

ANSWER TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Concerning the questions mentioned in my proclamation, I have the honor to answer them as follows:

Ad 1. At the time when Germany initiated the second World War, Hungary was the only State in the world having no army. The treaty of Trianon prohibited the training of officers and men as well as manufacturing of arms. The Little Entente, which took possession of two-thirds of Hungary in Trianon, took all necessary dispositions in order that this dictate should not be double-crossed. Hungary was Germany's most important neighbor because all the troops and arms to Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece, as well as all the oil transportation from Romania to Germany had to cross it. Furthermore, they were in need of our surplus in cereals, aluminum, oil etc. We were never--not having an army and munitions--placed before the alternative whether we would choose war or neutrality, but only whether we wished to remain a sovereign state as against immediate occupation with a gauleiter. We wanted so much less to fight as the Hungarian race had a tremendous loss in the last war; expressed in percentage it had the greatest loss in deads among all nations at war. What we wanted to undertake with the armed troops was the defense of our frontiers. We never fought against English and American troops. The German General Staff without asking us, and also against our will, ordered Hungarian troops against the Soviet front.

Ad 2. That's how it happened.

Ad 3. The number of the arrested amounted to several hundred. Senators and Members of the Parliament, officers of high rank, the Minister of Interior and his brother who is a General in retreat, many personalities of Hebrew faith, managers of banks, owners of industries, Adam the professor of international repute etc.

Ad 4. The Prime Minister (Kallay) who to my knowledge is actually in Capri, when the Gestapo, assisted by armed SS men wanted to arrest him, took refuge in my royal castle, passing through an underground tunnel in company of his family. When I escorted them to an apartment on a lower floor, the Prime Minister told me that he did not want to complicate my situation, that he had already telephoned the Turkish Ambassador, who expressed that he would gladly accept him. Shortly after, as I remember, he (the Ambassador) came personally in a car to fetch him. He spend seven months there, after I was deported on Oct. 17 to Germany, his family

was arrested. I then offered to the Germans that if they would let his family free, he would leave the extraterritorial Embassy and give himself up. That is what happened.

Ad 5. Hitler made a firm promise that if I would nominate a government who would enjoy his confidence, then he would repeal all the troops from Hungary. Under the presidency of the former Military Attache in Berlin, who later became our Ambassador in Berlin, General Sztójay, I designated a government which they accepted but they didn't keep their promise.

Ad 6. This is true. Some of the arrested, whose names I learned, I was able with many difficulties to liberate, but how many I can't say. Among them was Adam, University Professor, because later he came to see me and I spoke to him.

Ad 7. The occupational army under General Weichs, behaved in a correct way. The looting of the country, the robbing and emptying of our shops was done by the SS troops and the Gestapo.

Ad 8. This happened. Who betrayed him I don't know.

Ad 9. This has been reported ^{to me} this way.

Ad 10. I assume not only because they needed Hungary, its products, and its good soldier material, but also because I knew that Hitler hates the Hungarians. The reason--as I know it from the best source--was that at some time a German philosopher wrote in one of his books in which he criticized all the European nations, that "the Magyars are the noblest race in Europe, which at each crossing has an ennobling effect" (this quotation is in German). For the same reason he hated the German aristocracy and the old German officers group. He was fearing from these, and in time caused Hitler to organize what he considered a reliable counter army, the SS, replacing from their ranks the commanders ^{in disgrace} when practicable. On the 15th of October in the forenoon, they trapped my only remaining son, a detachment of SS arrested him, and Skosinie (who kidnapped Mussolini from Italy) on his plane took him to the ill famed German prison at Mauthaus, and from there later to Dachau. For seven months I didn't even know whether he was alive. He (my son) was living in my vicinity in the castle, and his duty was to receive people whom I could not or would not want to receive, to listen to what they had to say, and to report

to me what he thought important. The sin which he according to the Germans committed was that he hated the Nazis, that from the start he was convinced that the Germans would lose the war, and that he caused a British Colonel who escaped from a German prison to Hungary to join the Britishers in Italy. Whether this last fact was known by the Germans I am not sure, but I consider it probable.

At noon I received the German Ambassador and informed him that I would conclude an armistice, since my Fatherland was near to devastation and destruction. He wanted to change my mind. He asked that I shouldn't do that, he promised various things to which I answered that my determination was unchangeable. Of the promises which they never kept I received enough. In a half an hour's time the radio will broadcast my proclamation addressed to the people and the army, and I dismissed him. I knew that this would entail my arrest, but I thought that it would result in the clarification of our situation under duress and our role. In the afternoon I received the German Ambassador to Italy, dispatched to me in a special mission by Hitler, in order, as he said, to create a better atmosphere, and to promise that he would defend Hungary. I answered that I would not change my decision, but if for once Hitler would do me a favor I would ask him not to defend Hungary because that would mean the destruction of the country, and that Budapest would become a mass of ruins.

