

**Accent Graphics**  
Publishing & Communications

Accent Graphics Communications & Publishing, Hamilton, Canada

 **PREMIER**  
Publishing

Premier Publishing s.r.o.

Центр научных исследований «Solution»

10<sup>th</sup> International conference

# **Science and society**

15<sup>th</sup> March 2019

**Hamilton, Canada**  
**2019**

The 10th International conference “Science and society” (March 15, 2019) Accent Graphics Communications & Publishing, Hamilton, Canada. 2019. 471 p.

**ISBN 978-1-77192-360-6**

The recommended citation for this publication is:

*Busch P. (Ed.) (2019). Humanitarian approaches to the Periodic Law // Science and society. Proceedings of the 10th International conference. Accent Graphics Communications & Publishing. Hamilton, Canada. 2019. Pp. 12–17*

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Typeset in Berling by Ziegler Buchdruckerei, Linz, Austria.

Printed by Premier Publishing s.r.o., Vienna, Austria on acid-free paper

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# POLITICAL, LEAFLET-DISTRIBUTOR GROUPS IN TRANSCARPATHIA DURING THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1956<sup>1</sup>

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The mournful and bloody Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 demonstrated the existence of Hungarian unity and cooperation even in spite of the numerous hardships and artificially drawn borders. It also proved that there is a common homeland in people's hearts, for which those who consider themselves Hungarian hold together within and beyond the borders even if the political powers take revenge on it.

Numerous papers have been written about the history of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 both in Hungary and beyond its borders in the past years but the archival documents of Ukraine and the former Soviet Union still need to be explored. For incomprehensible reasons, the investigation of the Modern Era confronts several difficulties in Transcarpathia even today. The documents of the local archives cannot be accessed easily, only few researchers have the opportunity to gain an insight into the papers. Even if the research is permitted, some of the documents are still encrypted that makes the situation more complicated too. Therefore, only a small part

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<sup>1</sup> The research was supported by Tempus Public Foundation in the framework of *Eötvös Scholarship of the Hungarian State*.

of the Transcarpathian archival documents relating to the 20<sup>th</sup> century history have been processed up to the present time. Documents that have never been seen by historians still need to be explored; some of them were considered taboo for a long time. One of these issues is the Hungarian Revolution and War of independence of 1956 followed by the period of reprisals, still surrounded by a lot of secrets. The Transcarpathian aspect of this significant historical event has been investigated only by few researchers so far, therefore, this part of the conflict is almost completely missing. Reviewing the literature embracing the history of the revolution, it can be stated that countless results were recorded in Hungary, Transylvania and Upper Hungary. Consequently, examining the revolution based on the Transcarpathian documents and recording the reminiscences of the contemporaries is important since it supplements the similar researches conducted in Hungary, further broadening our knowledge.

A large number of the Transcarpathian documents from 1956 can be found in the department of the Regional State Archive of Transcarpathia in Uzhgorod and in the department of the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine also in Uzhgorod. The state archive only keeps the materials of those persons who were accused of “less significant” crimes, for instance, of singing the Hungarian anthem in the town centre or of discussing the events of the revolution. The documents of those cases that are connected to deportations and of those labelled by serious judgments are kept in the archive of the KGB (Committee of State Security).

The documents of the former KGB concerning the revolution of 1956, which consist of 30 volumes and contain thousands of pages, are kept in the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Uzhgorod. The documents are disordered; most of them are handwritten (often with lead-pencil) and hardly readable. The majority of the documents are written in Russian but Ukrainian, Hungarian and German ones also can be found.

The documents can be grouped by:

- the name-list of the revolutionists transported to the Soviet Union and of the soldiers, drivers accompanying them,



- the minute-books containing the interrogation of the imprisoned ones,
- notes, certificates,
- the Russian translations of the documents found at the revolutionists,
- the lists of properties found at the revolutionists,
- documents containing the observations of the KGB-detectives, jail commanders of the prison of Uzhgorod,
- the correspondences of the authorities among one another,
- the minute-books containing the interrogation of the arrested co-workers of the German Red Cross,
- the documents about imprisonments,
- confiscated personal items, documents, photos, handouts.

The majority of the documents are minute-books containing the interrogation and the lists of the revolutionists deported to Uzhgorod in November 1956. The aggregated name lists are mainly typed, although with many mistakes; the personal names and names of places are often illegible, unrecognisable. Some of the names were written down incorrectly since they were not based on identity documents but were recorded after hearing, mainly by non-Hungarian speakers, making the identification more complicated. There is another thing that may have caused a problem: the Hungarian accented vowels, the letter combinations “*cz*”, “*th*”, “*ch*”, “*sch*” etc. and the letters *w, y, ly* cannot be converted into the Cyrillic alphabet. The recorders did not always perceive the difference between the short and long vowels and consonants, as well as the stressed and unstressed syllables. For instance, the sound marked by the Cyrillic letter *o* can be *o, ó, a, and á*, and perhaps *ö, ő* in Hungarian. The recognition of the difference between the letters *g* and *h* is a usual problem since these letters are often used interchangeably.

