

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 TRANSCARPATHIA**

**They were born Hungarian: that was their only crime!**

**A BOOK OF RECOLLECTION**  
**OF THE VICTIMS OF STALINISM IN TRANSCARPATHIA**  
**(1944 - 1946)**

Edited by  
Dupka Gyorgy

Published by

PATENT - INTERMIX  
UNGVAR - BUDAPEST

HUNGARIAN BOOKS ON TRANS-CARPATIA

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The Ministry of Culture and Education supported publication of this volume.

Edited and annotated by Dupka Gyorgy

Cover by Jankovics Maria

Copyright: Dupka Gyorgy, 1993

Published by INTERMIX EDITIONS

Managing editor: Dupka Gyorgy

ISBN 963 8129 08 5

Printed 1993 in Ungvar by the PATENT Printing and Publishing Company

Managing Director: Kovacs Dezso

Technical director: Negre Viktor # 2368

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A P P E N D I X

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS:

E P I L O G U E

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH VERSION:

It seems, there was an open season on the Hungarians, behind the front lines during the last year of W.W. II, and for years afterwards:

The Yugoslav partizans of Tito murdered in cold blood approximately 40,000 Hungarian boys and men (see the Cseres book on this Home Page).

Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia expelled, forcibly relocated, exchanged, and stripped of their citizenship hundreds of thousands (see the Janics book also on this Home Page).

The Rumanians killed many of us outright and tens of thousands have perished, or were maimed, ruined for life at the Danube Delta megaproject (see the White Book and the Kincses book on this Home Page).

This book sheds light on some of the crimes the Soviets committed against Hungarians.

There were many reasons for this attempted genocide.:

1. Imaginary, embellished and exaggerated national histories taught in their schools and the resulting hatred.
2. War propaganda.

3. Collective bad conscience, the direct result of obtaining land with indigenous Hungarian population, thanks to the basically flawed, discriminatory and plainly punitive Peace Treaties of Trianon (1920) and Paris, (1947).
4. The claim of the apostles of Pan-Slavism, that "this Asiatic horde" (the Hungarians) is a wedge between the northern and southern Slavic peoples, thwarting their unity aspirations, thus hindering the formation of a dominant Slavic Empire.

All of these points are discussed in great detail in the books and essays on this Home Page.

Up to the late eighties, no one was allowed in Hungary to mention this on-going genocide. On the contrary, we had to hear, see and read about our "war crimes" endlessly. The crimes of other nations could not be mentioned. We were not even allowed to raise our voices for the oppressed fellow Hungarians over the Trianon borders.

This is the time for confessions, apologies, compensations. Without "coming clean" no lasting peace and friendship is possible. We have done a lot of confessions, apologies, compensations for the past fifty years. It is now the turn of others.

Now, that the Republic of Ukraine is the successor to the Soviet Union in Transcarpathia-Karpatalja, we have reason to hope for friendly relations in this area. It was not surprising, that Hungary was the first state to extend full diplomatic recognition to the young Republic and signed the first "Basic Treaty" with them. We fervently hope, that they will live up to their obligations toward the indigenous Hungarian minority.

It is interesting to note, that close to the end of WW II, there was truce and some cooperation between the Hungarian Army and the UPA (the Ukrainian Liberation Army). We have transferred some captured Soviet arms, ammunition and medical supplies to them, and received their badly wounded in our field hospitals. We have even flown their high level negotiators out of the German airfield in Lwow (Lemberg) to Budapest. Since they have fought both the German and Soviet armies, with equal determination, the Germans were quite upset about the arrangement. More details could be found in: Litopys UPA (Annals of UPA) Volume 5, Toronto 1984.

S.J. Magyarody

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NOTE:

to the English language Home Page and CD-ROM editions:

In the original Hungarian edition the names of the local victims are printed at the end of the articles of each of the villages and towns. On the English language Home Page and CD-ROM they are collected in one Chapter and placed at the end of the articles-section.

The names appear in the "Hungarian way", that is the last name (Family) first, then the given name(s). The (Hungarian) diacritical marks are omitted.

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Joe Stalin, you hangman  
Keep turning in your grave,  
We shower curses on your name  
And won't let you enjoy your fame.

You turned the head of many a man  
With your lying, cheating words  
And countless Hungarians suffered  
From your power and evil works.

## **Resolution #036 of the 4th Ukrainian Front (of the Soviet Army, Ed.)**

November 13, 1944

Excerpts from the document:

...There are rows of houses where German and Hungarian nationals of draft age live. These individuals must be arrested and sent to POW camps as if they were enemy combatants...

...Those German and Hungarian nationals who are subject to military service and live in the liberated territory of Trans-Carpathian Ukraine must be sent to POW camps, in separate groups, in convoys and according to prepared lists.

## **The 2nd Order of the Military Commandant**

November 13, 1944

1.- All officers and soldiers who used to belong to German and Hungarian military units and who remain on the newly liberated territory of Trans-Carpathia must report to and register at the nearest Commandant's Office within three days from November 14, 1944.

Equally, all German and Hungarian nationals between the ages of 18 and 50 who are subject to military service must report to and register at the Commandant's Office.

2.- Furthermore all individuals who served in the police force and the gendarmerie during the Hungarian occupation must also report to and register at the Commandant's Office within the prescribed three days.

3.- Registration at the Commandant's Office will take place only between the hours of 9 AM to 7 PM

The last day of reporting/registering is November 16, 1944.

4. - Those who do not report/register will be subject to arrest and court-martial

THE COMMANDANT

## **THE TRAGEDY**

### **Beregszasz district**

#### **ASZTELY**

Situated on the road to Beregsurany and at the border crossing, this village contained in 1944, 573 souls. According to a list of the local authorities, dated July 3, 1945, during the indicated period, 106 people (born between 1896 and 1926) were in various POW camps. Of these, 70 men were deported to Szolyva, the rest were drafted into the military and became prisoners. The activists of the base organization of KMKSZ (President: Olasz Miklos ))together with the survivors, compiled the lists: 61 men were carried off, 23 survived and returned, 43 perished, and 5 died in action in World War II.

