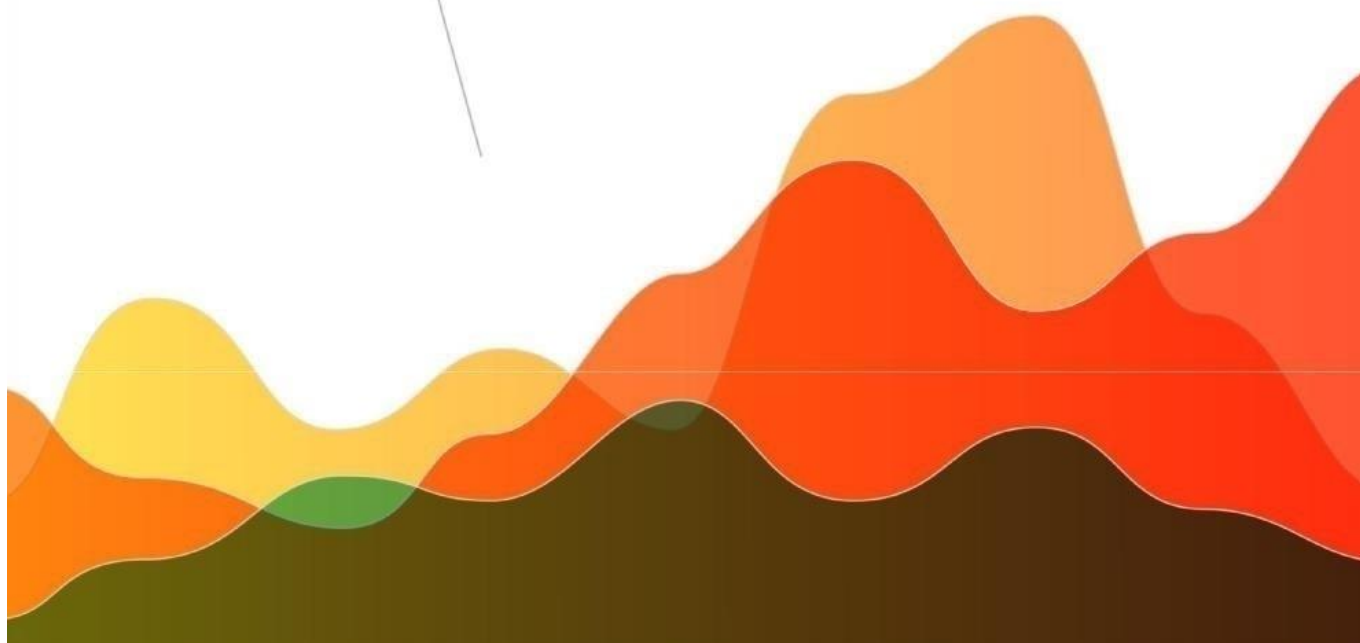


ADVANCES OF SCIENCE

**Proceedings of articles the international
scientific conference
Czech Republic, Karlovy Vary -
Ukraine, Kyiv, 5 April 2019**



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**DEPORTATIONS TO UZHGOROD DURING THE 1956 HUNGARIAN
REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE ACCORDING TO THE
TRANSCARPATHIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS¹**

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A large number of the Transcarpathian documents from 1956 can be found in the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Uzhgorod.

Two remarkable papers provide detailed information about the deportation of the participants of the revolution of 1956: the “Yeltsin-dossier” [20] and the *Missing Pages from the History of 1956* [27]. Besides these works, I attempt to provide a broader insight into the deportations to the Soviet Union relying on the documents kept in the Transcarpathian archive.

The “Hungarian government”, which came into existence in Moscow in the first days of November 1956 and was led by János Kádár, was supported by many loyal cadres to “restore the order”. One of the first measures was the organisation of deportations to the Soviet Union. General Serov, the President of the State Security Committee of the Soviet Union wrote the following during his stay in Budapest:

I explained to comrade Kádár that the special departments of the divisions received the command to arrest all the organisers of the rebellion who had shown

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armed resistance towards the units of the Soviet army, as well as to arrest those citizens who instigated and sparked off the hatred of the people for the communists and co-workers of the state security organs, resulting that some of them were shot, hanged and burnt. [25].

