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## **THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1956 IN THE KGB DOCUMENTS: THE CASE OF TWO ARCHIVES**

The article deals with the general analysis of documents on the history of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which are in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and the State Archive of Transcarpathian Oblast. It is the first attempt to show the documents about the deportation of Hungarian citizens to the Soviet Union and to present the reactions of the local Transcarpathian Hungarian nation to the events of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and it also highlights the actions of the authorities that were aimed at the purposeful total ideological control and thus influenced the formation of the general public's opinion about the surrounding events.

The main aim of the study is to show the deportations of the Hungarian revolutionists to the Soviet Union in 1956 through archival documents and to introduce the political leaflet distributor groups in Transcarpathia, which were formed during the Hungarian war of independence in 1956.

There are archival documents containing different data about the behavior of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia related to the Hungarian events. The documents also provide information about the punishments that concerned the Hungarian groups engaged in politics. These documents reveal that the political general headquarters in Uzhhorod had been operating for a long time after Hungary was invaded by the command of Moscow.

It is possible to argue that the process of exploring the sources relating to the retaliation after the revolution of 1956 has not been finished yet, there are still hundreds of archival documents, mainly in Ukraine and in the former Soviet Union Archives, which still need to be explored. However, besides getting to know the real facts of the history of the Revolution in 1956, it is important to perceive that, despite the oppression, there were people in Transcarpathia too, who dared to be brave, to believe, and protest. And there were ones who paid with their lives for justice. Because of participating in the revolution, many people were arrested, sentenced, imprisoned, deported, and executed. Their truth and role should be clarified.

**Keywords:** Hungarian revolution of 1956, documents of KGB, SSU Sectoral State Archive, State Archive of Transcarpathian Oblast, deportation, Soviet Union, interrogation protocol, leaflet distributor, a political group in Transcarpathia.

Transcarpathia is a part of the Ukrainian Republic, i. e. the westernmost county of the country. Its population is 1 251 634 people. The administrative centre of it is

Uzhhorod. People from various ethnic groups live in this region. 80,5 % (1 010 127 persons) of whom are Ukrainians by ethnicity, and with a sizeable minority of Hungarians, 12,1 % (151 516 persons), as well as Romanians (32 152 persons), Russians (30 993 persons) and some others.

There are only few regions in Europe, which were attached to so many countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the territory of the present-day Transcarpathia. The region, which had belonged to Hungary for more than a thousand years, was detached from Hungary after World War I. Afterwards it was part of the Czechoslovakia for about 20 years. According to the First Vienna Award in 1938 the region was reunited with Hungary. Until 1944 – when the Soviet Army occupied Transcarpathia – the region belonged to Hungary. After World War II it was attached the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the USSR, in 1991 Transcarpathia it became part of the independent Ukrainian Republic. That is why Transcarpathia is a multicultural and multilingual region.

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 is the event of Hungarian history that gave Hungary the biggest role in world politics in the last century. Many works were born based on its story, both in Hungary and abroad. Still the materials from the archives of the late Soviet Union, including Ukraine, Transcarpathia region, are mostly undiscovered.

The socio-political history of the Hungarian Republic, including the problem of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, is the subject of research primarily by Hungarian historians. Therefore, Hungarian-language literature is the largest array in the historiographical base of the topic<sup>1</sup>. In this research I mainly used the documents held in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Uzhhorod, some published documents<sup>2</sup>.

The main aim of the study is to show the deportations of the Hungarian revolutionists to the Soviet Union in 1956 through the archival documents and to introduce the political leaflet distributor groups in Transcarpathia which were formed during the Hungarian war of independence in 1956.

To write my study I used the following method: analysing archival documents, study professional literature, newspapers, oral history.

The population, living in Transcarpathia could only obtain information about the real world from the Soviet press, which was the communication channel of the Soviet Union Communist Party (SUCP). A more realistic image of the outside world, could only be

<sup>1</sup> A «Jelcin-dosszié» Szovjet dokumentumok 1956-ról / szerk.: É. Gál, A. B. Hegedűs, Gy. Litván, J. M. Rainer. Budapest: Századvég Kiadó 1956-os Intézet, 1993; Békés Cs. A magyarkérdés az ENSZ-ben. Rubicon, 1996; Döntés a Kremlben, 1956: A Szovjet pártelnökség vitái Magyarországról / szerk. J. M. Rainer, V. Sereda. Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1996; Maurer P. Az 1956-os magyar forradalom helye a szovjet kommunista rendszer összeomlásában. Minutes of the international conference, 13–15 June, 1991 / szerk. Cs. Békés. Budapest: National Széchényi Library. Manuscript. Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Hiányzó lapok 1956 történetéből. Dokumentumok a volt SZKP KB levéltárából / compilation, notes and foreword by V. Sereda and A. Stikalin. Budapest: Móra Ferenc Publisher, 1993; The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents. National Security Archive Cold War Readers / eds.: Cs. Bekes, M. Byrne, J. Rainer. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2002; Sereda V., Stikalin A., Vida I. Szovjet dokumentumok 1956-ból. *Rubicon*. 1994. No 8. Old. 3; Венгерские события 1956 года глазами КГБ и МВД СССР: сборник документов / гл. ред. Н. Ф. Самохвалов. Москва: Объединенная редакция МВД России, Общество изучения истории отечественных спецслужб, 2009.

obtained through foreign radio transmissions, like to Kossuth Radio or Radio Free Europe, Voice of America. These were the sources of news in the days of the revolution too.