On October 27, 1991, the inhabitants of the village erected a wooden memorial and tombstone in their cemetery to the memory of the victims.

#### **BADALO**

From this settlement, which lies along the (river) Tisza and had 1248 inhabitants in 1944, 200 people were carried off. Of these, more than 89 became victims of Stalinist terror.

The deportees were taken to concentration camps in Belorussia and the Ukraine.

Only 11 people lost their lives in action during WWII.

The lists of the deportees were compiled by the organization of the KMKSZ and the Local Council;. They erected a wooden memorial in the cemetery and, in 1992, a monument in the village center as a memorial to the victims.

### **BALAZSER**

In 1944, there were 785 inhabitants in this hamlet which was joined to the village of Makkosjanosi. We can tell exactly how many were deported under duress thanks to the lists of August 3, 1945 compiled by the local authority (president: Medvigy Ivan; the secretary's name is illegible): According to list No. 1, of the 88 deported men, 42 were civilians (born between 1896 and 1926) carried off to the Szolyva concentration camps purely on the basis of their nationality. The 2nd lists the names of those 46 men born between 1904 and 1923 who were inducted in the army and wore its uniform. Their whereabouts was unknown in August 1945.

Balogh Istvan and Hapak Janos, leaders of the KMKSZ in this hamlet, together with some of the survivors compiled a list of the victims of Stalinism. They were unable to determine the final resting place of 23 men from Balazser.

Upon the initiative of the KMKSZ, on August 10, 1991, a monument was erected jointly by Balazser and Makkosjanosi to the victims of Stalinism. The dedication ceremony was attended by Geza Jeszenszky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Republic.

### **BATYU**

In 1944, this town, which was a trade and railroad centre, counted 1898 inhabitants. W.W.II took a great toll: 18 people died in action. According to Bagu Balazs, President of the local base organisation of the KMKSZ, in November-December 1944, the district's collection centre was located in the Lonyay manor-house in Batyu. The men of Batyu, Botragy, Szernye, Haranglab, Beregsom, Eszeny, Szaloka, Lonya, and Hetyen were transported from there to the deathcamps. The first group left the Lonyay manor on November 18, 1944 for Szolyva; from there, they were dispersed among the concentration camps of



Szambor, Orsa, Nevianszk, Boriszov, and Stalino. According to the archives, the number of men between the ages of 18 and 50 amounted to 396.

Bagu Balazs and Beres Klara, with the help of survivors, wrote up the material on 271 men. 140 ended up in Stalinist labour camps and 81 were recorded as military personnel, far from home. Of the deportees, 38 never returned.

Unfortunately, no list is available for the research: some families died out, others moved away and many others are still reluctant to give out information. The families brought home the bodies of three men who died in Szolyva and buried them in the town cemetery. According to the testimony of some survivors, there were 5 communists among the deportees. They took their party-cards with them but they realised they were tricked when they tried to show them and this did not help any.

Upon the initiative of the local KMKSZ, in 1989 a wooden memorial was planted in the cemetery and in 1992 a monument was dedicated in the churchyard.

## **BENE**

This village, which has its rightful local council, had 1024 inhabitants in 1944. The local authorities managed to re-establish the complete list of names of those deported to POW camps. The list, which was presented to the district authorities in Beregszasz, contained 139 names. Of these, 82 people (born between 1896 and 1926) were civilians, the remainder were drafted into the army and ended up as POWs.

At the end of W.W.II the villagers secretly buried, in the local Jewish cemetery, the remains of 3 soldiers who were tortured to death by soviet soldiers; they captured, on the outskirts of the village, 75 Hungarian and 2 German soldiers and locked them up in the manor house of the local landowner. In 1992, a tombstone was erected in their memory.

The activists of the KMKSZ, together with the local authorities, set up the list of names of those deported to the camps from Bene. Horvatb Laszlo, President of the local chapter and a survivor of the deathcamp, enlisted the help of other

survivors to check the list. According to their recollections, 141 men were deported from Bene. They were sent in groups from the collection centre in Szolyva to the various GULAGs (Szabor, Ocsemsiri, Tbiliszi, Krasznolucs, Ilistni, Ural, Yerevan, Szanok, Molotov, Petrozavodszk, Boriszov, Murmansk, Stalinov). The burial place of 32 people is still unknown.

On November 1, 1989, the memory of those who died innocently was immortalised by the erection in the cemetery of a wooden memorial and, in 1992, of a monument in the centre of the village.

### BEREGARDO

According to the 1944 census, there were 1203 inhabitants in this village. On July 4, 1945, the commissariat (president: Katona Istvan, secretary: Miklos, family name illegible) compiled a list of those who did not reside in the village; it may then be assumed that they were in soviet POW camps. The list contains the names of 126 men (born between 1896 and 1926). It is not clearly shown which of the men were deported as civilians.

With the help of the survivors, Szabo Magda, vice-president of the Beregardo KMKSZ, pinpointed exactly the fate of the men on that list. She determined that 46 men were drafted from the village; 20 died in action, 7 are still living. Members of the NKVD deported 74 civilians to Szolyva where 15 of them perished, 41 died after their return, and 18 of the deportees (born between 1905 and 1925) are still alive according to the statement of June 1, 1991.

The identity of 5 men figuring on the list (Kovacs Andras., . . . . .) has not been determined precisely. It is assumed that these people returned from the camps and then moved with their families leaving the village for unknown destination. The survivors could not identify 4 men: Rapka Ivan (1906), . . . . . . . who were not inhabitants of Beregardo. It is surmised that they were Ukrainian settlers from the surrounding hamlets. In total, the burial site of 25 men from Beregardo is still unknown.. On September 1, 1991, a monument was erected in the local cemetery to their memory.

## BEREGDEDA

In 1944 the village counted 1100 souls. November 18, 1944 remains a day of infamy for its people. It was the day when strong men in the prime of their life were escorted by gun-toting soldiers to the camp in Szolyva.