The documents reveal that the Hungarian followers of the communist regime did everything to keep their illegally obtained power. They indiscriminately selected their means, moreover, they asked for help from the Soviet Union, turning against their own nation, and deported hundreds of people to the Soviet prisons.

There were several “aggravated” name-lists about the deported persons but notes containing the members of a “consignment” also occurred, no matter which town they were transported back to: Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, and Stryi or to different towns of Hungary: Veszprém, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Szombathely, etc. These lists inform us about how many persons were transported to the Soviet Union from a particular Hungarian town or how many of them were taken back home to Hungary. (This certainly does not mean that the revolutionists were transported to the Soviet Union only from these towns.)

The data referring to the number of deported persons are very different. On 10 July 2007, a list was given to the Hungarian President László Sólyom by Viktor Yushchenko, the President of Ukraine that includes approximately three thousand names. [29]. On the basis of the researches conducted in the Transcarpathian archives so far, it can be stated that more than one thousand Hungarian revolutionists were transported to the Soviet prisons.

Some people stated after the Kádár-regime in Hungary that part of the deported persons were taken to Siberia where they have been living in captivity since that time. [21, pg. 205-218]. This statement is not confirmed by the archival documents that have been explored so far.

On 11 November 1956, General Serov, the President of KGB reported to Khrushchev, the Secretary General of Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party that they had arrested 3773 persons until November 10. More than 700 persons of the arrested ones were directed to station Chop with military escort. [27, pg. 14-

158]. On November 13, the General reported to Khrushchev again that 83 persons were arrested on November 10 and 11, while altogether 4056 persons had been arrested from the first day of the military operation and 767 persons of them were directed to Chop; an investigation material was also made about them. Serov also highlighted that no concessions should be made but the arrests and deportations should be continued, although he did not mention in which towns of the Soviet Union these measures should take place in:

Yesterday comrade Münnich again raised the question of finishing the arrests carried out in the counties because the workers are striking. Since the arrested persons are transported to Siberia, there is a high level of dissatisfaction (this is announced by the BBC). In my opinion, there should not be made any concession in this case since as the practice proves, even the smallest concession made towards the reactionaries results in more demands and threats [27, pg. 151].

On 14 November 1956, Serov and Andropov (the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Hungary 1956) as it was agreed before, reported to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on K-line that they would tell Ferenc Münnich that the reason of arresting and locating of a small group in a building near the Soviet-Hungarian border was the fact that Hungary lacks of properly developed prisons that would be able for the reception of the prisoners and for the continuation of the objective investigation. Then, Serov and Andropov commanded to transport the arrested ones in closed car with reinforced convoy in the future.

In the second week of November 1956, Holodkov, the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs arrived to Transcarpathia to deal with the reception and placement of the participants of the Hungarian “counter-revolution” who were arrested and transported to Transcarpathia by the units of the Soviet army. [27, pg. 154].

On 15 November 1956, Holodkov reported about the events to Dudorov, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union:

I hereby report you that as you have commanded, I arrived to Mukachevo with a group of the co-workers of the Ministry of Inner Affairs and with Colonel Berezin, the representative of the Ministry of Defence of the Soviet Union, on November 6,

where I contacted comrade Colonel Komarov, the representative of the Soviet troop's headquarters; who we have agreed with on the receiving order and place of the persons participating in the movement of the Hungarian counter-revolution who were arrested by the units of the Soviet army. We have decided that the units of the Soviet army will transport all the arrested to the prison of Uzhgorod [27, pg. 154-155].

The Hungarians who were transported in wagons – which originally served the purpose of carrying cattle - to the Soviet prisons, were singing the anthem when the train stopped at or passed the stations and threw out cards through the ventilation gratings with their own names, addresses and their relatives' addresses on it, asking the honest finder to inform them. The railway employees, passengers and people living near the railway stations had found many of these notes in Nyíregyháza. The same happened in Szolnok. The news was even included in the press material of the Hungarian Telegraph Office. Since there was a strike on November 14, the news had not been censored and edited, so accidentally, this report was put to the news at 4 pm: “Bald young people are transported to the Soviet Union through Szolnok...” [19, pg. 105]. It was also announced a few minutes later in London.

