

The Topic of the Doctoral Dissertation (PhD)

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**HOW THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE GUILT WAS CARRIED OUT
AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN POPULATIONS OF
TRANSCARPATHIA**

**(ON THE STRENGTH OF THE EXECUTION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE
MILITARY BOARD OF THE 4TH UKRAINIAN FRONT IN 1944-1946**

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1. THE PURPOSE AND THE ANTICEDENTS OF CHOOSING THE TOPIC FOR THE THESIS, RAISING THE QUESTION

Studying the facts, this summary evaluation is the result of a 25-year research dealing with the period considered blank spots in written history, and stretching from 1944 up to 1946. My work attempts to look deeper into the results and consequences (1986) of the initial investigation and research carried out by the Regional Rehabilitation Commission. During this work we used the primary archival sources in Beregszász (Berehovo), Kiev and Moscow. A significant part of the fact-disclosing documents connected with the topic were not yet published in Hungarian, so the thesis may be taken as one which partly foreshows certain sources.

The primary purpose of my dissertation (thesis) is to open up and show with a scientific depth the execution of the decisions of the Military Board of the 4th Ukrainian Front in view of the NKVD-reports, or rather the screenplays written in Moscow against the Hungarian and German population in Transcarpathia. The year 2014 is especially an important anniversary from the point view of the *malenykij robot* researchers because the deportation of civilians started in 1944, exactly 70 years ago. In connection with this date a number of memorials will be erected in memory of the Stalinist victims.

The secondary purpose of the thesis is to point out how the executions were carried out by the NKVD (the People's Home Office Counsel, in Russian: *НКВД, Народный комиссариат внутренних дел*, in English transcription *Narodniy Komissariat Vnutrennyikh Dyel*, which was the most important executive organ of the home office sector of the Soviet Government between 1943 and 1946. The SMERSH (short for *Смерть шпионам!* or Death to Spies!) also belonged to it. The number of such organs of enforcement were many: the Soviet Military Counter-Intelligence, and almost an infinite number of organs for "purifying" operations aimed at the mobilization of Hungarian and German men of military age, at collecting, interning, deporting, re-locating German women and men mobilized for indemnity work, and at sending them to concentration camps.

The research of the question of the political background, or rather responsibility, cannot be avoided either, so a deep examination is also necessary of the Soviet-Czechoslovak diplomatic influence in the question of the territorial and political

affiliations of Transcarpathia, or rather of the peculiarities of the early annexation of the territory to the Soviets.

By means of the enumerated arguments and in virtue of a fundamentally new approach my thesis may become an important chapter in Hungarian and also world history.

It was also an important purpose of my research to give a realistic picture of the POW Concentration Camp System (divisional cage system) supervised by the POW and Relocation (Main) Captaincy (UPVI/GUPVI), which in its turn was supervised by the Soviet NKVD. It was also my purpose to give a realistic account of the cruel fate and losses of the Transcarpathian Hungarian and German civilians, and of the returned, then collected and dragged away Hungarian soldiers in virtue of the Decision (order) No. 0036 accepted on the 13th of November, 1944 by the 4th Ukrainian Front.

As a point of departure it is important to emphasize that the question of POWs and relocation must not be related to women between 18 and 30, and men between 17 and 45, who were mobilized by the Soviet State Defense Commission (SDC/GKO) in strength of the Decision No. 7161, accepted on the 16th December, 1944, for indemnity work, because their camps in comparison to other such establishments, were not so strictly guarded. They lived in hostels and worked in working battalions providing a better chance to survive.

A separate attention must be paid to the NKVD's 0016 decision of the 11th of January, 1945. Based on this decision was launched the affair aimed at the multitudinous arrest of people and other office-holders (whose age was never taken into consideration) and who in the past worked in territorial, regional, village organizations of Czechoslovakia, then of the Voloshin's Karpatskaya Ukrayina, or of the earlier Hungarian administration, finally of the latest Hungary; they were all in responsible state positions, e.g. worked as Members of Parliament or as other officers of the state.

In one of the chapters of my dissertation I try to examine the GULAG-question which most heavily affected the Transcarpathian population. Within its frame there were countless show trials and closed court conferences on which special courts, the TROYKAs, the sentences of the military jury of the Special Council of the NKVD, and of the Red Army (more correctly: of the Soviet Army) made thousands of people to slave in concentration camps. Finally I also researched and evaluated Decision No. 1034 of the Ministry of Home Affairs of the USSR, accepted on the 15th of January, 1946, which ordered the deportation of whole

Hungarian and German families from Transcarpathia. On the basis of this decision three thousand persons were deported to Kazakhstan, more precisely to Tyumeny and its vicinity. My opinion is that the discovery and the deep scientific study of these documents turn over lots of taboos that had existed for decades. In my book, giving a real picture of the circumstances of the genocide and sovietization in Transcarpathia, I examined the tragedy of the Hungarian and German communities within the framework of the background of the history of those years.

2. UNAPPROPRIATED (USED) SOURCES OF THE THESIS AND ELABORATIONS

The internment of the Hungarian and German civilian population in 1944 by all means should become the scientific topic of many serious researches. On the other hand, it is important to note that with the assistance of the Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Science 4192 different collections were published with bibliographic items in lots of volumes (repressions in Ukraine (1917-1990); bibliographic index of scientific materials */Репресії в Україні (1917-1990 рр.) Науково-допоміжний бібліографічний покажчик. Автори-упорядники Бабіч Е. К., Патока В.В., Київ „СМОЛОСКИЙ”, 2007.*) Anyway, compilers of the volumes took no notice of the issues demonstrating the massive repressions of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia. On the contrary, in the years preceding the change of system and even after the perestroika and glasnost official organs are trying with all their efforts to block all the archival sources concerning internments.