Nowadays, more and more archival sources prove that Transcarpathia had an important role during the days of the revolution and right after it. From a political perspective Transcarpathia and its population had two main roles: on the one hand, the location served as a military terrain for the fights in Hungary. While on the other hand, the Soviet leadership often needed the help of the local Hungarian population for interpretation. The Soviet political leadership, that led the crushing of the revolution, settled in Uzhhorod. There was even a military telephone exchange centre for the direct connection to Moscow and to Budapest. The Committee for State Security (Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti – KGB) leaders, and high-ranking officers delegated from Moscow to Transcarpathia constantly informed the Soviet Union Communist Party's Central Committee and Secretariat. Senior, faithful communist Transcarpathian cadres took an active role in their work. The KGB intelligence worked with full deployment, and the Carpathian Military District assembled its troops ready to attack, along the Soviet-Hungarian border. The reminiscences of the Soviet soldiers serving in Berehove revealed, that the first military units assembled to crush the revolution, crossed the Soviet-Hungarian border on October 24<sup>3</sup>. More than a thousand revolutionists were deported to the prison of Uzhhorod. The so-called Kádár's speech from Szolnok, which was the call of the Hungarian Revolutionary Working-Peasant Government to the Hungarian people, was also transmitted from Uzhhorod. From Transcarpathian Hungarians, interpreters were assigned to the interrogation of the revolutionists in the prison of Uzhhorod. Also from among the Transcarpathian Hungarians, chauffeurs were assigned to the Soviet officers. Some Transcarpathian healthcare workers were taken to Hungary to take care of the wounded Soviet soldiers too.

Meanwhile, the most trustworthy Transcarpathian communists were selected and directed to Hungary, to aid the «*restoration of order*». By the decree of the KGB, «*40–50 accountable Party officials*», for the first call of the Party appeared mostly as translators, interpreters.

From the documents of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, we know that parallel to the Independence War of 1956 and also a few months after the revolution in Transcarpathia, smaller and bigger groups of high school students, youth distributing flyers, expressing their solidarity with the Hungarian youth and their actions. Thus, in Transcarpathia, many flyer distributing groups were formed due to the effects of 1956, for example in Haloch, Uzhhorod, Vynohradiv, Koson, Orosiievo, etc. Of course, the flyer spreading actions of the groups were soon discovered, since the members were mostly inexperienced youngsters, students, and also the informant network did its job well<sup>4</sup>. The surveillance, control of the population was stronger than ever.

After the arrest, the main charges against the members of the «*political leaflet distributor*» groups were being «*counter-revolutionism*», «*anti-regime acts*» and «*hiding weaponry*». These were punishable by 3–6 years of imprisonment.

In Vynohradiv, high school students distributed flyers, and organised secret meetings during the Hungarian events and after it for a few months. Six members of the group were

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Andras Sztorozsuk, inhabitant of Berehove, Soviet soldier in 1956. 23.10.2002. *Author's archive*.

<sup>4</sup> Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України (ГДА СБУ). Ф. 2558. Оп. 1. Спр. 1247.

arrested, and faced 3–6 years of jail time, after their case was handled for months by KGB investigation officers. All of them were sent to jail, disregarding public opinion<sup>5</sup> (Photo 1).

Two siblings from Koson, Mária Ormos, and József Ormos, and their cousin, Sándor Szécsi, distributed flyers. Encouraging the local Hungarians, to take part in political struggles, and to aid the Hungarians. They were sentenced from three to six years in prison. Members of the KGB thoroughly searched the school in Koson. Colonel Yakimov, the agent of the Berehove district UKGB, wrote a report about the case UKP: «The lack of sufficient educational work conducted in the school is implied by cases of Anti-Soviet actions in 1956, carried out by former students of the high school in Koson, furthermore...»<sup>6</sup> (Photo 2).

Another group that sympathised with the revolution, was active in Haloch, the head of the group, according to the indictment, was Endre Geche, a protestant pastor (Photo 3). Here, Istvan Pasztellak (Photo 4), Laslo Molnar, and Tibor Perduk were distributing flyers (Photo 5) and hiding weapons left from the second world war. They were arrested. The pastor, who was believed to be their leader, was killed during interrogation. Laslo Molnar was kept under surveillance for years, because he was only 13 years old. Tibor Perduk and Istvan Pasztellak were sentenced to years in prison.