In the beginning, the Hungarian authorities and leaders could hardly believe the news and denied the deportations. But the citizens' trust in the authorities had ceased to exist a long time ago, so the presidency of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Labour Party] of Szabolcs-Szatmár county and the Executive Committee of the County Council were compelled to send out a special investigation group which found out that: “...*Unfortunately, on November 14, at 3 a.m. a 6-carriage train carrying Hungarian captives indeed left the border of our country.* ” [23, pg. 216-217].

Based on my research up to this point, the KGB-documents kept in the archive of the Security Service in Uzhgorod provide different data for the deportation of the revolutionists, according to which the captives were transported from Nyíregyháza to the Soviet Union on 10, 12 and 13 November 1956, while on November 14, they were deported only from Budapest. [9].

A committee of 5 members went along the railway line by the county party-committee's car passing Kemece, Demecser, Pátroha, Kisvárda, Fényeslitke, Komoró, Tuzsér and finally Záhony. They gained information from the inhabitants in each settlement and collected more than 100 cards. In Záhony, the committee immediately visited commissioner Kovács, instead of the station-master, who was recently appointed by Dr. Ferenc Münnich, Minister of National Defence. At the end of the conversation, Münnich asked the delegation from Nyíregyhaza whether they were courageous enough to take efforts for the success. After the affirmative answer, the commissioner summoned an extraordinary Hungarian-Soviet conference. After presenting the collected cards, the Soviet participants had to confirm the fact of deportations. The commissioner contacted Münnich on phone, who said that he did not know anything about the deportations but promised an immediate orientation and a quick telephone-recall and urged the participants of the conference to stay together in Záhony. Münnich called soon, informing the commissioner that the deportations were executed by a low-rank Soviet military headquarters which he stopped immediately. [18]. However, the documents kept in the archive of the KGB in Uzhgorod refute the fact that it was carried out by a "*low-rank military headquarter.*" [1]. The documents relating to the deported people reveal that the deportations were carried out by the Hungarian authorities and the Transcarpathian KGB in close cooperation.

On 19 November 1956, Serov made a report to Khrushchev again, according to which 4700 persons were arrested during the action. 860 people were transported to Uzhgorod and Stryi where they were imprisoned. He added that in the first days, it often occurred that the commanders of the military units sent the arrested people to station Chop without previous agreement with the state security organs. Then, the groups of the Ministry of Inner Affairs received them without having their investigation files without previous agreement too, therefore, the commander of the relocation camp of Uzhgorod took over those 68 apprentices who were sent by one of the commanders of the divisions stationed at Budapest – wrote Sereda and Stikalin. [27, pg. 161-164].

In most cases, the minute-books about the arrested ones were made on the basis of a previously defined script. The minute-book often constructed different stories about the suspected, monitored persons.

The interrogation was usually conducted in Russian. The interpreters were mostly Transcarpathian Hungarians. The employees of the State Archive of Berehove were present at the interrogations among others, for instance Béla Gajdos, Dezső Foltin, Sándor Szijjártó since the archive as an institution was under the authority of the KGB.

There were soldiers, policemen among the deported persons who guarded the building of the party-committee in Budapest and other public buildings. Beltsenko, Major General, one of Serov's deputies ordered their interrogation on 2 December 1956. He wanted to find out how they were attacked, who were killed by the rebels and who were known among them. [5]. After they had justified themselves, many of them supported the interrogators' work during their stay in Uzhgorod. According to one of the aggregated lists, altogether 231 soldiers were arrested from different military corps. [8].

There are several records about how the prisoners were treated. In case of need, they were provided with medical and dental attendance and they were shaven bald often to prevent head lice, which was confirmed by eyewitnesses too. [28]. There are no data confirming that they were beaten during the interrogation or that any of the Hungarian revolutionists died in the Soviet prisons.