We learn from the notes of Halavacs Janos that the loving father entrusts the care and education of his children to his kin and brother-in-law when he succumbs to the epidemic and feels at the end of his life. This kind brother-in-law, who was fortunate to return from camp, faithfully carried out his mission. Many widowed mothers had a desperate time trying to raise their children and many died of the hardships they encountered.

According to the lists compiled by the local authorities on July 4, 1945 159 men (born between 1900 and 1926) were absent from the village due to the above well-known facts, on the first list appear 8 names who are shown as POWs. The second list contains the names of 71 men who were drafted earlier but the data-collectors could not obtain any further information.

With the help of survivors, Halavacs Janos, secretary of the local chapter, established the list of those who died in the various GULAGs: 40 men from Beregededa and Mezohomok passed away innocently in Stalin's camps; 27 lost their lives in action.. On November 26, 1989, the villagers planted a wooden memorial in their cemetery and on November 21 1991 erected a monument to honour the victims from Beregededa and Mezohomok.

## BEREGSOM

The population of this village of 1191 souls in 1944 was equally sorely tried. In W.W.II, 19 men died in action; their names are immortalised in the courtyard of the local reformed church. According to a two-part report dispatched on July 6, 1945, by the local commissariat to the district office in Beregszasz, there were 115 men in the hands of the Soviets in various POW and labour camps. One list contained the names of the 66 people who were deported in November 1944 for "3 days of labour". Kodobocz Lilla, president of the local KMKSZ, tallied the lists and found that 81 people were sent to concentration camps; 24 never returned.

As Suto Kalman, folk-poet, put it: "The rounding up of the men was carried out at night, by soldiers who went from house to house; they even took the communists". Two party-members were also swept away by the cleansing: Nagy Lajos, Barkaszi Balint.

On November 2, 1991, a monument was erected in the churchyard in honour of the martyrs.

## BEREGSZASZ

This town, the only one in Transcarpathia where the Hungarian-born inhabitants were in the majority, the population amounted to 19,373 souls in 1944. On November 18, 1944, members of the NKVD started rounding up the male population. As the survivors remember it, they had to report at the Lajos Kossuth school. Whoever entered the building was not allowed to leave. A slit was cut in the back fence of the school yard where the men were herded out. This was to prevent those waiting in front of the school, in Bocskay street, from knowing where they are taking those who registered for the three-day labour. Those collected from the surrounding areas were herded into the customs buildings.

Csok Sandor mentions in his recollections that;  
"...the most courageous were the luckiest, since they had already fled Beregszasz. But it took a lot of daring, as those who were caught were shot on the spot. When, in Makkosjanosi, one of the men from Gat stepped out of line to ask a woman for a drink of water, the prison-guard was there instantly. When the man argued, three other soldiers appeared, took him to the woods and we only heard a shot... no one saw that man again. Many perished in the camps from the inhumane living conditions and several committed suicide".

We could quote from countless similar testimonies. All speak of the struggle for survival.

On July 3, 1945, Gergely J.A., social worker attached to the commissariat, prepared the list of 1547 names of the men subject to military service who, according to the manifest, resided in unknown places, or in various camps. As per our analysis, 1020 people were interned as civilians. Evidence of our assumption lies in the fact that after each name the collecting camp is shown (Szolyva,

Szambor, Szanok, as well as Perecseny); therefore, the whereabouts of the men was precisely known. From this manifest we can also deduce that 527 men left as Hungarian soldiers bound for the frontlines.

The Beregszasz chapter of the KMKSZ has not yet prepared the final tally. Many people replied to our request; we received more than 500 letters. The most detailed information came from Huszti Sandor who enclosed in his letter, a list of the 36 campmates who died there. The sum total of the collected data shows that 57 people died in the various camps. Kerenyi Gyula, KMKSZ-activist, gave us tremendous help in our research; he was also one of the organisers of the memorial conference held in Beregszasz.

The KMKSZ initiated the erection of a monument in the Roman Catholic cemetery; this monument, creation of the artist Horvath Anna, depicts a bereaved mother. They are also planning a huge memorial, the scale model of which can already be seen (made by Veres Peter).

The list is incomplete.

## BEREGUJFALU

In 1944, the population of this settlement was 1755 people. On November 19, 1944 the Stalinists deported 139 civilians. As per the list established on July 4, 1945 by the local authorities, altogether 222 men (born between 1885 and 1927) were taken from Beregujfalú to POW camps. There were 19 men among the deportees who were not yet 20 years old and two, Mate Gedeon and Hee Lajos were under 18. Many lost their lives in the death valley of Szolyva.

The leaders of the local KMKSZ (Hee Bela, Tibor Bela, Tompa Tibor) together with officials of the Local Council established the roster of those who died in the Stalinist camps. So far, we have managed to confirm that of 108 deportees, 45 men perished and 20 died in action in W.W.II.

Upon the initiative of the KMKSZ, on December 8, 1991 a monument was erected in the churchyard to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and the war dead.

## BOTRAGY

There were 1421 inhabitants in Botragy in 1944. In the archives under " Botragy " we found on a list compiled on July 6, 1945, by the then president of the local commissariat and sent to district headquarters, the names of 215 men (between the ages of 18 to 50) who were still residing in POW camps. Of these, 62 men from Botragy were drafted and sent either to the front or to POW camps. In the autumn of 1944, 153 civilians were deported to labour camps; the names are precisely listed, but no mention is made of which camp they were sent to.

The list of, the, deportees and those who died was established by Biro Laszlo, president of the local KMKSZ with the help of Izsak Balazs and Molnar Balazs, two survivors, as well as with Hajdu Ferenc, president of the Local Council. Of those who returned, 21 are alive; but the resting place of 78 men is still unknown. For the Day of All Souls (November 2nd) 1991 the monument destined to commemorate the dead of Stalinism was ready, thanks to the efforts of the activists of the KMKSZ and the director of the local farm. A memorial service was held in the cemetery where the village symbolically buried its dead.