In an elementary school in Chepe, the students of grades V–VIII, formed a secret organisation, called the «Freedom Guard». A group of party activists were sent to the school to supervise the turn of events, who were in cooperation with the school staff, trying to identify the rebels<sup>7</sup>.

Karoly Lusztig, the chief editor of the Red Flag, the Hungarian newspaper of the district, and the whole editorial staff was forced to radically change their approach towards their method of discussing ideological questions, and were told to popularise the «exemplary experiences of propagandist work»<sup>8</sup>.

As it was already mentioned, during the revolution, under Soviet pressure, many Transcarpathian Hungarians were present in Hungary, as interpreters, chauffeurs, and doctors, involuntarily.

One of the interpreters remembers the days of the revolution as such: «I was in a horrible state of mind during the whole time, because I agreed with the ideas of the Revolution, sympathised with them, but I had to side with the Soviet oppression, I had to help them, because the lives of my family members were at stake, they would have been executed for the slightest bad movement. I served as an interpreter, chauffeur and adjutant under a Russian captain, whose name I wouldn't like to share. I studied in the military school in Drohobych. Shortly after the outbreak of the revolution, I was sent near Lemberg, and then, on one night, I had to go to Charoda, with the mentioned captain, then we went to Sekesfehervar, where our headquarters were. Upon crossing the border, we crossed our paths with my cousin, but I had no idea where he was headed, and my friend, Laci Selemba, who indicated that he will also be employed as an interpreter, he had since died. It was emphasised everywhere, that the revolutionists are relentlessly slaughtering the communists, thus the Soviet officers

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Sandor Milovan, one of the convicts of the political group of Vinogradiv. 23.10.2005. *Author's archive*.

<sup>6</sup> Державний архів Закарпатської області (Держархів Закарпатської обл.). Ф. 15. Оп. 7. № 36.

<sup>7</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. № 2804.

<sup>8</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 15. Оп. 5. № 36.

threatened with similarly relentless punishments, who got caught, were not spared, they were tortured to reveal where their associates were hiding, and where they intend to strike next on the communists, and if they were not willing to talk, they were executed. A lot of them were imprisoned, and because the Soviets feared that Hungarian prisons are not secure enough anymore, because many soldiers and policemen changed sides to aid the revolution, they were transferred to the prison in Uzhhorod, in closed wagons, like cattle, so they wouldn't even know where they were taken. Thousands of people were transported to Transcarpathia, including women. After the revolution, a series of court-martial cases followed, because, like I mentioned before, a lot of people changed sides, to aid the revolution. On this court, I was still an interpreter. After the court decisions, the Soviet lagers were filled with Hungarian youth. I don't want to talk about it, I only want to mention an example. During the revolution, a Russian and a Hungarian soldier became friends, during the operations, the Hungarian died in the arms of the Russian, and he mourned him. We captured the Russian soldier in this state, and that's how he ended up in prison too, with the charge of high treason. A few years after the revolution, my family was allowed to go to Hungary, to visit relatives, but I was excluded, because the Soviets feared that I would tell something to Hungarian authorities, so I was kept under constant surveillance...»<sup>9</sup>.

Transcarpathia was silent on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, but on the next day larger military units appeared. It was inexplicable for the population, that after the radio announced the beginning of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. The number of tanks in Berehove, heading towards the Hungarian border, did not decline, and not a single tank crossed the town heading back. The tanks almost completely paralysed the traffic.

A soldier deployed to crush the revolution, who was serving his compulsory military service time, remembers as such: «... we were alerted on 28<sup>th</sup> of October. ... We were cleaning our handguns the whole night, and the tank drivers were preparing their tanks. We boarded the troop carriers, but no one knew where we were going. Some assumed that we go to Suez. My commander addressed me on the train: "You are Hungarian, aren't you?" "Yes, I am" "Then behave as you are expected to!" – said he. We stopped for a while at Munkachevo, I acquired a bike, and rushed home as I was living there. My parents told me, crying, that there is a revolution in Hungary. ... We crossed the border at Berehove, without a passport...»<sup>10</sup>.

Right after the revolution, the priority to the leadership of the Soviet Union was to stop the spreading of the freedom movement. After crushing the revolution, the Soviet authorities did not stop the series of actions dedicated to find the «*counter-revolutionists*» in Transcarpathia.

Since the majority of the local movement's members were students, the Soviets concluded that they should pay more attention to the educational work among the Hungarian population. In addition, conduct even heavier propaganda<sup>11</sup>. To this end, supervisors visited Hungarian schools, sat for a few classes, mainly history classes, and checked on the students and teachers.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with János P., inhabitant of Berehove, interpreter and chauffeur in 1956. 23.10.2003. *Author's archive*.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Sandor Suba, inhabitant of Vorievo, interpreter and soldier in 1956. 23.10.2002. *Author's archive*.

<sup>11</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. № 2816.

