nagy, who is here in Washington as an exile, told a press conference he was "absolutely convinced" of the untruthfulness of Kovacs' "confession." It was on information allegedly supplied by Kovacs that Nagy was dismissed as Premier.

"Kovacs has been a friend of mine for 20 years," said Nagy, "and he could not have taken part in any conspiracy. His crime was that he opposed the campaign of the Communist to increase their power. It pains me to think of the methods by which a 'confession' was forced from him."

Nagy said he had no positive proof of the use of torture by the Communists to get confessions, but said it had been "public knowledge" through the "grapevine" in Budapest, especially in the few weeks preceding his resignation.

Speaks in Hungarian

Nagy faced the press at the Burlington Hotel on Vermont ave., where he is making his Washington headquarters. He spoke in Hungarian, with an interpreter present to translate his answers.

He repudiated a newspaper report from Shannon, Eire, that he had blamed President Truman's policy in Greece and Turkey for recent events in Hungary. He explained he had been interviewed at the Shannon airport on his way here by a reporter who knew no other language than English, and that finally an interpreter was found who could speak only "primitive French." The result, he said, was a complete twisting of what he really meant.

Nagy said his job in exile was "in all cases to inform the world of what is happening in Hungary" and to be "the spokesman of a voiceless people." He said he had no plans as yet to see either President Truman or Secretary Marshall, although he would see State Department officials.

In a formal statement Nagy conceded that among those accused by the Communists "there might have been some people who had talked and written fantastic and childish things, but the leaders or the rank and file of the Smallholders Party did not plot against the country." He declined to name the people in question or the "childish things" they had said.

"The events in Hungary, as well as in many other countries in southeastern Europe, make it definitely clear that the Soviets and Communists do not seek fair and genuine cooperation, but dominance," his statement said. To them, the coalition is only a means to save the appearance of representative government, and nothing short of unconditional surrender is considered by Russia as a friendly gesture.

"As a consequence of Russian and Communist conspiracy, Hungary has lost her independence. The Hungarian people are no longer responsible for the words or deeds of their imposed rulers. I protest against the aggression to which my country has fallen victim.

"A leader of the duly elected majority, ousted from my office by a Russian Communist conspiracy, I am a trustee for the cause of Hungary, until the Hungarian people will be granted an opportunity to express their will in free and unfettered elections and to carry out their own decision."

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49 JUN 23 1947

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

THE WASHINGTON POST
PAGE 3
DATE 6-18-47

FILE

NAGY BIDS US CHECK SOVIET 'AGGRESSION'

Former Premier Holds Himself 'Trustee' of Hungary's Cause —Says Russia Rules Area

By BERTRAM D. HULEN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, June 17—Ferenc Nagy, ousted Premier of Hungary, protested today against Soviet "aggression" in his country

At his first news conference since his arrival here on Sunday, he appealed to world opinion and free governments "everywhere" to take "appropriate measures" toward what he termed the re-establishment of the freedom of the Hungarians and all other oppressed peoples of southeastern Europe

Mr Nagy announced that he considered himself "a trustee for the cause of Hungary" until the people of that country could express their will in free elections so that they might "carry out their own decision"

[In Budapest, the political committee of the Small Landholders party, which Mr Nagy formerly led, refused to endorse a proposal to repudiate as interference the recent United States note requesting copies of documents that led to Mr Nagy's resignation]

The former Premier charged that Russia was aiming at complete domination of Hungary and all southeastern Europe and that she considered "nothing short of unconditional surrender" as a "friendly gesture"

Vague on Exile Regime

He said he would reside here for the present and carry on a struggle by every peaceful means to restore Hungary's independence In response to questions, he said he had not decided whether a government in exile should be established

The former Premier conferred with officials of the Southeastern European Division of the State Department He said he had no plans to see President Truman or Secretary of State Marshall

Mr Nagy denied that he had said at Shannon Airport, Ireland,

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

NAGY BIDS US CURB SOVIET 'AGGRESSOR'

Continued From Page 1

on his way here, that the Truman Doctrine had precipitated the Communist coup in Hungary Because of translation from Hungarian to French through several channels, he explained, his remarks on this point had been "inverted"

He was attended at his news conference by Aladar Szegedy-Maszak, who resigned as Minister to the United States rather than serve the present regime in Budapest, and by other former officials of the legation Mr Nagy issued a formal statement of his position and then invited questions

Called Russian Agency

In the statement he charged that the Allied Control Commission in Hungary was a Russian agency

The former Premier said he intended to follow every method in international relations consistent with international law that would enable him to solve the present situation by peaceful means.

He declared that he did not consider that possible action on Hungary by the United Nations would be "ineffectual" When the future of many millions of persons is involved, he said, action of the United Nations "will be effective"

Mr Nagy expressed confidence in Bela Kovacs, former secretary of the Small Landholders party, the majority, who was arrested and, according to the Russians, made a statement involving Mr Nagy in a plot against the Hungarian Republic

"I know his crime was opposition to the desire of the Communists to expand their power," he said "It pains me to think by what method his alleged confession was extorted"

Mr Nelson
Mr Clark
Mr Gavin
Mr Ladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr Egan
Mr Gurnea
Mr Karlo
Mr. Mohr
Mr Pennington
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49 JUN 28 1947

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This is a clipping from page 1 of N.Y. Times

Date 6/18/47

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Nagy Expected In U. S. Tomorrow

By the United Press

A State Department spokesman said last night that ousted Premier Ferenc Nagy of Hungary "has expressed a desire to come to the United States," and Hungarian sources said they expect him to arrive at New York's LaGuardia airport at noon tomorrow

The Hungarian spokesman said that originally, Nagy and his family were due in New York last night, but their Trans-World airliner has been delayed in Cairo, Egypt

He said the Premier will board the plane in Geneva, Switzerland and proceed directly to the United States

He said that the plane will probably be met in New York by Hungarian Ambassador Aladar Szegedy-Maszak and Ferenc Nagy, jr. Both Szegedy-Maszak and young Nagy are still in Washington.

Mr Tolson
Mr E A Tamm
Mr Clegg
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Mr Gurnea
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Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
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NOT RECORDED
49 JUN 27 1947

THE WASHINGTON POST
PAGE 3
DATE 6-13-47

63 JUN 30 1947

FILE

Nagy Reported Due In U. S. Tomorrow

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, June 12—A State Department spokesman said tonight that ousted Premier Ferenc Nagy of Hungary "has expressed a desire to come to the United States," and Hungarian sources said they expected him to arrive at New York's La Guardia airport at noon, Saturday

The Hungarian spokesman said that, originally, Mr. Nagy and his family were due in New York at 6 P. M, EDT, tonight but that their Trans World Airline plane had been delayed in Cairo, Egypt.

He said the former Premier would board the plane in Geneva, Switzerland, and proceed directly to the United States

A Trans World Airline spokesman said last night that the airline had no information that Mr. Nagy was coming here by plane from Geneva. The spokesman added that the line's scheduled flight yesterday from Geneva had been delayed by mechanical difficulties at Cairo, Egypt, where the flight originates.

G. I. R.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A Tamm
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71 JUN 24 1947

JUN 25 1947

"FIVE"

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Date 6/13/47

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