## BULCSU (NAGY-)

Bulcsu used to be an autonomous settlement in the district of Beregszasz; it had 964 inhabitants in 1944. In 1957 it was officially integrated into the town on the shores of the Verke. On July 2, 1945 the leaders of the local commissariat (the names are illegible) also established a list according to which 154 people were in POW camps or resided in unknown places. Of these, 116 men (born between 1895 and 1926) were civilian deportees. Szolyva or Szanok are mentioned alongside their names. The remainder were sent to the front or to POW camps as soldiers.

With the help of survivors and witnesses (Fulop Gyula, . . . . .), Fulop Anna, secretary of the district office of the KMKSZ, established that the settlement contributed 73 men as deportees, of whom 57 died.

The members of the local KMKSZ (president: Prof. Profusz Jozsef) and the Ilku Pal high school of Bulcsu jointly started the erection of a monument.

#### CSETFALVA

Situated on the shores of the (river) Tisza, this little hamlet of 549 also felt the weight of Stalinist terror. From a list compiled by the local authorities on July 3, 1945, we can determine that 91 people were at that time in POW camps. Of these, 58 (born between 1899 and 1926) were deported to Szolyva as civilians. The activists of the Csetfalva KMKSZ completed the above mentioned list with further names. 58 deportees died in the camps.

On November 26, 1989, the residents erected a tombstone to their memory in the local cemetery

#### CSONKAPAPI

In 1944 this village had 1178 inhabitants. By going through the archives of the Beregszasz district, under No. 19, in the file of Csonkapapi, we found concrete proof of the deportations of November 1944. It held a list prepared on July 2, 1945 by the local commissariat containing the names of 191 people who were deported from the village or became POWs. By analysing the list, we determined that the authorities knew exactly that 97 people (born between 1893 and 1926) were in the deathcamp at Szolyva. In 1990, Nagy Zoltan Mihaly, author, president of the local KMKSZ, went from house to house and established a definitive list of the deportees of November 1944. By his reckoning, 120 people were taken for 3 days of labour; of these 74 returned and 47 perished.

On November 17, 1991, the activists of the KMKSZ erected a monument in the churchyard of the Reformed Church to the memory of the victims of Stalinist terror and those who died in action in W.W.II.

#### GAT

Spread out along the highway, this village had in 1944, 2240 residents. W.W.II and the deportation of local Hungarian-born men in November 1944 took a great toll. Civics Vilmos immortalized the latter event in his novel "Holnap is elunk"(We shall live tomorrow too).

On July 4, 1945, the local authorities (president: Kancsij Jurko, the secretary's name is illegible) established a list containing the names of 260 men who were absent from the village. Of these, 157 people (born between 1893 and 1926) were deported as civilians for a stint of 3-days' labour. Earlier, 103 men were drafted into the Hungarian army, but the archives do not disclose either their fate or their whereabouts. Local KMKSZ (presidents: Kacso Zoltan, Kovacs Emil) together with Lorinc Bela, president of Gat's Executive Committee, established the final list of Gat's men who died in the Stalinist camps: 52 are buried in Szolyva, Szabor, and in the unmarked mass graves of the GULAGs.

Thanks to the local KMKSZ, a beautifully carved wooden monument, erected in the Gat cemetery, commemorates the men who were deported for "3-days' labour". On November 23, 1990, a memorial was dedicated in the same place.

## GUT

Nagy-, Kisgut, or Ketgut used to be two separate settlements which now have been merged and has its own Local Council. In 1944 it had 1039 residents. This settlement too, was caught by surprise by the deportation of Hungarian men.

On July 4, 1945, the local authorities (president: Bak Jozsef the secretary's name is illegible) compiled a list of the menfolk of Nagygut and Kisgut that were absent from the villages: in total, 142 names appear on the list. Alongside the names of 42 and 45 men (born between 1895 and 1926) from Nagygut and Kisgut respectively, appears the name of the Szabor concentration camp; that is, altogether 87 men were deported as civilians to the deathcamp. The remaining 55 men from the two villages became Hungarian soldiers and were either sent to POW camps or died in action on the battlefield. Sin Jozsef, president of the local KMKSZ and three survivors (Pocsai Vince, Pocsai Samuel, Toth Lajos) drew up the losses of the village: a total of 140 men were deported to the labour camps of



which 56 died; their burial places are still not known. 8 men lost their lives on the various battlefields of W.W.II.

As the survivors related, they did not take more because many of the men were not home; they went into hiding. The youngest deportee was 18 years old, the oldest just passed 48. In several families, all the menfolk died among them those of Barkaszi Karoly, Verbias Janos.

These innocent victims are immortalized by a monument erected in the village.

### HALABOR

In 1944 there were 645 inhabitants in this village that stretches along the shores of the (river) Tisza. The leaders of the hamlet prepared a combined list of the villagers in work camps and POW camps. This was sent on July 3, 1945 to the district authorities in Beregszasz, and contains the names of 116 people (born between 1895 and 1926). Of these 84 were deported as civilians, the remainder were sent as soldiers either to the front or to POW camps.

The activists of the local KMKSZ, (president: Tar Geza) together with some survivors, established the definitive list of deportation. According to their data, 112 men were carried away to the deathcamps, 79 returned showing signs of ill treatment. There were 33 victims of Stalinism from Halabor

A wooden monument was erected to their memory in the local cemetery

### HETYEN

In 1941, there were 785 residents in this hamlet. On the list found under file No. 19 on Hetyen in the archives of the Beregszasz district office appear the names of 118 people (born between 1896 and 1926). On July 2, 1945 the compilers of the list- members of the Hetyen commissariat - knew exactly that 73 men were prisoners in the Szolyva and Sztarij Szambor camps. The remaining men were assumed to have been taken prisoners of war as Hungarian soldiers. Alongside some names, they even show their army addresses from which they sent their letters to their loved ones.