Examining the circumstances of the drastic internment of the Hungarians and Germans it can be stated: up to the change of system it was absolutely taboo to mention it in the official Ukrainian, Russian and Hungarian histories, so the published literature was strongly deficient, not to say absolutely false. The first Hungarian official store of documents appeared during the Soviet era. It was the six volumes of the *Шляхом Жовтня (On the Ways of October)*, which was rather revelatory, as the official documents were inspected and collected mainly from ideological point of view. Compilers kept an eye on avoiding the publicizing of documents witnessing the repressions and official discrimination committed

against the local Hungarians and Germans in 1944-1946. Anyway, several data and topical allusions connected with this can be easily detected which need no comment.

Document No. 1. From the decree of the Soviet military captaincy issued in 1944, November the 4th, Ungvár: Only Russian and Ukrainian citizens of Zakarpatskaya Ukrayina may join the Red Army¹

Document No. 125. Ivan Turyanitsa, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Zakarpatskaya Ukrayina (Transcarpathian Ukraine) in his lecture spoke about Hungarians who should be excluded from public life.²

Document No. 147. A quote from the report of the people's committee in the village of Salánk: There are not enough hands in the village, and this situation will become better only if the men who once were the soldiers of the Hungarian army and now work in labor camps come back³

The case of the internment of the Hungarian male population was mentioned slightly for the very first time by Vilmos Kovács (1927-1977), the most talented writer, poet of our region, the great partisan of the civil rights movement in his novel *Tomorrow We Shall Also Live (Holnap is élünk, 1965)*. His book, a little while after it had been published, was eliminated by the Soviet authorities from sale and later on also from the libraries because of passages like the one below: ... *the male population, beginning with eighteen up to fifty five, was taken to labor camps. Authorities promised they would be free after three days, but now five months have passed already, and no one has come back yet. More than that, there are rumors that some of them are dead.*⁴

Another tragedy of the local Hungarians was the fact that yielding to the affect of the rude discrimination (besides having been afraid of deportations) many of them in their fear declared in a written form that they and their family members were Slovaks or Ukrainians although they had no command of these languages.

More than four decades had to pass for the regional daily, the *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* that in 1988, November the 5th it dared mention tremblingly the consequences of the victimization in 1944 in a leader published as a reader's letter. It said: "*Jenő N. from Uzsgorod knocked at the door of our editorial board with a petition*

¹ *Шляхом Жовтня*. Т. VI. (VIII.1944. – I. - 1946. р.) Вид-во Карпати, Ужгород, 1965. 15-16.р.

² *Шляхом Жовтня*. Т. VI. (VIII.1944. – I. - 1946. р.) Вид-во Карпати, Ужгород, 1965. 208.р.

³ *Шляхом Жовтня*. Т. VI. (VIII.1944. – I. - 1946. р.) Вид-во Карпати, Ужгород, 1965. 263.р.

⁴ Kovács Vilmos: *Holnap is élünk*. Kárpáti Kiadó, Uzsgorod, 1965. 27. р.)

*signed by dozens. He said that after the liberation he and many of his companions had to work very hard beyond the borders of our region's territory. Earlier it was not even proper or becoming to mention this fact; and as a matter of course Jenő Nagy and his companions did not even get a certificate proving that they labored heavily during the years and months they spent as interns... We ask the paper to help us – said the petition in fine. – With such a certificate we could ask for a completion of our retiring allowance. (The article appeared in the column *The reader asks, criticizes and proposes*).*

Of course there were lots of communist veterans ready to reject the fact of the “*malenykiy robot*”, and they also spoke up in the Soviet press of that period. In the *Kommunismus Zászlaja* weekly from Vinogradovo (Nagyszöllös) in 1989, October the 10th, a certain Klavdyiya Zabroda communist party member considers it a big amiss that “*there are still people who by spreading different calumnies say that in 1944 all people belonging to the Hungarian nationality were dragged away. Such and similar rumors are nothing else than attempts to fester hostility on grounds of national antagonism at that.*”

In the second half of the cycle connected with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev the Socialist (official) point of view was that it was not the socialist state to blame, but the personal cult. After the declaration of Ukraine's independence the concordant opinion of leading politicians and historians was that the former party leaders of the Soviet empire were responsible for the exclusively communist power cultivation and for the establishing of a Bolshevik system that was based on dictatorial unlawfulness. But the moral judgment of the system changing intelligentsia who looked the political past openly in the face declared that there was no, and could be no social excuse for the genocide and atrocious crimes committed against the peoples of Ukraine, and the folks of the victims must be atoned morally and materially.

In line with this the number of works discovering the crimes of communism come out in ever greater number, and become knowledgeable everywhere. Due to my family concernment (my Father and many of my Uncles were in labor camps) and as a result of my discovery work I started in 1988 I had the possibility to publish several collections of sources, many pieces of information, historical and sociographic essays which were quoted by a number of Ukrainian and Hungarian researchers already. Consequently my thesis has been built primarily upon contemporary Soviet documents disclosed so far, and also upon the basic research

analyzing internments, and also upon the reminiscences of the survivors about the life they lived in concentration camps.