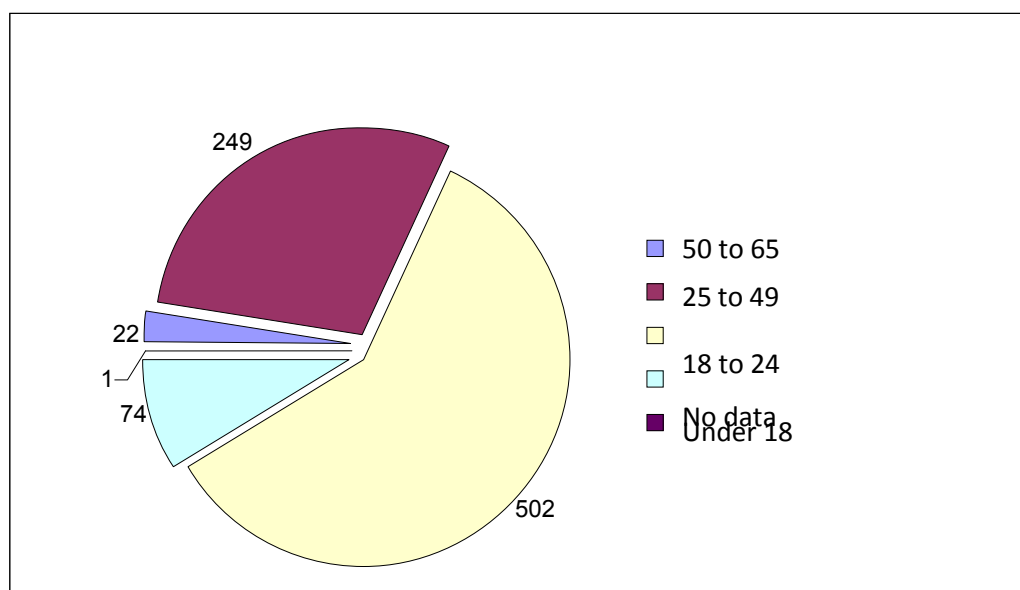
Serov reported to Khrushchev that: *“arrests are made only on the basis of evidence, factual information proving the hostile activities...”* [27, pg. 151]. On 8 December 1956, General Beltsenko reported from Uzhgorod to Major General Malyarov, the leader of justice of the Main Office of the KGB Central Investigation that *“...I am sending the name-list of those persons whose participation in the revolt cannot be supported by any material owned by us.”* [8].

Holodkov's report to Dudorov also confirms that several people were arrested without evidences:

There were no properly filled documents concerning a significant number of prisoners. Our materials were basically lists prepared on the basis of the reports and announcements of the local Hungarian authorities, the defence agencies of the Soviet army, the soldiers and the prisoners. The documents, that were needed for the arrests, were missing from most of the prisoners, some of them were not even on the lists, ...taking into consideration that there were 14-17 years old teenagers, even girls among the arrested persons , it is presumable that some of the arrests were not supported by evidence. [27, pg. 157].

The following illustration clearly suggests that nearly one tenth of the arrested people were under aged. It is based on the aggregated list including 848 names, made by the KGB-authorities in 1956. [9].

Diagram № 1. Age Distribution of the Arrested Persons



The captives were not only placed in the prison of Uzhgorod since Holodkov wrote the following: “...In agreement with the representatives of the Ministry of Inner Affairs of the USSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], I have decided that the prisoners should be placed in the prisons of the following towns besides the one in Uzhgorod: Stryi, Drohobych, Chernivtsi and Stanislav”. [27, pg. 155].

The KGB-documents only support the fact that some of prisoners were transported to the prisons of Stryi and Drohobych. [11]. Holodkov continued his report as follows:

The prisoners arrived to the prison of Uzhgorodon November 8. On this day, 22 persons came from Debrecen and Miskolc. There were 846 captives in the prison of Uzhgorodon 15 November 1956 (23 women among them). 463 of them were transported to the prisons of Stryi and Drohobych for further imprisonment. Further captives will be placed in the prisons of Stanislavv, Chernivtsi and Drohobych... Most of the prisoners are transported from the area of Budapest (548 persons), Veszprém (90 persons), Kaposvár (45 persons), Szombathely (55 persons) and Miskolc (20 persons). A significant number of the arrived captives are members of the Hungarian Workers' Party, the soldiers of the Hungarian army, and 68 underaged persons born between 1939 and 1942, with 9 child girls among them..." [27, pg. 155].