With the recollections of some survivors and eyewitnesses, (Baksa Istvan, - . . .), the leaders of the local KMKSZ - Suto Sandor, Toth Eva - established that of the 127 deportees 50 lie in unmarked graves in the camps and 21 lost their lives in W.W.II.

In September 1992 a monument was erected on the village square to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and W.W.II

## KIGYOS

Associated with Nagyberég, bisected by the Ilosva-Beregszász highway, nestled in the hills of Ardo, this village is situated in pleasant surroundings on the shores of lake Szernye.

In 1944, it had 668 inhabitants whose ranks were considerably thinned by W.W.II and the tragic events that followed it. 13 men died in battle. After the deportation of men, the local authorities set up two lists. Thus, on July 4, 1945, they recorded that 115 people were absent from the village. Of these, 76 (born between 1895 and 1926) were deported as civilians to Szolyva and during W.W.II 40 men of Kigyos (born between 1902 and 1923) were drafted as Hungarian soldiers. According to the data analysed by the Kigyos KMKSZ (president: Kovacs Miklos), there were 28 innocent victims of Stalinism.

In November 1990 a monument was erected to their memory in the local cemetery.

## KISBEGANY

In 1944, the village had almost 1000 inhabitants. Upon instructions from higher authority, after the deportation of the men, the local leaders established the record of those 128 who were in POW camps. List No. 1, dated July 4, 1945, mentions the Sztarij Szambok concentration camp alongside the name of 78 men (born between 1899 and 1926) taken from Kisbegany. On the other, they listed the names of 50 men (born between 1900 and 1924) who were drafted into the army.

The leaders of the Kisbegany KMKSZ sent us the list of the losses of the village. Thus, we can determine that in the autumn of 1944 the Stalinists took 97 men; of these 38 died in the camps and 7 in W.W.II

On November 21, 1990, a monument was erected in the local cemetery to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and W.W.II

### KISHARANGLAB

Attached to the Botragy district and according to its census, this village had 493 inhabitants in 1944. They, too, were subject to the deportations. The list compiled on July 2, 1945 (the names of the compilers is not shown), consists of two separate items. On the first, the names of 32 civilian deportees (born between 1899 and 1926) are recorded. On the second are the names of 30 men who were drafted, were sent to the front or disappeared in the whirlwind of war.

All in all, 62 men in the prime of their lives were absent from the village in July, 1945. Unfortunately, we do not know yet how many returned as our request was ignored by the village authorities.

One explanation is that the local KMKSZ has not yet been established, but the representatives of the various churches did not show any eagerness to reply either.

### MACSOLA

Situated near Beregszasz, this village had 734 residents in 1944. As per the list prepared by the local commissariat (president: Csermatonyi, secretary: Gorgyaj, as they signed it) on July 3, 1945, 110 residents of Macsola (born between 1894 and 1926) stayed in various camps, in unknown places. Of these, as it shows clearly, 71 people were deported as civilians to Szabor. The remainder must have been taken to POW camps as soldiers.

The president of the Macsola KMKSZ, Jacura Laszlo with the help of Nagy Sandor, a survivor, recorded the losses of the village and checked it against the list found in the archives. Jacura Laszlo reports that on the one in the archives figure in people who were neither in camps nor on the front (i.e. Paulik Odon).

Furthermore, there were names of people who are unknown in the village, yet appear on the list as taken from Macsola in November 1944:

Menyhert Albert; Mako Gyula; Dr. Mako Istvan; Mako Peter, born in Pallo; Csepes Jozsef from Surany; Tarnai Istvan, from Bromice; Jurik Vaszil from Bocsko; Sete Jozsef from Nagyberezna; Bodo Istvan, from Ungvar; Pal Jozsef from Makkosjanosi.

Their fate is unknown. Some of them found work after camp; Mako Gyula was school principal in Kisbegany.

They took men from the surrounding hamlets too, but these are counted as dead as no information is available on them. Some residents were carried off, yet their names do not appear on any list. Whoever did not return, is named among the martyrs of the village. Thus we reckon that in the autumn of 1944 111 men were carried off forcibly; we know that 51 perished and 9 lost their lives in battle. Of those who returned, 20 are still alive.

The activists of the local KMKSZ erected a monument in 1991 to the memory of the victims of Stalinism.

## MAKKOSJANOSI

Associated with Balazser, this Hungarian-Ruthenian village counted 1219 inhabitants in 1944. The names of those deported in the autumn of 1944 were recorded here also.

On July 3, 1945, the local officials compiled two lists which together contained the names and data of 125 people. The first lists 56 men (born between 1895 and 1926) who were forcibly deported to the concentration camp of Szolyva. The compilers of the Hungarian-language list were the president of the local commissariat, Popovics Pal, and a secretary named Grabcsahova. The second list holds the names of 69 men from Makkosjanosi (born between 1903 and 1923) who were drafted as Hungarian soldiers and sent into battle or to POW camps at

unknown locations. The leaders of the local KMKSZ (presidents: Balogh Istvan; Gerzsenyi Tibor, Hapak Janos, Debrenyi Janos) fixed the losses of the village at 22 men from Makkosjanosi and Balazser who perished in the camps; their final resting place is unknown.

Upon the initiative of the local KMKSZ, Makkosjanosi and Balazser jointly erected a monument to the victims of the two villages. Jeszenszky Geza, Minister of Foreign Affairs, attended the dedication ceremony.

### MEZOGECSE

This village, which has its own municipal council, had 538 inhabitants in 1944. On July 4, 1945, a list was prepared here also by the commissariat (Varga Karoly, president; the secretary's name is not mentioned). According to its data, 95 people were in POW camps or stayed at unknown locations. Of these, 68 men (born between 1895 and 1926) were deported to Szolyva under armed guard. Analysing the list, the local KMKSZ and officeholders of the municipal council determined that 24 people died in the camps and 5 during W.W.II.

On the initiative of the local KMKSZ (president: Jakab Bela), on October 29, 1990, a memorial was erected to the victims of W.W.II and subsequent Stalinist terror.