The first collection of documents having the greatest significance as the main source for my thesis is in the possession of the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives (TRSA/ ЗОДА). The collected documents, called the fund, of the People's Council of Carpathian Ukraine, alias Transcarpathian Ukraine (*Narodna Rada Zakarpatskoy Ukrayini*), arisen in 1944-1946, have been all deposited there. Among the decrees, memoranda, decisions, reports, accounts etc. issued by the central leadership, ministries and head departments of the transition state formations the most valuable piles of documents from the point of view of research are "the lists of persons in the POW camps", in which the civilian – not military – interns are also mentioned as "POWs".

At the order of Ivan Turyanitsa, the president/chairman of the People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine the regional committees of that time issued memoranda for the chairmen/presidents and notaries of the people's councils of villages they administered in which they demanded accounts on the ubiety of the male population of the settlements. Responding the memoranda in 1945, July the 2-10th, all the settlement leaders of Transcarpathia sent out handwritten or typed lists in two copies with express messengers in Ukrainian, Russian and Hungarian. Analyzing the lists I discovered lots of deficiencies. For instance, the names of the camps were not always correct, or the names of the prisoners' camps were missing from the lists of some settlements. In connection with the latter it seems to be expedient to accept the explanation that the family members did not know anything about the places their folks were dragged away or what was the further fate of the men drafted into the Hungarian army and fought at the fronts.

In most of the villages the representatives of the competent authorities compiled two lists. The first showed the names of those who served as soldiers in the Hungarian army, or from which settlement, military camp they wrote their last letter or sent some other information they knew about. On the second list were the names of those who were dragged to relocation camps in Szolyva or Sambor. Both lists were based on pieces of information heard from relatives, so the exact places of the camps connected with the names in the majority of cases cannot be identified, or at least not easily. Regardless of all this the Transcarpathian Ukrainian People's Council led by Ivan Turyanitsa wished to convince the central soviet authorities and their representatives with these lists that the males of 18-50 are not to be found in the given settlement, they were demonstrably kept in Soviet

POW camps (divisional cages), and so they were asking for their return because hands were badly needed at home.

The official, residential petitions, memorials, personal and collective letters which were asking to free the interns, and were written to the military administration, local people's councils can also be found in the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives (TRSA/ ЗОДА). I should like to note here that the exact data on Transcarpathian interns and POWs would be supposedly available in that case only if we had the possibility to peep into, for instance, the operational archives of the 4th Ukrainian Front which contain also the original lists. Unfortunately these documents have not turned up yet.

As a member of the Transcarpathian Regional Rehabilitation Committee we worked up and utilized the archive documents of the Transcarpathian Headquarters of the KGB, of the Head Department of the Soviet Home Office in Transcarpathia, of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the CPSU, issued in 1944-1945, which all refer to the repressions, political lawsuits against the Transcarpathian Hungarians and Germans. From the more important materials of the archival sources more collections were issued so far. Among them *The "malenykij robot" in documents (1977)*, and the documental volumes of the Rehabilitated Historical Transcarpathian Records in Ukrainian (*Воз'єднання (1998)*, *Тернистий шлях до України (2007)*, *Карпатська Україна, т. 1-2. (2009-2010)* etc.

The general research lasting for many years extended to archives not easily available for researchers. Among them are the Russian State Archives of War/Military History, (*Русский Государственный Архив Военной Истории – РГАВИ*), the Russian Military State Archives (*Русский Государственный Военный Архив – РГВА*), or the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (*Центральный Архив Министерства Обороны Русской Федерации – ЦАМО РФ*). The materials found here may be considered as unavoidable sources from the point of view of research. Many documents of key importance have been publicized, primarily such ones whose secrecy was resolved after the change of system.

As a member of an editorial board I managed to participate in preparing a unique Ukrainian-Russian omnibus edition containing almost five hundred archive documents. The compiler and editor-in-chief of this edition was Aleksey

Korsun, the renowned Ukrainian historian. Most of the documents shed light on the war crimes of the 4th Ukrainian Front, the NKVD, the SMERSH and other home office corps, head officers committed against the local population in Transcarpathia. This 800 page edition⁵ includes inter alia those clinching documents which buttressed up with names prove with convincing data the unlawful deeds committed by the Soviet military authorities and retributive units (the NKVD, the SMERSH and other home office corps) in 1944, and especially in 1945. The publication of the book is the first attempt to collect and systematize the most important archival data in order to shed light upon the deportation processes, whose victims were ten thousands and ten thousands, and were carried out by the Soviet government and state security organs, and also the military command of the 4th Ukrainian Front with the assistance of the local representatives of the communist party. In this work we mentioned data from the archives of the Russian Federation. Many documents were available only by means of great difficulty, from the archives of the Transcarpathian home office service, the state archives, or from private collectors. With the help of the discovered data we can study the tragic events in our region after the war.

I also took notice of and studied document-collections issued by Russian archives which published selections concerning different themes from the already mentioned funds of the central state document-depositories, government organs, ministries, diplomatic and military bodies, regional organizations, from personal records of POWs, internees, from the accounts, correspondences, decrees and decisions of camp commandants. See, for instance: *История сталинского ГУЛАГ-а. Конец 1920-первая половина 1950 годов. Собрание документов в семи томах (2004). Венгерские военнопленные в СССР (2005). Сталинские депортации 1928-1953. Документы (2005), etc.*

The archive of the Memorial Park Committee in Szolyva alone shows written pieces of information, reminiscence-collections of survivors and of more than 300 informants, lists of losses, letters and poems written in concentration camps, etc.