The UKP district committee discussed with all party organisation secretaries, to pay more attention to the reinforcement of political work, the growth of imperturbation, discipline and the protection of the kolkhoz property<sup>12</sup>.

According to current facts, the Transcarpathian events of 1956 resorted to the Hungarian ethnicity's actions and movements. Despite the fact that the majority of the Transcarpathian events were symbolic expression of solidarity, the currently processed archived documents revealed, that a sum of 46 people faced judiciary procedure. From which 18 were found guilty, and spent a total amount of 24 years in prison, eight more were expelled from university, and one person, Endre Geche, a protestant pastor, died during interrogation.

The Hungarian government led by Janos Kadar, formed in the first days of November in Moscow, received help for the «*restoration of order*». Among the first measures were the coordination of deportations to the Soviet Union. The chairman of the Soviet state security committee, general Serov, who was in Budapest at the time, wrote: «I explained comrade Kadar, that the divisions received instructions from the special branch, to arrest all the organisers of the rebellion, who expressed armed resistance against the units of the Soviet army, and those citizens, who incited, and unleashed the hate of the nation towards communists, and state security organisations, which resulted in that some members of these organisations were shot, hanged, or burned»<sup>13</sup>.

From the documents kept in the archives of the Ukrainian Committee for State Security, it turned out that the servants of the communist regime in Hungary, did everything they could to keep their unrightfully obtained power. They were not picky in their methods. Thousands of people were deported to prisons of the Soviet Union (Photo 6).

Different «*summarising*» lists were made about the deportations, and other catalogues were taken, too, in which only the elements of a single «*shipment*» were listed who were headed to Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Stryi, and even back to different Hungarian cities, such as: Veszprem, Debrecen, Nyíregyhaza, or Szombathely, etc. These lists provide information regarding the number of people taken from Hungarian cities to the Soviet Union and the number of those who got home to Hungary.

The records regarding the numbers of those deported, are varying. The Deputy Interior Minister Holdkov reports to Interior Minister Dudorov that about 4–5 thousand people were arrested<sup>14</sup>. The list given to the Hungarian President of the Republic, László Sólyom, by the Ukrainian president, Viktor Yushchenko on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2007, contains almost three thousand names. By the research I have made in the archives so far revealed that more than a thousand Hungarian revolutionists have been in the Soviet prisons.

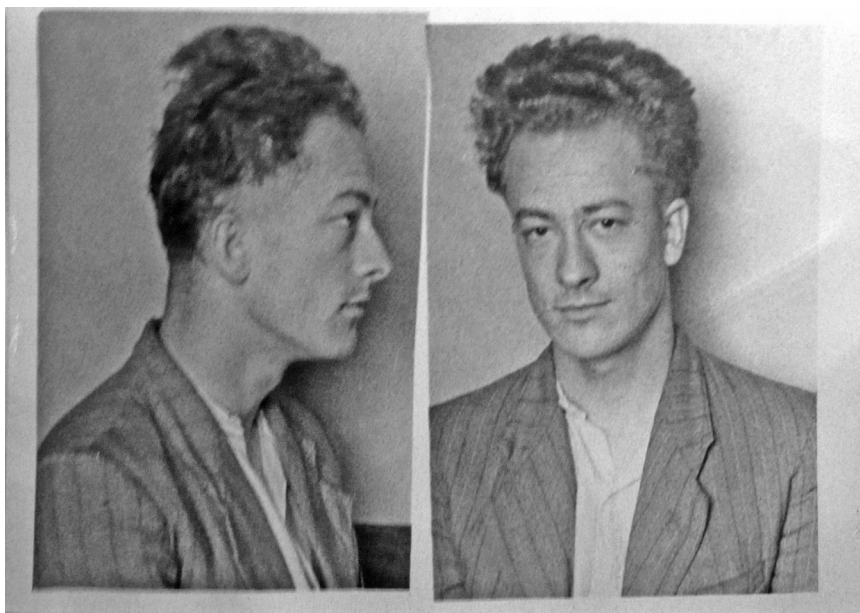
Deputy Interior Minister Holdkov arrived to Uzhhorod on the second week of November, where he took care of the reception and placement of partakers of the Hungarian «*counter-revolutionist rebellion*», arrested and delivered by the units of the Soviet army. Holdkov reported to Dudrov, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1956, about the events during his stay at Uzhhorod. «I report, that according to the instructions, I arrived at Mukachevo on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, with a group of colleagues from the Ministry of Interior, and colonel Berezin, the representative of the Soviet Ministry of State Defence, where I made contact with comrade Colonel

<sup>12</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 15. Оп. 15. № 13.

<sup>13</sup> Sereda V., Stykalin A., Vida I. Soviet Documents from 1956. *Rubicon*. 1994. No 8. P. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Hiányzó lapok 1956 történetéből... Ol. 155.