If we compare these data with that of the KGB-list, [9]. numerous differences can be observed. However, the fact according to which some of the prisoners were women is proved by the documents too [9].

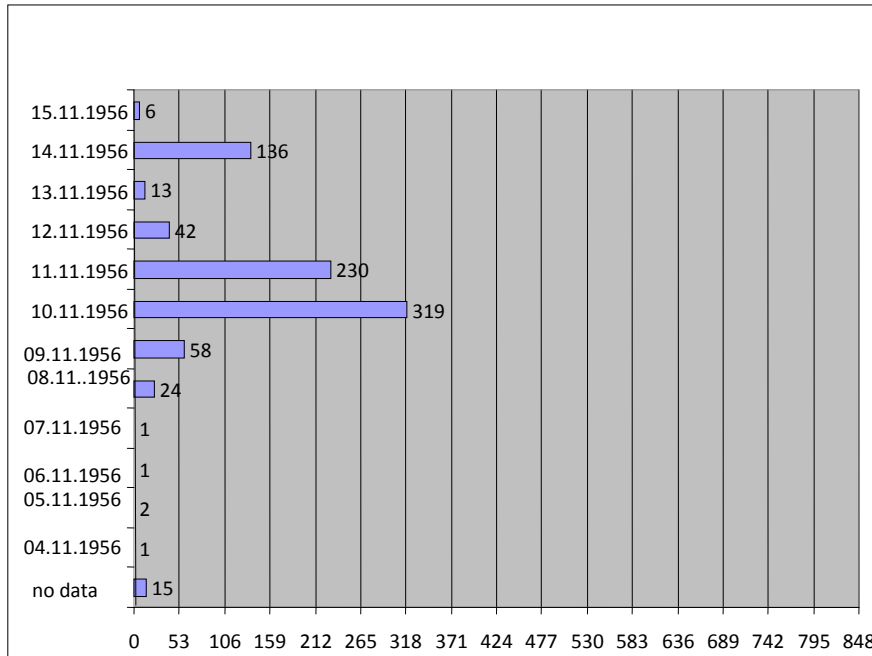
On 21 November 1956, Colonel Grichenko, the commander of the KGB of county Drohobych, sent a hand-written report to Colonel Pivovarets, one of the KGB-leaders of County Transcarpathia:

During the interrogation of 147 persons on 19 November 1956, 32 arrested admitted that they had a weapon at the moment of their arrest, two of them confirmed that they had participated in the demonstrations and 113 persons considered themselves innocent. 120 persons are not interrogated yet, 76 persons of them were sent to Uzhgorodon 16 November 1956 on the VCS-line (direct military telephone connection) in accordance with the list given by the Regional Department of Inner Affairs of Transcarpathia. Moreover, a list concerning 44 persons, who are not interrogated yet, is at comrade Kabanov. [11].

The revolutionists were transported to Uzhgorod mainly between 4-15 November. It occurred that the exact place of the prisoners was not known even by the Soviet authorities themselves. The following example can clearly confirm this

uncertainty: Lieutenant-Colonel Klimenko sent a list containing 140 names to Colonel Glebov, who only knew about 16 people from the list staying there, but he had no information about the rest [7].