⁵ *The internment and deportation of the Transcarpathian Hungarians and Germans in 1944 and 1945* without exaggeration is peculiar and mark an era. The Ukrainian data of the 780 page documental book are the following: “*Закарпатські угорці і німці: інтернування та депортаційні процеси. 1944-1945 рр.*” *Архівні документи і матеріали*. Упорядник . О. М. КОРСУН. Редакційна колегія: З.М. КІЗМАН, Ю.Ю. ДУПКО, А.М. ФУКС. Всеукраїнське державне видавництво «Карпати», Ужгород, 2011. Видавництво Закарпаття, Ужгород, 2012. – 780 с. (Further on: ZUN)

Its specific and peculiar database includes much valuable information and not only that which was here mentioned.

Except the above mentioned sources for preparing my thesis I studied Russian, Ukrainian and also foreign language and Hungarian literature, and certain conclusions of learned Historians studying the given era as well; primarily from this I received the necessary methodological assistance for my further research.

On grounds of the sources kept in the above enumerated archives, and also of the data collected from survivors I managed to get an answer to questions that were not answered earlier. Thus my store of learning has been amended with the results of my research I made with the organizational help of the German Circle of Pécs – inter alia – in the labor and concentration camps around the Donets-basin and the Urals.

3. THE MAIN CHAPTERS OF THE THESIS AND ITS SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

My thesis can be divided into two separate parts. While in the first part (named *How the principle of collective guilt was carried out against the Hungarian and German population of Transcarpathia*) I tried to examine primarily the historical events, then in the second one (named *The list of losses of the Transcarpathian Hungarians on the memorials of their settlements and on the Wailing Wall in Szolyva*) I made an attempt to describe in detail the personal losses of those 137 settlement that were concerned in the deportations in 1946.

In the subchapters of the first part I delineate the antecedents of the history of the research of the “malenykiy robot” with the help, to certain extent, of the Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian historiography on the topic, and also with the help of a more important special literature that has sprung up after the change of systems which in many respects shed a new light on the history of the area.

On grounds of the Russian archival findings I show in an independent chapter the two year old tragedy of the Transcarpathian Hungarians from 1944 up to 1946. At the beginning of my historical survey I review the military political antecedents of the occupation of the country by the Soviet army which are almost absolutely unknown in Hungary. I can prove with authentic data that in 1944, July the 30-eth, the State Defense Committee established the 4th Ukrainian Front pronouncedly with the purpose to carry out the Sovietization of the occupied Transcarpathia. I try to confirm that the plans of bolshevization of Transcarpathia,

the plans of dragging away the Hungarians and Germans was thought out in Moscow according to a screenplay approved by Stalin. All the plans thought out this way were carried out with the help of the main direction of the NKVD, under the active shielding of the 4th Ukrainian Front enlisting the services of the transition satellite state, named Zakarpatska Ukrayina, that was created by them for this very purpose.

Ivan Turyanitsa, the leader of the Transcarpathian communists, the former political officer of the 1st Czechoslovak legion, the NKVD agent, in 1944, October the 28th, met the leaders of the 4th Ukrainian Front in Munkács, and played a key role in the organization of internments. Here, in Munkács, it was suggested to purify fully Transcarpathia that was declared “a line of communications area,” and here was accepted the notorious proposal of major general Fadyeyev, the commander-in-chief of the NKVD corps. In his opinion the male population of the settlements inhabited by Hungarians and Germans as the representatives of the enemy should be interned because they may balk the introduction of the Soviet system in Transcarpathia. As result in 1944, on the 12th of November, the military council of the 4th Ukrainian Front on its seat-board with the signature of army general Petrov approved its top secret decree number 0036. This document consisting of nine points prescribed the use of “the principle of collective guilt” against the Hungarian and German speaking population.

From the step by step elaborated and realized details of the internment it should be brought to the limelight that the military commandants of towns and larger settlements listed up to November the 13th the German and Hungarian persons between 18 and 50, and also the individuals who served earlier in the bonds of the police or gendarmerie. The order according to which the deadline of registration was November the 16th was translated into Hungarian and posted up in every settlement. For misleading the population the authorities announced an appeal for “a three day work”, for repairing bridges and roads emphasizing that the entrants were obliged to take food for three days and warm clothes. The second listing was announced for November the 18th, but in order to prevent fleeing a curfew had been introduced at every settlement. After such preparation were the Hungarians dragged away between November 18 and 20 into the relocation camp in Szolyva.

From the documents of the Russian State Archives of Military History examined by me it turned out that the actions connected with the internments, the preparation of the contributing armed forces was controlled by colonel-general L. Mehlis, one of the confidants of the general party secretary Stalin. By analyzing

the different generalizing war reports and the accounts attached to them we can easily follow the process of the internments, identify the Soviet officers organizing its execution, the names of the party functionaries, and in the tables the exact figures are also possible to find breaking them down to nationalities and personal states.