### MEZOHOMOK

Administratively, this hamlet belongs under the municipal council of Beregeda. As its 1944 census shows, its inhabitants counted 329 people, belonging mostly to the Uniate (Eastern Catholic) church.

Upon instructions from higher authorities, the commissariat (local president: Molnar Mihaly, secretary: Lonyai Ilona) prepared the camp lists on July 3, 1945. On the first appear the names of the 21 men (born between 1905 and 1923) who were conscripted into the Hungarian army. The second lists the data of the 26 men (born between 1896 and 1925) who were forcibly interned as civilians. Halavacs Jozsef, secretary of the KMKSZ of Beregeda, went out and personally interviewed survivors or relatives.

He confirmed the available data: for instance: Egressy Janos, Kosztyo Gabor, Juhasz Bela - survivors, identified some of those who were forgotten: - the men who died in action, whose wives have also passed away and who had no children (Hada Ferenc, Lengyel Janos).

Zan Janos Jr. told us how his father, - the village judge, guaranteeing their return, reported for duty and marched out at the head of his people to fulfil their "3-day labour" obligation. He never returned, having perished in camp. Barate Jozsef, judge of Beregdeda, made the same self-sacrifice and died in camp also. The villagers were that unsuspecting!

Missing from the lists were the names of Egressy Istvan, Pracu Lajos and Petras Ambrus who died in action or in POW camps. After considerable investigation, Halavacs Jozsef managed to identify the 26 men deported to the camps. He also determined that the signer of the list, secretary Lonyai Ilona, did not belong, to Mezohomok but worked at the district office of Nagybegany.

To conclude, from the research of Halavacs Jozsef, we find that 7 men from Mezohomok died on the battlefield and 19 perished in the various camps. On November 26, 1989 Beregdeda and Mezohomok jointly erected in the cemetery a wooden monument to the memory of the victims who died in Stalinist camps.

Since then, they made a memorial in the shape of an open book: on black marble, on one side they engraved the names of the deportees who died in camp, on the other side the names of those who died in action. They also engraved a commemorative poem on white marble in the centrefold.

## MEZOKASZONY

Well-known for its healing waters, this erstwhile market town had 2658 residents in 1944. Here also, the order went out. We could fix the losses of the town from a variety of sources.

On July 2, 1945, the local authorities listed 368 men as being in POW camps. Yet the authors knew that about 100 men (born between 1880 and 1926) were prisoners in the concentration camps in Szanok, Sztarij Szambor, Novij

Szambor, and Szolyva. Under the leadership of president Horvath Gyula and activists Hegedus Zsigmond and Petnehazy Istvan canvassed the residents of this town and determined that of the civilians of Mezokaszony, 68 men died in these camps and 18 men lost their lives in action on various battlefields. They also noted that four men, (Nagy Miklos, Nagy Jozsef, Hegedus I. Mihaly, Szilagyi Arpad), came home from the camps gravely ill and passed away within a few days of their return.

According to the statement of May 1990, 36 people are still alive, having defied hunger and cold in the camps.

On November 24, 1991 a memorial was erected on the town square to the victims of W.W.II and Stalinist terror.

## NAGYBAKOS

Several surrounding tiny hamlets were joined to form this village where the Czechs settled many Ruthenians. Its inhabitants counted 868 residents in 1944. 5 men died in action during W.W.II.

In the autumn of 1944, those men who claimed to be Ruthenians ,or Slovaks were spared. Material unearthed in the Beregszasz district's archives shows that a report was prepared and sent by the commissariat on July 6, 1945 showing that 170 Hungarian men between the ages of 18 and 50 were at that time staying in various camps. It is noteworthy that the deathcamp of Szambor is mentioned alongside 100 names. It was also known that the remaining 70 were conscripted and joined the Hungarian army during W.W.II.

In June of 1990, Bagu Balazs and Szatmari Istvan Sr. established the list of those deported from Nagy-and Kisbakos. Of the 43 men imprisoned in camps, 1 perished in the Orsa and 1 in the Szambor labour camps. During 1946-47 several returned from the various concentration camps: 23 from Orsa, 6 from Szambor and 2 from Krasznaja-Lucs.

Evidently the list is still incomplete; but the devotion to the village's dead will continue.

## NAGYBEREG

Cradle of the famous homespun textiles from Bereg; this village had 2504 inhabitants in 1944.

On November 19, 1944, the village's men between the ages of 18 and 50 were collected. On July 4, 1945, upon instructions from higher-ups, the local authority presented its lists of deportees. On list No. 1, it assumes that, 116 men (born between 1894 and 1924), conscripted into the army, were sent as soldiers to POW camps. Under the leadership of president Baran Zoltan, the members of the local KMKSZ established a camp-list of 221 names (born between 1894 and 1926). Of these, 33 died and are buried in camp cemeteries.

In November 1989, a monument was erected to their memory in the local graveyard

## NAGYBORZSAVA

Belonging to the district of Mezovari, this village had in 1944, 1058 inhabitants.

From authenticated lists prepared on July 3, 1945 (the names of the compilers is not mentioned), we learn that 175 men from Borzsava (born between 1895 and 1926) were in various camps or at unknown locations. Of these, 56 men were drafted into the army and 119 were civilian deportees. The activists of the local KMKSZ (president: Buzasi Istvan), with the help of survivors, notably Darcsi Sandor, established the list of the village's losses.

On November 19, 1944, the men were taken in horse-drawn wagons to Beregszasz, whence 133 were distributed among the concentration camps of Szolyva, Szanok, Sztarij Szambor and Novij Szambor; 81 are buried in their common cemetery. Huszti Janos, already gravely ill, was released from the camp at Szolyva, but he died on his way home. His relatives claimed his body and buried it in the local cemetery. 52 men survived the death marches, defying frost and famine. According to the March 1, 1991 record, 20 are still alive.



During W.W.II, 82 men were drafted into the army: of these, 6 died in action on the battlefield, 49 became POWs of the soviets, 12 went to unknown camps and 15 were lucky enough to escape camp life altogether. When, at the foot of the Carpathians, the front collapsed, 34 of the soldiers deserted but were caught on the way or taken into camps from the village.