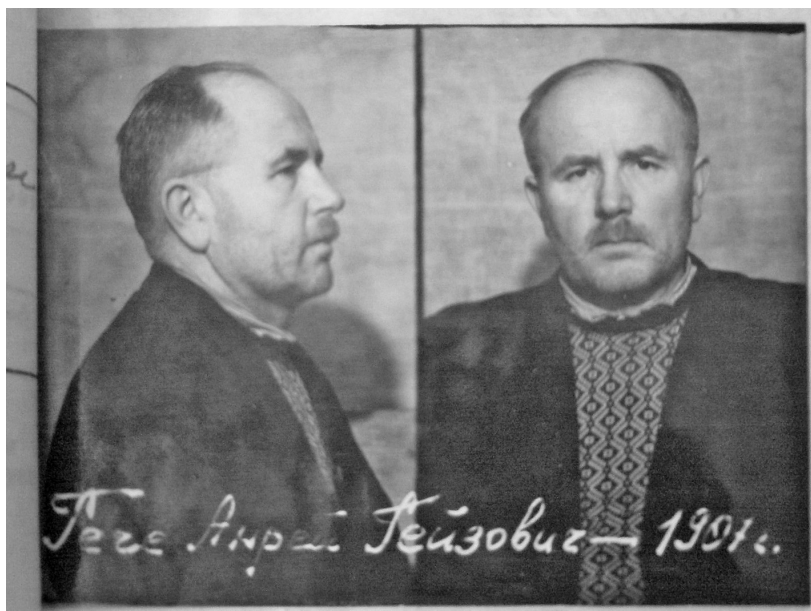
*Foto 1. The archived photograph of Jozsef Illes, the convict of the political group of Vynohradiv<sup>1</sup>*  
 Фото 1. Архівна фотографія Йозефа Іллеса, засудженого з політичної групи м. Виноградів



*Foto2. The archived photograph of Sandor Sechi, a convict of the political group of Koson<sup>2</sup>*  
 Фото 2. Архівна фотографія Шандора Сечі, засудженого з політичної групи м. Кошонь

<sup>1</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2598. Оп. 1. № 3385.

<sup>2</sup> Там само. № 3395.



*Foto 3. Endre Geche, the martyr of the political group of Galoch<sup>3</sup>  
Фото 3. Эндре Гече, мученик політичної групи з Галоча*



*Foto 4. The archived photograph of Istvan Pasztellak, a member of the political group of Galoch, while showing where they hid the weapons<sup>4</sup>  
Фото 4. Архівна фотографія Іштвана Пастеллака, члена політичної групи з Галоча, який показує, де вони сховали зброю*

<sup>3</sup> Там само. № 3429.

<sup>4</sup> Там само.





*Foto 5. The archived photograph of Istvan Pasztellak, a member of the political group of Galoch, while showing where they placed their flyers<sup>5</sup>*  
*Фото 5. Архівна фотографія Іштвана Пастеллака, члена політичної групи з Галоча, під час показу, де вони розмістили свої листівки*

1	2	3	4
146.	НОВОСЕЛ Мартин Вилімович 1/524	1927 г., с. Раговець /Гославия/	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
147.	НЬМЦІ Іштван Яносович 2/36	1933 г., гор. Будапешт	14.7 1.56г., в. Будапешт
148.	НЬМЦІ Іштван Деметерович 1/310	1919 в., обл. Толна, г. Тарч	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
149.	ОРЕАН Золтан-Тьдор Шандорович 1/301	1923 г., г. Мілкісіль	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
150.	ОРЕАН Лайош Шандорович —	1923 г., г. Будапешт	10.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
151.	ОЛАК Бела Лайошович 1/508	1937 г., с. Домогаза, обл. Борсод	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
152.	ОЛАК Вільямс С/отчества —	1927 г., г. Будапешт	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
153.	ОЛТОРН Бейло Матяшович —	1934 г., г. Будапешт	11.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
154.	ПАРИШ Іштван Ежафович —	1935 г., с. Чепреч, обл. Весп-	8.7 1.56г., г. Дебрецен
155.	ПОДЕР Марія Йосефовна она	1933 г., г. Будапешт	10.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
156.	ПЕДЦІК Янош Яносович —	1937 г., Шолваткерт, обл. Бачкишунгалом	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
157.	ПЕНЗЕШ Йуре Йиревич 2/37	1936 г., г. Кардаг	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
158.	ПЕТРИ Іштван Яносович 1/302	1933 г., г. Будапешт	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
159.	ПЕТЕРЮ Іштван Бейла Лайошович 1/31	1936 г., Уйпешт IV	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
160.	ПЕТРОВАК Оскар Оскарович 2/38	1917 г., с. Соколин Нитра/Чехослов./	11.7 1.56г., г. Сомбатеь
161.	ПІЛІМСКИ Марія Агнілона она	1936 г., г. Будапешт	10.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт
162.	ПОУЛИНИ Ласло Шеренцович 1/54	1933 г., г. Рагоспалата, Пешская тупа	14.7 1.56г., г. Будапешт

<sup>5</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 5608. Оп. 1. № 3429.