In a separate subchapter of the thesis I examine the congress in Munkács held in 1944, on the 26th of November, and also its wrongs. The hastily elected delegates under application of pressure by the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front had to make a decision that they ask the joining of Transcarpathia to the Soviet Ukraine. Let us quote from the *Manifest*⁶ accepted there and translated into Hungarian in June, 1945, which contains at many places concealed anti-Hungarian assertions: “With the help of the glorious Red Army we shook off the yoke of the German and Hungarian fascists. The many hundred year old foreign oppression is ended on Ukrainian land ⁷” I try to demonstrate the Hungarian maladjustment to the Manifest accepted in Munkács. In this respect I also mention the names of those historians who by false arguments state in their works that Transcarpathia was once the elemental part of Ukraine. The protestations of the Hungarian activists of the civil rights movement made later on against the accusatory issues of the Manifest were never taken into consideration and remained not answered. Moreover even today they look at the Manifest as an official document.

I want to deal in detail with the general political cast of mind before and after the 1944-1946 year deportations, shedding light on how the recruitment of volunteers into the Red Army and the Czechoslovakian army-corps took place. I wish to advert briefly to the events demonstrating how the armed units of Ivan Turyanitsa’s puppet state under the protection of the 4th Ukrainian Front from the territory of Transcarpathia organized deportations and territorial occupations in East Hungary, East Slovakia, and also in the Rumanian Máramaros, facts about which the Slavonic historians observe deep silence. In a separate subchapter strengthened by documents I will show the rivalry between the Czechoslovak administration and the representatives of the occupational communist authorities for the possession of Transcarpathia. The two parties waged fierce propaganda war against each other for this territory. While the Czechoslovaks led by Frantisek

⁶ On the 26th of November, 1944, the first congress of the People’s Committees of Zakarpatskaya Ukrayina unanimously accepted the *Manifest* in Munkács

⁷ Munkás Újság, Ungvár, 1945, June 3.

Nemec advertised the restoration of the administrative order that existed before 1938, then the communists led by Ivan Turyanitsa came out for the “reunion” with Ukraine and joining the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovak administration having returned to Transcarpathia on grounds of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty signed in London in 1944, May the 8th, were sure of their positions, but the December events, among them the letter sent to the president of the republic, Eduard Benes, changed it drastically. For this letter declared the exit of Transcarpathian Ukraine from the bonds of Czechoslovakia. It is also a fact that between 1939 and 1945 Benes more than once offered Transcarpathia to Stalin who accepted this offer. This proves that the organization of the “reunion” by the Soviets was just a farce to avert attention which cost the lives of many thousand innocent people. The treaty confirming the joining the territory together with Soviet Ukraine was signed in 1945, June the 29th.

I have a separate chapter to show the mobilization of German males and females, sharing the tragic fate of Hungarians, for participating in forced labor. The data published by me speak for themselves. In 1941 13244 German native speakers lived in Transcarpathia, in 1946 only 2398. It happened because according to the order number 7161 of the AVB/GKO, issued in 1944, December the 16th, the German males between 17 and 45, and the German women between 18 and 30 had to be deported to mining settlements in the Donets-basin or the Urals. The decree 1034 issued in 1946, January the 15th, appropriated the relocation of about three thousand German families in Transcarpathia.

During the analysis of the archival documents I found that a separate subchapter is needed to discuss the question of discovering and arresting the anti-Soviet elements, and also of the physical extermination of the leading Hungarian, German, Ruthene and Ukrainian intelligentsia. The arrest of learned and cultivated heads was launched on the 11th of January, 1945 according to the 0016 decree of the NKVD of the USSR. Between the 19th of January and the 17th of February 2352 persons were put into custody; out of them 412 were taken without delay to the military counter-espionage department of the SMERSH where supposedly they were immediately executed. As I have already stated above, Stalin also in the proper sense of the international law carried out condemnable genocide when he arrested, sentenced according to his own law, executed or relocated those Hungarian, German, Rusyn (also known as Carpatho-Rusyn or Ruthen), Ukrainian, Jewish, Slovak, Czech, Rumanian white color workers who between 1938 and 1947 as citizens of their own country attended to their public

duties. The unlawful use of the Soviet justice provided freedom of action for the leaders of institutions of repression to reckon with “the enemies of the people”. For instance, the Extraordinary Court only in Ungvár delivered about 100 death sentences between 1945 and 1947. All of them were mercilessly executed. After the change of system the executed persons sentenced on grounds of frame-ups were rehabilitated.

Subsequently, based on archival documents I dealt separately with the divisional cages of the 4th Ukrainian Front, with their establishing and functioning, and the inhuman circumstances existing in them. Paying attention to all the details I examined and evaluated the sources and documents discovered so far concerning the notorious No.2 divisional cage in Szolyva, and the No. 22 divisional cage in Stariy Sambor. In Transcarpathia the largest divisional cage – for at least 8000-10000 POWs – was bodied in Szolyva, in one of the former casernes of the Hungarian Royal Army. There was a period when 20000 POWs were crammed there, so it was not surprising that between the 12th of December, 1944 and the 1st of January, 1945 a sanitary lockdown was ordered because of the typhoid fever epidemic. Major Mochalov, the head of the department handling the affairs of POWs and interns, between December the 20th and 30th in 1944 sent more than twenty reports to higher organs of the NKVD in order to take measures for improving the situation, i.e. the rapid growth of death. But the situation of the POWs and interns crammed in the divisional cage in Szolyva hardly became better. As it had turned out from the above mentioned documents and reminiscences of the survivors, the main reasons of the tragedies that happened in the divisional cage of Szolyva were primarily the epidemic, the disorderly life in the camp, malnutrition, the lack of physicians and medicaments, the tiring forced labor, and also the fact that the food allocated for the prisoners was pocketed by the camp leadership and the guards. Those who managed to survive the horrors of this divisional cage were sent to forced labor camps bodied all over the Soviet Union.