On December 3, 1989 a wooden memorial was erected in the cemetery to honour the martyrs of the village. The activists of the KMKSZ initiated the movement to set up a monument also.

## NAGYBEGANY

Situated on both sides of the Beregszasz-Csap highway, this town had 2434 inhabitants in 1944.

Following the deportation of the Hungarian men and upon instructions from the commissariat of Zakarpatszka Ukraine, the local authorities (president: Mezo Miklos, secretary: Laki Sarolta) established 2 lists containing 329 names. These men, according to the July 6, 1945 report, were absent from the town: they were either deported or drafted into the army.

Yet the compilers knew exactly that 125 men (born between 1897 and 1926) were deported as civilians to Szolyva on November 18, 1944. On the second list, they report the names of 94 men (born between 1901 and 1923) who, as per the authors, "reside at unknown places". The KMKSZ of Nagybegany analysed the data and found that 10 men died on the battlefield; the Stalinists deported 110 men of whom 61 perished.

Show trials, were started against 10 people.

On October 31, 1989, Nagybegany - among the first in the Beregszasz district - erected a wooden monument in its cemetery in memory of those who rest in unmarked graves. The local activists started the movement for a bigger memorial.

## MUZSALY (NAGY-)

The mostly Hungarian-born inhabitants of this town in the foothills amounted to 2215 in 1944. It belongs among those villages where about 70% of the deported men did not return from the camps.

The July 4, 1945 report prepared by the local authorities mentions 239 men (born between 1895 and 1926) imprisoned in POW camps. Yet the authors knew exactly that 215 men were deported as civilians and whether they were sent to Szolyva or Sztarij Szambor. The remainder were drafted and sent to POW camps. Among the village's martyrs was also Narancsik Imre, - well-known pastor of the Reformed Church.

The local KMKSZ (president: Verebes Erika) analysed the available data and found that after 1946 92 deportees returned to their families; many are still alive. But 129 men from Muzsaly never came back from forced labour in Szolyva.

Upon the initiative of the local KMKSZ, in November 1989 a wooden memorial and later a monument were erected to honour the deceased.

## RAFAJNAUJFALU

In 1944, this little village had 814 souls. The lists prepared by the local authorities on July 5, 1945 contain the names of 93 men (born between 1897 and 1923) who were in POW, concentration or labour camps.

In reply to our request, Demeter Ferenc, a survivor from Rafajnaufalu, writes as follows:

"They took us all together for the 3 days of forced labour, - first to Orsa from there, I was sent to Vityebszk, then in the summer of 1946 to Mogiljov. I returned home on October 5, 1946; many of my companions perished in the camps. Those who did not were forced to continue working. As far as I know, they deported 24 to Orsa and 16 to Boriszov from here. Ten died in the camps. Some of us are still alive but we all feel the effects of the camps..."

Upon the initiative of the activists of the local KMKSZ, which was formed on February 19, 1991 (president: Fejes Sandor), a memorial was erected in the churchyard of the Reformed Church in honour of the martyrs of the village.

## SAROSOROSZI

Stretching along the left bank of the (river) Borzsa, this village had 798 inhabitants in 1944.

From a report prepared on July 3, 1945 by the local commissariat (president: Brekoczki Karoly; the secretary's name is illegible, hidden by the seal), we learned that at that time 124 men (born between 1895 and 1926) were in various camps. Of these, 76 people were deported as civilians for "3 days of labour". The remainder were sent to the front as soldiers and became POWs.

According to the lists prepared by the activists of the KMKSZ, in the autumn of 1944 84 men were deported, and 50 died in the camps. During W.W.II, 12 men lost their lives in action.

On November 18, 1989, the local KMKSZ (president: Sebi Andras) and the residents of Sarosoroszi erected a wooden monument in the cemetery and dedicated a memorial in the churchyard of the local Roman Catholic church.

## TISZACSOMA

Attached to the district of Mezogecse, this little village had 718 inhabitants in 1944. From the lists prepared on July 4, 1945 by the local commissariat (president: Popovics Karoly; secretary Beca I.), we learn that at that time there were 110 men in POW camps. Of these, 53 (born between 1895 and 1926) were deported to Szolyva as civilians.

The activists of the local KMKSZ (president: Posze Attila) together with survivors, determined the number of deportees 74 men returned home from the camps but 40 perished

Organized by the local KMKSZ, on July 15, 1990; the village of Tizacsoma erected a wooden monument to honour those who died in the, camps. Ruszin Ferenc, master cabinet maker, and Bakancsos Laszlo, member of the presidium, took a notable part in the realisation of this monument.

## UJBATYU

Administratively attached to the district of Nagybakos, this hamlet had barely 500 inhabitants in 1944. It lost 2 men in battle during W.W.II.

Bagu Balazs and Ember Balazs, Sr. compiled the list of the 18 men who were deported by the Stalinists to labour camps in Szolyva, Szambor, and Orsa in November 1944. Of the 18, 11 died in the camps.

## ZAPSZONY

In 1944, there were 1020 inhabitants in this village.

From a March 2, 1945 list prepared by the local commissariat and found in the archives, we can tell that 53 men (born between 1898 and 1923) were prisoners in POW camps at unknown locations. By analysing the available data, the local KMKSZ found that in the autumn of 1944, 20 men subject to military service were deported, of which 10 died in the camps. A further 12 men died in action in W.W.II.

In August 1991, upon the initiative of the activists of the local KMKSZ, a memorial was erected in honour of the victims

## VARI (MEZO-)

This erstwhile market town is situated at the confluence of the Borzsa and Tisza rivers, on the Ukrainian-Hungarian border. It had 2893 inhabitants in 1944.