Numerous data prove that the actions aiming to crush the War of Independence were directly governed from Transcarpathia. Archival data also confirm the reminiscence of the Transcarpathian Hungarian witnesses, according to which the Soviet military and political center was set up in Uzhgorod and Mukachevo, from

which the breakdown of the Hungarian Revolution was directed. Moreover, a military telephone center was operated in the Commercial Technical Institute of Mukachevo, for the purpose of direct communication [19]. KGB-leaders and high-ranking soldiers were delegated from Moscow to Transcarpathia to continually inform the Central Commission and Secretariate of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the Hungarian developments [8., pg. 62-132.]. The Transcarpathian high-ranking, loyal communist cadres actively participated in their work. The KGB-intelligence worked at a full stretch, the Military Zone of Transcarpathia contracted the troops, that were prepared for attack, along the Soviet-Hungarian border. The reminiscence of the Soviet soldiers reveals that the first military corps crossed the border with the purpose of crushing the revolution on October 24. [11].

The Hungarian population of Transcarpathia, although they did not have exact information about the revolution and its procession, observed the Hungarian events with sympathy, as a symbol of national inhesion. There are archival documents containing different data about the way the Transcarpathian Hungarian inhabitants expressed their sympathy towards the Revolution and War of independence. The documents also provide information about the atmosphere that prevailed in Transcarpathia and the punishments that concerned the Transcarpathian groups engaged in politics, after they had become victims of the local, well-functioning espionage. Transcarpathia and its population had two main tasks from political point of view: one the one hand, the area served as a marching base for the Hungarian fights; on the other hand, the Soviet governance frequently used the local population for completing interpretation and translation tasks.

The revolutionary movements of 1956 beyond the Hungarian borders are an excellent example of the solidarity among the separated parts of the Hungarian nation.

Since travelling became impossible due to the strictly closed borders after the Second World War, people living in the Soviet Union could not keep in touch with Hungary. The occurrent postal connections were severely controlled. The Soviet authorities permitted the inhabitants to order only a couple of foreign publications, in

few copies. Even the Hungarian party-press could be ordered and read only by few people.

The majority of the population was informed about the local and foreign world and events mainly by the Soviet press, which was the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Getting a relatively realistic picture about the outside world was only possible through foreign radio broadcasting. The Hungarian people mainly listened to *Kossuth Radio*, but some people could reach western broadcasts and listened to the *Free Europe Radio*, for instance. These sources of news were available during the revolution too [5., pg. 224-227.].

After the revolution was suppressed, the Transcarpathian newspapers celebrated the “victory over the counter-revolution” and judged its participants (the “horthysts”, the “fascists”). Only rejective writings were published; articles with the slightest sign of sympathy could be published neither in the central nor in the local papers. In Transcarpathia, it was not publicly known that there were people sympathising with the Hungarian revolution, so the local population could not become aware of individual and group actions against the Soviet communist system.

After the revolution broke out on 23 October 1956, the Hungarian events urged the suppressed Hungarian population of Transcarpathia to pursue the secret hope of achieving their own freedom and of the collapse of tyranny in the society ruled by fear. However, few people dared to talk about the Hungarian Revolution publicly since they were afraid of retaliation. The population was monitored more severely than before.

Transcarpathian groups of different size and secondary school pupils expressed their solidarity towards the Hungarian youth by distributing handouts during and a few months after the War of Independence of 1956. The direct influence of 1956 often manifested in student actions beyond the borders of the mother-country.

The significance of the Transcarpathian events, that have not been completely explored yet, can be evaluated at least from two points of view. They constitute part of the history of 1956 and thus, of the Hungarian history but they also form part of the past of Transcarpathia and its minority-politics. The communist system did not

consider the question of minorities important in the spirit of the internationalist doctrine, moreover, it regarded the idea of nationality to be harmful.

Hungary did not know about the events in Transcarpathia and in other transborder areas, so the manifestations of the Hungarian minorities could not influence the events. Despite this fact, these events still constitute part of the drama of 1956. The manifestations of the Hungarian people beyond the borders of the mother country indicated that the separated Hungarians lived the events of Hungary as their own destiny in 1956 too. Many people thought that taking a stand on 1956 was not only their right but duty too.