I am dealing with the question of homecoming in my work, too. Subsequently I try to handle separately the analysis of the civil petitions and official requests urging the release of the interns imprisoned since 1945. The last groups of interns/deported could return home under an amnesty in 1955. From the 25 thousand (according to other data 30-50 thousand) Transcarpathian interns about 20 thousand (according to other data 34 thousand) managed to come back, and

more than 7 thousand (according to other data 16 thousand) rest in anonym graves.

The Stalinist authorities reached their goal with the fore planned genocide. All this is also confirmed by statistics: if according to the 1941 year census – official count of members of population – 245 286 Hungarians lived in Transcarpathia, then in 1946 only 134 558. It is not less than 45 per cent decrease. A more catastrophic decrease – 81 and 91 per cent respectively - was only among the German and Jewish population. The loss of the latter was the biggest: while in 1941 there were 78 272 Israelites and 13 244 German native speakers, then in 1946 only 6998 Jews and 2398 Germans remained here. The total number of the Transcarpathian victims of the Nazis and Stalinism was 106 000 altogether.

The estimated number of the Hungarian and German men deported to Soviet forced labor camps is most differing in the opinion of certain historians or experts of the topic. The latest data anyway signal that at all events it is more than 22 951 persons mentioned in the NKVD accounts, but less than 40 000 capita held by popular knowledge. In our opinion it can be between 28 and 30 thousand, but this by no means minifies the spiritual effect of the tragic events. The estimated death toll can be 20-30 per cent. Most of them died in *dystrophia alimentaris*, i.e. in marasmus due to malnutrition, then in typhoid fever (*typhus exathematicus*) and hypothermia.

According to the first Transcarpathian Soviet census in 1959 among the Hungarian speaking population the number of males was by 9 thousand lower than that of the females. It is twice more than the average. Thus at the male side of the population the heavy loss of the Transcarpathian Hungarians is most palpable since most of them were in the procreatory (progenitive) age.

Conclusions:

The primary reasons of the mass deportation of the Hungarians and Germans:

- the Transcarpathian Hungarians always meant an obstacle for the Soviet and Czechoslovak attempts to get more and more territories;
- the Transcarpathian Hungarians and Germans were sentenced with collective punishment;
- general Soviet demand for hands in Siberia (the GULAG labor camps);
- extenuation and intimidation of the Hungarian and German ethnicity, settling Ukrainians and Rusyns;
- ethnic purification, a local Soviet-Ukrainian political ambition for changing the Hungarian character of the region.

In the second part of my thesis I publish a list of losses of the Transcarpathian Hungarians disassembled to settlements. I prepared this list for years with the help and cooperation of about two hundred informants. The names of the almost seven thousand martyrs who had been identified so far have been already imprinted on the memorials of the settlements and the marble tables of the memorial park in Szolyva. This list of losses is also demonstrative of the fact that in our days the Hungarian and German communities would be much more advanced in terms of demography, economics and politics if there had been a chance to avoid genocide that went together with internment and relocation.

SUMMARY OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RESULTS OF THIS RESEARCH, AND OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THEIR APPLICATION

This work summarizes the results of my 25 year old research. The results I attained during my research and lined up in this work are the “fruit” of my cooperation with a number of Hungarian, Ukrainian, Russian and other scientific experts belonging to different nationalities, and also with the GULAG survivors, or the folks of the martyrs now lying in graves. From all of them I had had great moral support, encouragement, professional aid, and a vast store of data not published so far in Hungarian.

In my work referring to authentic archival documents I named the Transcarpathian executioners and principals of the horrors and atrociousness of the Stalinist dictatorship. According to the latest assessments in the decimated Ukrainian/Transcarpathian groups of population accused by Stalinists with collective guilt revengefulness no longer exists, but even today they are unable to process the documented and discovered atrociousness, understand and discuss objectively the reasons leading to it, and they cannot forget or forgive the perpetrators either.

As a researcher I had battle of words with committed devotees of the party dictatorship (their Hungarian and non-Hungarian representatives) who before and even after the change of system try to block the discovery and revelation of truth. The mentioned persons were well-lost and defeated morally in this intellectual battle. At the same time the tussle with the new participators of the Ukrainian and Russian history writing – primarily with those who try to withhold and distort the subtle questions of history – is going on. For instance, a chapter or chapters that

would give a comprehensive, true and impartial estimation of the Stalinist repressions and genocide carried out against the Transcarpathian Hungarians and Germans in November, 1944 are missing from the Transcarpathian history books or readers on the history of the region, and no other Ukrainian official copies contain pieces of information of this kind. That is another reason why it would be necessary to publish works (in forms of official copies, too) that are similar to my thesis. That is the only possible way for us to make the existing blank spots in history disappear ASAP.