1	2	3	4
832.	ІТРСІ Іштван Иштванович	1930, урож. с. Оволя, округ Томаш	Задержан 8 ноября 1956 г. Томаш
833.	КОЛГАР Маргит Можефова	1937 г. урож. г. Будапешт	6 ноября 1956 г. гор. Будапешт
834.	КАНАЧЕР Кароль Карлович	1934 с. Полговторен обл. Новград	5 ноября 1956 года г. Веспрем
835.	СТОЖКО Черенц	1933 г. гор. Будапешт	г. Будапешт
836.	ТОТ Янош Яношович	1935 г. с. Герендош Бейлен обл.	г. Будапешт
837.	ПЬЕНТЕЙИ Лодос	1917 г. р. с. Гомош обл. Помодьмеде	г. Пейч
838.	КОРПОИ Шандор	1934 г. р. г. Будапешта	г. Будапешт
839.	ПРЕЗЕР Доло Долович	1934 г. рожд. г. Дебрецен	г. Веспрем.
840.	БАЛОГ Беда Долович	1934 г. с. Чезка	г. Будапешт
841.	МАДВАРАСИ Шандор Долошович	1935 г. р. г. Нодьколо, обл. Солболг	г. Будапешт 4. XI. 56 г.
842.	ГЕМЕТ Іштван Иштванович	1935 г. м. Сорвеш, обл. Бекеш	г. Веспрем 5. XI. 56 г.
843.	СЕКІРЕИ Виктор Можефович	1936 г. с. Подьрада	г. Будапешт

1	2	3	4
844.	ПІНТЕР Шандор Иштванович	1935 г. с. Пештгель	гор. Будапешт
845.	ІШТОН Черенц Черенцович	1934 г. г. Секешфехервар	гор. Веспрем
846.	БЕРА Енже Енжевич	1932 г. м. Полгар	гор. Веспрем
847.	ІШТРЕМПЕР Можеф Черенцович	1933 с. Веспремфое	гор. Веспрем
848.	ВІШО Янош Авдрашович	1935 г. р. г. Рейшал	гор. Будапешт

Foto 6. One of the lists of the arrested Hungarian deported people in the County Prison № 1. at Uzhhorod, Transcarpathia<sup>6</sup>

Фото 6. Один зі списків заарештованих угорців, депортованих у повітову в'язницю № 1 м. Ужгорода, Закарпаття

<sup>6</sup> Там само. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 16.

General Komarov, the representative of the Command of the Soviet units, with whom we agreed upon the place and order of the reception of the partakers of the Hungarian counter-revolutionist movements arrested by the units of the Soviet army. We decided that the units of the Soviet army will escort all the convicts to the prison of Uzhhorod»<sup>15</sup>.

The records of the convicts were, in most cases, made according to a pre-written script. In the scripts, different stories were often constructed about the suspects and the observed.

The interrogations were conducted mostly in Russian. The majority of the interpreters were Transcarpathian Hungarians. Sometimes the interpreters were changed during the interrogations. Some of the prisoners, who spoke Russian, made their statements in Russian too.

Among the deported, there were policemen and soldiers who guarded the building of the Party Committee, who were deported accidentally. Maj. Gen. Belchenko, one of the Serov's deputies ordered to interrogate them, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1956. He wanted to know how they were attacked, who was murdered by the rebels, and whom they know among them<sup>16</sup>. After they identified themselves, many of them helped the work of the interrogators during their stay at Uzhhorod. According to one of the summarising lists, a total of 231 soldiers were arrested from various Hungarian military units<sup>17</sup>.

In Serov's report addressed to Khrushchev, he wrote: «The arrests will only be implemented if the hostile activity can be proven with evidence and factual data...»<sup>18</sup>. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of December 1956, general Belchenko from Uzhhorod, told Maj. Gen. Maliarkov, the forensic leader of the KGB Central Investigation Main Office: «I'm sending the list of those about whom we don't have any information on whether they took part in the rebellion»<sup>19</sup>.

Mikhail Holdkov's report to Nikolai Dudrov also supports that many were arrested unfoundedly: «Regarding the majority of the prisoners, the documents were not filled properly. The available information consists of lists made by the local Hungarian authorities, the Soviet Preventive Organisations, reports of the soldiers, and the testimonies of convicts. In case of most of the prisoners, the documents required for arrest are missing, furthermore, there are some who are not even on the lists... Taking into account, that there are 14–17-year-old teenagers, and even girls, among the prisoners, it is presumable that a portion of the arrests were unfounded».

Holdkov wrote: «Together with the representatives of the Ukrainian SSK Home Office, we decided that the prisoners shall be placed, besides the prison of Uzhhorod, into the prisons of Stryi, Drohobych, and Stanislav cities»<sup>20</sup>. The documents of the KGB only prove that a portion of the prisoners were transported into the prisons of Stryi and Drohobych cities<sup>21</sup>.