The remaining authentic and written sources mainly concern those actions in which the participants were brought to trial and secret service reports and state party reports were made about them, making the research of the revolution of 1956 more complicated beyond the borders of Hungary. However, there were events the authorities did not know about, therefore, sources serving as evidence have not remained. The attempt of youth from Vylok to escape to Hungary in order to participate in the fights is a good example. The attempt failed since the borders were reinforced and controlled more intensively than ever. The authorities also used the churches to reach their aim of preventing the revolutionary mood and movement.

The revolution of 1956 had a great influence on the Transcarpathian Hungarians. Groups of different size expressed their sympathy towards the Hungarian Revolution in Vynohradiv, Koszino, Haloch and Uzhgorod. The group of youth engaged in anti-Soviet politics of Vynohradiv consisted of secondary school students. From autumn 1956 until July 1957, they had been distributing handouts and were accused of organising secret meetings. Their handouts contained the following notes: *“Transcarpathia is a Hungarian territory and the Russians should go home”*, and *“the Russian army should withdraw from Hungary.”*[14]. These young people – Sándor Milován, János Varga, József Illés, István Dudás, Zoltán Kovács – were sentenced to 3-6 years of prison. The detectives of the KGB had been dealing with their case for months [4]. The lawyers rather accused them instead of defending them. *“Indeed, in those times, it was not suggested to defend people like us”* – said József

Illés [6., pg. 73-85]. Many of them spent their half or whole penalty in the Mordvinian Gulag-camps of the ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. (The penalty period, defined during the trial, was reduced for everyone except Illés who got the longest penalty of 6 years.) They had suffered a lot during the years spent in prison but their humiliation continued even after their release. They were constantly monitored [18].

In Koszino, the Ormos family distributed handouts: István and Mária (siblings), their cousin, Sándor Szécsi and their friends [6., pg. 52.]. When the revolution broke out in Budapest, they decided to help their Hungarian compatriots after hearing the news in the radio. Their attention was called to the inhabitants of the Hungarian settlement Barabás locating not far from their village, who asked for help from the people of Koszino. They shouted over the border and encouraged the local inhabitants for armed revolt. They spread their request on handouts and posters and urged the local Hungarians for political fight and helping the Hungarian people. On their first handwritten poster they quote the well-known line of Sándor Petőfi's "*National song*": "*On your feet now, Hungary calls you*", [4]. Their neighbour, who was a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature informed the authorities about it. The local authorities quickly removed the posters and reported it to the KGB's office of Beregovo district. All the three of them were arrested on 2 November 1957. They studied at the University of Uzhgorod and were captured during their school practice and were taken into custody by the KGB of Uzhgorod. The three young people from Koszino, were accused of being the members of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Revolutionary Association, which was based on the fact that the name of this organisation appeared on one of the found handouts that started with the call: "*To your homeland be faithful....*". (There are no written documents about the existence of this organisation.) They were sentenced for 4-6 years on 2 January 1958, after a serial of interrogations that lasted for a year.

The group in Haloch was formed at the end of 1956. The three young men, Tibor Perduk, István Pasztellák, and the nearly 13 years old László Molnár were accused of distributing handouts and collecting weapons, ammunition and explosives

left behind the Second World War. According to them, they just found the rusty, unusable weapons in a dried well. They disapproved the invading Soviet army which “*drowned the revolution of youth in blood*”. The text of one of their handouts started as follows: “*The bloody handed Soviet dictators drowned the Hungarian Revolution in blood.*” [7., pg. 32]. The group was arrested in 1958. The authorities considered Endre Gecse Calvinist minister to be the leader of the group, whom the boys visited for the purpose of reading at the library of the parish. After arresting him, he was transported to the prison of the KGB in Uzhgorod, where he was beaten to death during the interrogation since he did not want to admit that he “*had been involved in anti-Soviet propaganda in Hungarian nationalist spirit and encouraged the youth for armed revolt*” in 1956-1958 in Haloch [16]. He spent one month in prison at the end of 1958. During this time, other ministers were not allowed to visit him. At the public prosecution, the only evidence was Hitler’s volume titled *Mein Kampf*, where his name was marked. His American connection was also judged: it was based on a cloak that he received from the congregation of Khust, made from a material sent from America. [21]. He was not engaged in politics, his only sin was that he renovated ruined churches and was fully devoted to priesthood [20]. The authorities wanted to organise a show trial against him with the fake accusations of “encouragement for counter-revolution” and “American connection” but Endre Gecse died during his interrogation. On 7 January 1959, the representatives of the authorities took his wife, Leona Rózsa, to his funeral but she was not allowed to go close to the coffin. She could only see his face: one of the temples was blue [9].