Diagram № 2. Daily Distribution of the Deportations



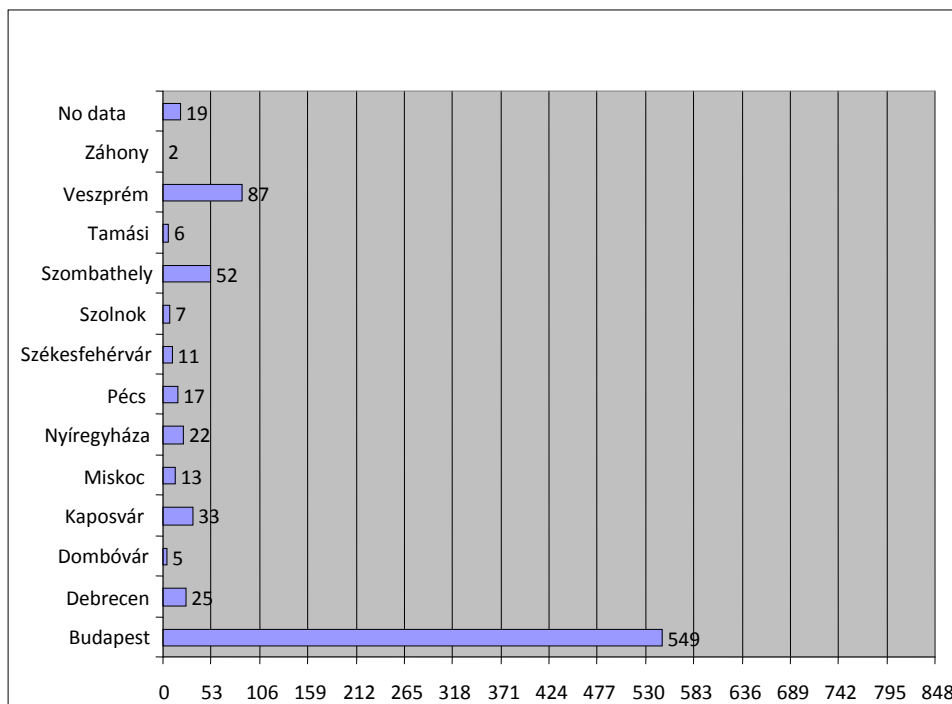
The aggregated list suggests that the revolutionists were deported from 13 towns to the Soviet Union. These towns were the gathering places.

One of those, who were transported to and interrogated in the prison of Uzhgorod was Sándor Szűcs, the station agent of MÁV [Hungarian Railway] in Záhony [24, pg. 48-62]. According to him, their life changed for the better only when the mass deportation of the young Hungarian rebels to the Soviet Union was revealed, mainly with the help of the railway employees and the local inhabitants. First, the 16-17 years old students of the Miner school of Tatabánya were released, then the women, the cleaning staff of the Western railway station of Budapest, and finally the men. These people were transported back to Hungary through the border crossing point of Beregsurány on a truck covered by canvas.

There are lists, for instance “*The list of Arrested from Hungary*”, in which the date of the transportation back to Hungary was written by hand next to the serial

number in many places. These lists reveal that the transportation back to Hungary was executed gradually, not in one day. [8 and 9 and 17].

Diagram № 3. Settlements the Revolutionists Were Transported from to Uzhgorod



Part of deported persons was transported back to Hungary in December 1956. The documents certify that prisons of certain Hungarian towns received the prisoners by the Soviet authorities. A few examples: *“I have received the above mentioned 30 (thirty) people and their personal documents in 24 envelopes (for 24 persons). During the imprisonment, they did not make any complain about the staff accompanying them and the staff guarding them. Veszprém, 16 December 1956, 9.30 pm. Sándor Patkó, policeman lieutenant, commissioner of the Police-Headquarter of the County: [1] “I have received the above mentioned captives (45 persons) today. Veszprém, 15 December 1956, 11.45 pm. The personal documents of the above mentioned persons...[Illegible signature] Prison of County Veszprem”[5]. “Delivery-receipt acknowledgement. On this day, I have received 36 (thirty-six) detainees and complain... [Illegible] from the Soviet head-quarter. Lieutenant Horváth, Kaposvár, 10 December 1956” [6]. “I have received 50 (fifty) persons without checking their*

names, Budapest, 1956. On 19 December, Mátyás Csúcs lieutenant, State Prison of Budapest.” [2].

Usually, there was a small card stuck to the first page of some of the minute-books, with the following commands: “Give this person over in order to clear his/her participation in the rebellion”, “Give this person to the Hungarian authorities for further investigation”, “Give this person to the Hungarian authorities for the purpose of reconnaissance”, “Give this person over in order to ascertain the rightfulness of releasing him/her or his/her participation in the rebellion”, “Give this person over to the Hungarian authorities to determine the degree of guilt.”, “Give this person over to the Hungarian authorities for the purpose of impeachment” etc. These comments refer to the fact that the Soviets expected further investigation from the Hungarian authorities.

Based on their correspondences, the military organs did not only arrest the prisoners but also interrogated them and made several notes, reports and accounts. Consequently, the Hungarian authorities and the Transcarpathian KGB executed the deportations in close cooperation.

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