The revolutionists were transported to Uzhhorod mainly between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> of November. In some cases, even the Soviet authorities did not know the whereabouts of the prisoners. The following case is good evidence for this: Lieutenant-colonel Klimenko sent a list to colonel Glebov, which consisted of 140 names. Glebov's response

<sup>15</sup> Hiányzó lapok 1956 történetéből... Ol. 154–155.

<sup>16</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 9.

<sup>17</sup> Там само. № 15.

<sup>18</sup> Hiányzó lapok 1956 történetéből... Ol. 151.

<sup>19</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 15.

<sup>20</sup> Hiányzó lapok 1956 történetéből... Ol. 155–157.

<sup>21</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 21.

was that he knows about 16 people from the list, they are with him, but he has no information about the others<sup>22</sup>.

A part of the deported were transported home to Hungary in December 1956. The documents evince that the prisons in Hungarian cities are taking over the prisoners from the Soviet authorities. A few examples: «I took over the 30, that is, thirty people mentioned above, and their personal documents in 24 envelopes (for 24 people). They did not make complaints or objections against the accompanying and the guarding staff during their captivity. Veszprem, 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1956, 21:30. police Lieutenant Sandor Ratko, County Police Headquarters»<sup>23</sup>. «I took over the above-named 45 people this day. Veszprem, 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1956, 23:45. Their personal documents... Veszprem County Prison»<sup>24</sup>. «Handover acknowledgement. From the Soviet command, I took over 36 (thirty-six) capita detainee, without complaints and [illegible]. Lieutenant Horvath, Kaposvar 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1956»<sup>25</sup>. «I took over 50, that is, fifty capita, without checking the names, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1956, in Budapest. Lieutenant Matyas Csucs, National Prison of Budapest»<sup>26</sup>.

On the front page of some records, usually sticky notes were glued with instructions such as: «To be handed over, to clarify the role in the rebellion»; «To be handed over to Hungarian authorities for further investigation»; «To be handed over to Hungarian authorities for reconnoitring»; «To be handed over to clarify the part in the rebellion, or to be set free rightfully»; «To be handed over to Hungarian authorities to determine the extent of guiltiness»; «To be handed over to Hungarian authorities for prosecution» etc. These imply that the Soviets expect further investigation from the Hungarian authorities.

From the letters exchanged between authorities, it stands out that there was a strict hierarchy within the KGB. The internal letters prove that from time to time, the supervisors of the interrogators introspected the interrogations and gave instructions to their subordinates. There was constant and vivid contact between the Soviet interrogators, the Hungarian commanders of military and KGB units. After identifying the prisoners in the prison of Uzhhorod, if there was no data regarding them, they tried to acquire them from Hungary. But due to the hurry, they sometimes sent documents about those who were not even in the Soviet Union. Some of the documents originating from Hungary can be found in the KGB archives. Some of them were translated, and can be found in the archives with their translations, but others can only be found in Russian<sup>27</sup>.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 2006, the Consulate General of the Republic of Hungary in Uzhhorod, ordered a plaque to be inaugurated on the wall of the prison of Uzhhorod. The plaque was dedicated to those Transcarpathian revolutionists and sympathisers of the revolution. Including hundreds of Hungarian citizens who were held captive in the prison, after crushing the revolution and independence war of 1956. The former freedom fighters came to the commemoration, convicts, who sacrificed their freedom, so the next generation can live free, and who paid a high price for freedom. Ten years later, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 2016, a memorial was

<sup>22</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 12.

<sup>23</sup> Там само. № 1.

<sup>24</sup> Там само. № 9.

<sup>25</sup> Там само. № 11.

<sup>26</sup> Там само. № 2.

<sup>27</sup> Там само. № 22.



erected in Uzhhorod, in front of the building of the former County KGB Central, in honour of the heroes of the Independence war of 1956 and the victims of the communist dictatorship.

More and more data prove that the AVO<sup>28</sup> escaped to Transcarpathia in the days of the revolution. According to the KGB's informative reports, the presidium of the SKP KB temporarily permitted the BM police force officers and their families fleeing from the Hungarian freedom fighters, to the Hungarian party officials, to be taken in at Transcarpathia.

The Transcarpathian county committee had to take care of the refugees, about 132 people, who were dwelling at Uzhhorod and Mukachevo. Among others, at Mukachevo stayed András Szobek, former minister of ingathering, János Matolcsi, former minister of agriculture, Oszkár Bethlen, the former editor of *Szabad Nép* (Free Folk), István Csáki, the former head of the MDP party school in Szolnok county, and the former deputy secretary of the Szolnok county MDP party committee, Dr. László Háý, the former chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, Zoltán Fodor, the head of the Department of International Affairs of the Hungarian Labour Party, and many others. All of them received shelter, food, and medical attention. This turns out from the report of B. Ponomariov, the SSK Communist Party's central committee's leader responsible for contact with foreign communist parties, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1956<sup>29</sup>.