1). In my estimation the most important scientific result of my thesis is that it is the first work in the international (special) literature that gives a monographic and lexical summary which after the lost war deals with the internment and repressions of the Transcarpathian Hungarians and Germans organized and carried out by the Military Counsel of the 4th Ukrainian Front at the end of November, 1944. Up till now neither in Hungarian, nor in any other language no one dealt with these life-tragedies so deeply. Going on I should like to mention that my thesis contains such Ukrainian and Russian archival sources that contribute significantly to the objective evaluation of the political attempts and ambitions of the Soviet military and party leadership in World War two aimed at gaining new territories. Besides, they make it possible to research the range of problems connected with the history of internment and deportations, of the POW camps and the GULAG labor camps, show the differences between them, and also the places (Donets-basin, the Urals, etc.) where they were established. They also add details to the earlier made picture on ethnic cleansing and Sovietization that demanded so many innocent victims in Transcarpathia and elsewhere.

2). On the other hand it is very important to emphasize that I managed to show in full detail the cleansing and collecting action of the NKVD, certain moments of which are mentioned for the very first time in sources translated into Hungarian in this thesis. Further research and examination of the personal records of the interns in terms of the fierce inhuman circumstances of the different, re-location, POW, forced labor camps will be also needed in the future, for it could not be done within the framework of this dissertation.

3). It was the first time that in my thesis I received an answer to the question that were on the mind of many, but were always subsided into silence. This question

was: calling by names, who out of the Soviet politicians, party functionaries, generals, officers and commanders organized and carried out the repressions in the Transcarpathian Hungarian, German, Russyn and other ethnic communities. Their guilt has been determined, for with their blind, hasty, unnecessary military actions they caused an unbelievably high death rate among the civil interns. My statement is supported by authentic lists of losses per settlements, which undoubtedly show that even the battles at the front demanded much lesser victims. Besides, the majority of the weak and sick civilians were enslaved together with the physically and spiritually stronger POWs. Out of the survivors who managed to get free there were more soldiers than civilians.

4). In the Carpathian basin the first complete (more or less) and summarizing account and list of losses was made in the research program directed by me. It names the Transcarpathian interns, the victims of World War II., the representatives of the “beheaded intelligentsia”, who were sentenced in shop-window lawsuits, then dragged away to the GULAG. One of the tangible results of the 25 year old research is that thanks to our organizational work upon the mass graves of the former relocation camp of the region there stands the Memorial Park of Szolyva, on the half-circle memorial wall of which are imprinted (inscribe) the names of the many thousand victims from settlements inhabited by Hungarians. Hungarians and Germans were dragged away from there to Stalinist camps where they died. A permanent exhibition has been opened from the more important documents discovered in connection with the *malenykij robot* in the Chapel of Martyrs built in the memorial park. Since then the memorial park became one of the central places of piety and pilgrimage for the Hungarians. Similar memorial places were established at other settlements where Hungarians and Germans lived.

5). The authentic factual material contributes to disclaiming imprecise, history-falsifying and other false facts, which were expediently “implanted” into public mind and knowledge to foul-up clear insight. The thesis points at the damaging nature of the two inhuman ideologies, Nazism and Communism. The number of victims of both totalitarian dictatorships in the region under examination may be estimated as more thousand, on the level of Europe - more millions. The work intends to contribute to the European action demanding that historians, or rather the holocaust denier, *malenykij robot* denier and GULAG denier groups should

asses the atrociousness of the Nazi and communist dictatorships uniformly, the same way.

6). In view of the interest of Hungarians living abroad, of the history of the Hungarian-Ukrainian-Russian relations at the beginning of the 20th century, and because of the professional interest shown towards the peculiarity of the topic in other countries, I wish to publish my thesis in English, Ukrainian and Russian as well.

4. LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT OFFICIAL COPIES CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF THE THESIS

Independent books

Egyetlen bűnük magyarságunk volt. Emlékkönyv a sztálinizmus kárpátaljai áldozatairól (1944-1946). Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 1993., 328. pp.

This book is dedicated to the memory of all Hungarian men and women, victims of Stalinist tyranny in Transcarpathia. *GENOCIDE THE TRAGEDY OF THE HUNGARIANS OF TRANSCARPATIA* They were born Hungarian: that was their only crime! A BOOK OF RECOLLECTION OF THE VICTIMS OF STALINISM IN TRANSCARPATIA (1944 - 1946), Edited by Dupka György. Published by Patent-Intermix, Ungvár-Budapest. 215 p. FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH VERSION: S.J. Magyarody (Toronto). Digitalized in English: http://www.hunsor.se/dosszie/hungarian_genocide_in_transcarpathia.pdf

"Sötét napok jöttek..." Konceptiós perek magyar elíteltjeinek emlékkönyve 1944-1955. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 1993. 168 pp.

Kárpátaljai magyar GULAG-LEXIKON. Lefejezett értelmiség 1944-1959. (116 szócikk), Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 1999. p. 116.

„Keressétek fel a sírom...” Szolyvai emlékkönyv a „malenykij robot” 60. évfordulójára a sztálinizmus kárpátaljai magyar áldozatairól 1944 - 2004.(Közreadott dokumentumok, 126 település veszteség-listája), Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2004. p. 108.