At 6:00 next morning, October 16, started the great siege against the royal castle, according to reports with 600 tanks. We had one and the bodyguard. Since I didn't want to sacrifice these against such odds, I ordered the defense to cease. After they entered with Ambassador Veesenmayer, they arrested me as well as the Prime Minister Lokatos who was with me, General Vattay, my chief Aide, and Lt. Col. Fost, one of my Aides, and we were transported to the Headquarters of the SS in the Hadvany Castle. Preceding these events, I sent my family to the Papal Nuncio. I was with the above mentioned persons when, in the presence of a German guard, a German officer arrived and reported that the Hungarian Prime Minister would like to talk to me. Since Lokatos was present I asked who would be the Prime Minister, and the answer was Szalasi. I went to another room and found there Szalasi, who asked me to designate him Prime Minister. What I more or less answered him was that he would be the last about whom I would think, and that anyhow I saw that the German Ambassador had already nominated him. For all

purposes this was a unique case, since in our thousand year old history something comparable had never happened--and I left him. In the afternoon he came again; he again asked me to designate him as Prime Minister, and also that I should resign from my office as Regent. I refused both of his demands. In the afternoon I was informed that the next day I would be taken with my family to Germany. That my son would join us in Vienna. Since we had to order packing at 6:00 P. M. the German Counsellor of Embassy called on me and we went to the royal castle. There a very sad picture presented itself to me. In my apartment and in my offices, under the command of Col. Wolf, were approximately 50 SS soldiers. They were sleeping on torn down silk drapes and in our beds, or they were bathing in our bathrooms, the Gobelin carpets were muggy, dirt everywhere. All of the cupboards were broken, everything was stolen, starting with the jewelry of my wife to the money of her chambermaid. The apartments of my sons were emptied, not a shirt or shoe remained. The large kitchen provisions, wine and champagne--which because of the frequent luncheons given in honor of foreign heads of states, Ministers, etc. were stored--everything had disappeared. Only those things remained for which they had no use whatsoever.

The next day in the afternoon, escorted before and behind by SS troops in company of the German Embassy's Counsellor, they took me to the Kelenfoldi train station where a special train was waiting. My wife, daughter-in-law, and four year old grandson with the personnel were already sitting in the train, General Vassey, my chief Aide, and General Brunswick as trip marshal in service, also accompanied me. Lt. Col. Post, one of my best Aides, unfortunately shot himself to death the night before. We started to Vienna where we arrived after 11:00 o'clock. I was looking for my son, but despite that both Ambassador Vessunmayer and the German Ambassador to Italy pledged their word of honor that he would join us in the train there--he was nowhere. We arrived next morning at 10:00 o'clock at Weilheim (Bavaria), and from the station we drove by car to the Waldbichl Castle, which is located in the midst of a big forest on a hill. The billeting was good. We had two floors, the first for us, and on the second floor were the diplomat assigned to me, the Obersturmfuhrer, another officer, a manager and a housekeeper. We were guarded by 100 SS soldiers and 15 Gestapo men who lived in barracks. When we walked in the fenced garden guarded by 6 men, a Gestapo man went along at 20' distance. That is how we lived imprisoned for six and one-half months. When the American troops were nearing, Hitler gave written orders that I should be

executed with my family. This was avoided by the stunning speed of the American advance. They arrived on the 1st of May at Waldbrichl. Next day, on General Patton's invitation, accompanied by an American officer, I was taken to his Headquarters-----since then I am a prisoner-----what happened in Budapest after October 15 I don't know. The only think I heard is that Szalasi was murdering.

Hitler never spoke with me about his plans. Maybe he didn't have a real program. "Appetite is coming while eating" (the quotation of this French proverb is made by Horthy in French). I don't think he ever thought to conquer the world, but I think that when he was at the top of his glory, he thought to impose in Europe a federation under German leadership. This is, however, my own opinion without proof. All my military, civil and private documents and files, my correspondence and the minutes of my speeches etc. were burned in the castle, since my own studio, as well as the cabinet and the military office's documents were kept there, and I heard that the castle in consequence of the shelling was burned out. That Hitler and the Nazi leaders, to achieve their plans of domination, would employ all means is of general knowledge. When they would want something, they never communicated that to me, but in the most polite form asked for it and asked again, some times for a year again and again, so long that one was forced to compromise. They seldom kept their promises. To completely refuse them was almost impossible without hurting oneself. How they did work in the neighboring countries I do not know.

The German