The officers who stayed in Transcarpathia, took part in the interrogations of the Hungarians deported in 1956, in the prison of Uzhhorod. Among them was György Végh form Nyíregyhaza, AVH Head of Department<sup>30</sup>.

Numerous data prove that the actions aiming to crush the Hungarian 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 centre was set up in Uzhhorod, from where the breakdown of the Hungarian Revolution was directed. KGB-leaders and high-ranking soldiers were delegated from Moscow to Transcarpathia to continually inform the Central Commission and Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the Hungarian events. The Military Zone of Transcarpathia contracted the troops, that were prepared for attack, along the Soviet-Hungarian border on the days of the revolution and for long period after it. The documents reveal that the Hungarian Government did everything to keep its illegally obtained power, moreover, it asked for help from the Soviet Union, turning against their own nation, and deported hundreds of people to the Soviet prisons.

The data referring to the number of deported persons is very different. On 10<sup>th</sup> of 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. 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.

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, mainly the employees of the State Archive of

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<sup>28</sup> Hungarian State Police State Defence Department from 1946 to 1950, then renamed to State Security Authority from 1950 till 1956. The agency was abolished by the revolutionary government of Imre Nagy in 1956.

<sup>29</sup> Венгерские события 1956 года... С. 178–181.

<sup>30</sup> ГДА СБУ. Ф. 43. Оп. 1. № 12.



Berehove, since the archive as an institution was under the authority of the KGB. Deported persons were transported back to Hungary at the end of December 1956, and January 1957.

The Hungarian population in 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 behaviour of the Hungarian population. They expressed their sympathy towards the Revolution and War of independence. The documents also provide information about the punishments that concerned the Hungarian groups engaged in politics, after they had become victims of the local, well-functioning espionage.

The archival documents also reveal that the political general headquarters in Uzhhorod, established by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, had been operating for a long time after Hungary was invaded by the command of Moscow. They did everything in order to operate the illegitimate Kadar-government that was created by them, and that the «rebels» could get their «deserved punishment». In order to re-establish the political and social «order» from all points of view in Hungary directed by the Soviet government, they contributed by free economic and other types of help, about which the newspapers reported day by day.

The process of exploring the sources relating the retaliation after the revolution of 1956 has not been finished yet, there are still hundreds of archival documents mainly in Ukraine and in the former Soviet Union Archives which still need to be explored. However, besides getting to know the real facts of the history of the Revolution in 1956, it is important to perceive that in spite of the oppression there were people in Transcarpathia too, who dared to be brave, to believe and to protest. And there were ones, who paid with their life for justice. Because of participating in revolution many people were arrested, sentenced, imprisoned, deported, executed. Their truth and role should be clarified.

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## **УГОРСЬКА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ 1956 РОКУ В ДОКУМЕНТАХ КДБ: ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ДВОХ АРХІВІВ**

Зроблено загальний аналіз документів з історії Угорської революції 1956 р., які зберігаються в Галузевому державному архіві Служби безпеки України та Державному архіві Закарпатської обл. Зазначено, що це – перша спроба показати документи про депортацію угорських громадян до Радянського Союзу і представити реакцію місцевого закарпатського угорського народу на події революції, а також показати дії влади, спрямовані на тотальний ідеологічний контроль, що впливав на формування громадської думки про них.

Основною метою дослідження поставлено за допомогою архівних документів розглянути депортації угорських революціонерів до Радянського Союзу 1956 р. і представити групи розповсюджувачів політичних листівок на Закарпатті, які утворилися під час війни за незалежність Угорщини цього ж року.

Визначено, що архівні документи містять різні дані про поведінку угорців на Закарпатті, пов'язану з угорськими подіями, та про покарання угорських груп, які займалися політикою. Констатовано, що вони свідчать про те, що політичний генеральний штаб в Ужгороді тривалий час діяв після вторгнення до Угорщини московського командування.

Виснувано, що дослідження джерел, які стосуються наслідків революції 1956 р., не закінчено, адже існують ще сотні документів, переважно в Україні й архівах колишнього Радянського Союзу, котрі потребують вивчення. Крім ознайомлення з реальними фактами історії революції, наголошено на важливості усвідомлення, що, попри гніт, і на Закарпатті були люди, які наважувалися виявляти мужність, вірити й протестувати, як і ті, хто поплатився життям за справедливість. Зазначено, що через участь у революції багато людей було заарештовано, засуджено, ув'язнено, депортовано, страчено і їхня правда та роль повинні бути з'ясовані.

**Ключові слова:** Угорська революція 1956 р., документи КДБ, Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України, Державний архів Закарпатської обл., депортація, Радянський Союз, протокол допиту, розповсюджувач листівок, політична група на Закарпатті.