Digitalized loss list:

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„Népünk temetője: Szolyva” Kárpát-medencei magyarság kegyhelye. A szolyvai gyűjtőtábor történetéből 1944-1945. Tanulmány. Kárpátaljai Magyar Művelődési Intézet, Beregszász, 2009. p. 53. Digitalized as http://www.kmmi.org.ua/books?menu_id=9&submenu_id=40&book_id=341

A mi golgotánk. A kollektív bűnösség elvének alkalmazása a kárpátaljai magyarokkal és németekkel szemben. (A 4. Ukrán Front Katonai Tanácsa határozatainak végrehajtása az NKVD-jelentések tükrében, 1944–1946.) Szolyvai Emlékparkbizottság - Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár - Budapest, 2012. p.376. Digitalized as <http://mek.oszk.hu/10900/10996/10996.pdf> , www.kmmi.org.ua/...pdf/215-Dupka-Gyorgy-A-mi-golgotank.pdf

„Hova tűnt a sok virág...” *Időutazás Urálba magyar és német rabok (1941-1955) nyomában.* (Történelmi szociográfia. Fotók, archív felvételek: Fuchs Andrea, térképrészletek, felvételek: dr. Havasi János), Kárpátaljai Magyar Művelődési Intézet - Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2012. Utánnnyomás: Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2013. p. 224. Digitalized versions: <http://mek.oszk.hu/11300/11392/index.phtml#>, http://www.kmmi.org.ua/books?menu_id=9&submenu_id=26&book_id=409

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Botlik József - Dupka György: *Ez hát a hon... Tények, adatok, dokumentumok a kárpátaljai magyarság életéből 1918-1991.* Mandátum Kiadó, Univerzum Kiadó. Budapest - Szeged, 1991. 300 p.

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felvételeiből (28 fotó). Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2009. pp. 7-33.
Digitalized versions as <http://mek.oszk.hu/11000/11023/11023.pdf>,
http://www.kmmi.org.ua/books?menu_id=9&submenu_id=26&book_id=212

Compiled volumes

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Nagy Jenő: *Megaláztatásban* (A kárpátaljai magyar férfiak deportálása 1944 őszén). Magnófelvétel alapján lejegyezte: Dupka György. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 1992. 100 pp.

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In research groups on field work

June, 26, 2009 – July 4, 2009. On field work in a group of researchers within the framework of an EU EACEA supported tender named *Utak a gyökerekhez (Roads to the Roots) (The deportation of the civil population for “malenykij robot” in the Soviet Union)*, in the wake of the “malenykij roboteers” in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions organized by the Pécs-Baranya National Society of the Hungarian Germans. The group, after having covered more than thousand km-s, visited the following settlements: *Donyetsk (Stalino), Makeyevka, Ilovaysk-Shirokoye (Spartak); Zugress, Shaktyersk (Katik) Kantarna; Gorlovka; Lugansk (Voroshilovgrad), Stakhanov (Kadyiyevka), Lutugino; Uspenka; Perevalsk (Parkamona), Krasniy Lutsh; Noviy Donbas.* With the assistance of the local eye-witnesses they sought out, identified and certified labor camps and prisoner graveyard that were in use in the above mentioned settlements. Digitalized as <http://www.haboruskeresoszolgalat.hu/#id=&t=103&page=2> (2009)

May, 4-9, 2011. On field work in a group of researchers in *Transylvania*. As part of an EU supported tender named *Itt volt a végállomás (That's where the termini was)*, and within the framework of the project named *Nem mondhatom el senkinek, elmondom hát mindenkinek (I cannot tell it anybody, so I tell it everybody)* organized by the the Pécs-Baranya National Society of the Hungarian Germans the researchers visited, identified and certified the places where relocation and deportation camps once existed. Namely: *Nagykároly, Szaniszló, Szatmárnémeti, Érmindszent, Nagyszeben, Nagydisznód, Brassó, Ligetfalva, Marosvásárhely, Szászrégen, Nagyenyed, Déva, Lugos, Temesvár, Arad.* Between 2011 and 2012 the German Society in Pécs organized a memorial pilgrimage to pay tribute to victims in Vojvodina (Szabadka, Zombor), Upper Hungary and Transcarpathia, where the researchers identified and certified the places where relocation camps and prisoner graveyards existed. Digitalized as <http://www.nemetkor.hu/index.php/hu/galeria/category/2-kepek> (2011)

June, 29 – July, 10, 2012. Research and pilgrimage with the support of the EU EACEA. In the wake of the Hungarian and German “malenykij roboteers”, POWs, and political prisoners sentenced in show trials the researchers, having covered 10 thousand km-s on a round trip, sought up the following regions in Russia: the Perm region (*Perm*), Sverdlovsk region (*Yekaterinburg*), Chelyabinsk region (*Chelyabinsk*), Bashkiria (*Ufa*) areas in the organization of the German Society in Pécs. Around the towns and cities mentioned above the researchers

identified and certified 35 former world war two forced labor camps and cemeteries for relocated civilians and POWs.

Digitalized as

[http://www.haboruskeresoszolgalat.hu/#id=&t=164&page=\(2012\)](http://www.haboruskeresoszolgalat.hu/#id=&t=164&page=(2012)),[http://www.nemetkor.hu/index.php/hu/galeria/category/5-ural\(2012\)](http://www.nemetkor.hu/index.php/hu/galeria/category/5-ural(2012)),

<http://www.nemetkor.hu/index.php/hu/galeria/category/4-konferencia> (2012).

Other

Олексій Корсун: Завдяки Юрієві Дупко в нашій історії стало менше „біли плям”.

In: Новини Закарпаття, 2012. N-44-45. 21 травня.

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