There was also a small group operating in Uzhgorod. The leader was János Szobránci and the members were Nándor Benyák, Vince Orlovsky and János Tibor Kulcsár. They distributed handouts. It is known by them that on 3 November 1956, at dawn, the silence of the sleeping city was disturbed by rumbling military trucks on the streets. There must have been a strange consignment in the trucks covered by canvas because they were accompanied by armed soldiers. No one knew where the trucks had come from but children’s crying and whimper could be heard on their way to the Koryatovich Square. About 6-8 cars lined up. The cars transported children

from Hungary to the children's home in Onokivci [6., pg. 61.]. After crushing of the revolution, the Transcarpathian population found several cards on the Chop-Uzhgorod railway line [14]. Due to the cards thrown out from the wagons, many Transcarpathians could help the children to get back to their parents. The Soviet authorities, of course, denied that they had placed children in the children's home. Finally, the children were transported back to Hungary [17].

Hungarian and numerous non-Hungarian students of the University of Uzhgorod expressed solidarity with the claims of the revolution by attending the university in black and white dress-wear during the revolution. [13].

On 16 November 1956, the following three boys were arrested in Muzhiyevo, a settlement near the border since they attempted to get to Hungary by crossing the border: the 17 years old László Sulkó, the 15 years old József Balázs, a student from the 6<sup>th</sup> class of the school of Bene and the 14 years old Sándor Váradi. At the time of their arrest, they stated that they had listened to the *Voice of America* radio station, as well as the broadcast of Miskolc, according to which the Soviet troops oppress the freedom of the Hungarian nation. This was the reason of their crossing the border since they decided to help the "rebellers". An employee of the party-committee of the district was sent to the school for completing an analysing, informative task but he also talked to the teachers and separately, to the pupils' parents [1].

On 17 March 1958, after the secret voting for the election in the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, the following card was found after opening the poll in the settlement of Vary, in the district of Beregovo: "*Communists, this is your last election! You must die, dogs, and pay for your deeds. May the Hungarian God lead us, as oppressed ones, we, the Hungarians of Varyjevo, let you know about this. Long live Ferenc [Imre] Nagy, who stood up for the Hungarians! May he live forever!*"[2].

In October 1956, in the first days of the revolution, the Soviet tanks invaded through Beregovo towards Hungary. One of the employees of the posts of the district of Beregovo, the technician of the reinforcing department of the international telephone-lines "*blurted it out*" to the workers of the head-post in Budapest. The

regional committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party informed the superior organs that it would fortify the control for the total “order” in the given case [3].

Besides these examples, there were brave persons in several other settlements who expressed their solidarity with the revolution.

In 1956, many Transcarpathian Hungarians served as soldiers, interpreters, doctors in the Soviet army, even in those units which were directed to Hungary to crush the revolution. Many of them did not even know where they were taken for action. They were surprised when they realised that they had crossed the border in Transcarpathia, on their mother land and that the authorities wanted to use them for drowning the Hungarian revolution in blood. Some of them gathered together secretly in the evening and talked about the Hungarian events, or sang the Hungarian anthem in the centre of the village. In these cases, the police arrived within a few minutes and they were arrested with the charge of instigating revolt. Some of them refused to fight against the Hungarian revolutionists, deserted and tried to help the local population, for which they were sentenced to prison [17].



Tanks Invading Through Berehove. (Machola Street. The photo was made by László Balázsi. It is still in his possession [15].)

Since the authorities were afraid of a possible Hungarian mass movement in Transcarpathia, they cruelly punished those who sympathized with the revolution in public [15]. In spite of it, the Soviet power did not react with general, anti-Hungarian fear mongering to the revolution, probably because they were afraid of the failure of a possible anti-Hungarian reaction and its reversal. Right after the revolution, the



primary concern of the leadership of the Soviet Union was to prevent the further spread of the freedom movement.

According to the KGB documents, the authorities proceeded against 18 persons for anti-Soviet behaviour.

In the course of the interrogations in the Soviet Union, they acted according to the Ukrainian Criminal Code. (The content of the Soviet Criminal Code was the same in all the republics.) The First Chapter included the crimes against the state and the Article 58 referred to the counter-revolutionary crimes: *“Counter-revolutionary” is understood as any action directed toward the overthrow, subversion or weakening of the authority of the soviets of workers and peasants or of their chosen (according to the Constitution of the USSR and constitutions of union republics) workers’ and peasants’ governments of the USSR, union and autonomous republics, or toward the subversion or weakening of the external security of the USSR and the fundamental economic, political, and national gains of proletarian revolution* [10].

Transcarpathian revolutionists and those who sympathised with the revolution, hundreds of Hungarian citizens were imprisoned here after the Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 was suppressed. The commemoration was also attended by the former convicts, who sacrificed their own freedom so that the next generation could live in freedom [22].

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