The men from Vari (between the ages of 18 and 50) were taken under guard to Szolyva on November 18, 1944. Later, the local authorities prepared two fairly precise lists. On the first are the names of 135 men (all except one born between 1901 and 1923) who became POWs as soldiers; the names of the camps are unknown. The second list contains the names of the 340 men (born between 1895

and 1926) who were ordered to report for "robot malenykij" and deported to the concentration camp of Szolyva.

W.W.II and the Stalinists' inhuman terror carried off 437 men. No exception was made for the guardians of Leninism: - the communists had their party cards confiscated and burned right there in Szolyva.

The activists of the local KMKSZ (president: poet Vari Laszlo Fabian), together with Szarka Karoly, Nagy Laszlo and some survivors established that 169 men from Vari rest in unknown graves and 34 lost their lives in battle.

In November 1989 a wooden memorial was erected in the local cemetery and on March 15, 1992 a monument was dedicated to the deportees and those who died in action.

## **UPPER TISZA REGION**

### **SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS**

#### **AKNASZLATINA**

Situated along the Ukrainian-Rumanian border, this town had 4518 inhabitants in 1944. In the autumn of 1944 the men were carried off from Aknaszlatina also, thus effectively putting a stop to the exploitation of the salt mines.

Reacting to our request, a survivor, Stercli Sandor (1905) wrote down his recollections of those events. He relates:

"My two brothers. Jozsef and Karoly, and I were taken on November 24, 1944 to 'three days of labour'. First, we ended up in Raho, from there, we were marched to Szolyva and finally settled in the Ural region. On the way, I had the sad fate of witnessing not only the death of my two brothers but of many other fellow sufferers too. I was fortunate enough to return to my family on December 27, 1946. I still think back to those days with great sadness".

From the material provided by the survivors, it has become clear that many men who spoke Czech escaped death by joining the legion. Most of these are still alive. But the reprisals still did not end with the repatriation of the deportees: in 1947, they again collected the young men and took them to Donbasz. Those who did not go voluntarily were arrested. That is why, while this recruiting went on, Zombori Istvan spent many a night in strangers haylofts.

From the particulars found in the archives, we could determine that: according to a report prepared in June 1945, 253 men from Aknaszlatina (born between 1897 and 1926) were in labour camps in Szolyva and Szambor. The name of the list's compiler is illegible. We also found the petition that the management of the salt mines of Aknaszlatina, among them Stempel Bela, wrote to Turjanica Ivan, president of the commissariat in Zakarpatszka-Ukrajina. They inform the president - "comrade" that 218 trained saltminers were deported; without their labours mining has come to a standstill. They ask that the miners listed below be released from labour camp. As far as we know, the NKVD did not comply with the management's request and only a few technical experts were returned from the deathcamps.

The activists of the KMKSZ\* of Aknaszlatina (Tamas Jozsef, Benedek, Imre, Jr., Zombori Istvan, Pataki Ferenc, and Kereszteny Peter) went from house to house to compile their lists. They were also helped by many survivors. Thus it came to light that during W.W.II 20 men died in action. In the autumn of 1944, 690 civilians were deported; of whom 172 died in the camps, 518 returned. Show trials\* were started against 15 people: - 1 was executed. The April 4, 1991 report shows that 150 are still alive. On November 24, 1989 an iron cross was erected in the local graveyard to the memory of the victims of Stalinism. In the autumn of 1991 a monument was also dedicated

\*Karpataljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség = The Hungarian Cultural Association of Karpatalja. "Karpatalja" is the historical Hungarian name for the territory given to Czechoslovakia after WW I, and subsequently handed over to the Soviets by Czechoslovakian President Eduard Benes in 1945. It is now part of the Ukraine.)

## BUSTYAHAZA

Stretching along the Tisza, this town, which underwent rapid industrialisation, had 3348 inhabitants in 1941

In the autumn of 1944, the overzealous Stalinists gathered all the available men who were of draft age and were either Hungarian or German-born. From material obtained from the statistical report sent to the commissariat in Ungvar, we can determine that 92 men were deported to labour or POW camps. Even those 18-19 old youngsters who never carried a gun were mercilessly interned in the Szolyva concentration camp

The final list of the town's losses is not available yet. But Sari Jozsef, Jr. sent us a letter from one survivor where he records from memory the names of his fellow sufferers. There are only 22 names on this list; of these 13 perished.

The KMKSZ of Bustyahaza was established in 1992 under the presidency of Kortvelyesi Jozsef

The Hungarian residents set a commemorative tablet into the wall of the Roman Catholic chapel in 1992.

## GYERTYANLIGET

Situated along the shores of the Sopurka river, in the most beautiful region of the Upper Tisza, this town has 3215 inhabitants, of which 670 are Hungarian-born. In 1944, it had 2276 residents.

We could not find any material concerning this town in the district office's archives. The activists of the local KMKSZ which was founded in 1989 (presidents: Macsek Iren, Henrich Otto), with the help of a survivor, Majer Ferenc, have detailed the losses of the village. In the autumn of 1944, the Stalinists carried

off 82 people, among them 3 mothers with children at home: Mrs. Schneider Janos, - nee Korent Erzsebet (1919); Mrs. Seff Ferenc, - nee Wermester Iren (1909); and Mrs. Zadranski Arnold, - nee Korent Maria (1916). Of the deported, 29 died and 53 returned.

We quote from the diary of Rakoczy Sandor:

"The march was arduous and we were always hungry. Almost every day someone from my village died. I noted down all the names and details of their death so as to be able to tell their relatives once I get home with God's help".

On November 4, 1990, a memorial was erected in the Catholic cemetery to the memory of the victims of Stalinism.

## HUSZT

Located in the most beautiful part of the Upper Tisza region, this historic town had in 1944: - 21,118 inhabitants of mixed origins. After W.W.II, the number of those of Hungarian descent had greatly diminished.

In the autumn of 1944, the Stalinist not only carried off to camps the German-and Hungarian-born men, but also brutally humiliated the 17 to 20 year old girls and women who had German names; these were also deported to labour camps. To this day, representatives of the old regime deny that women from Transcarpathia were interned.

Among the material recovered from the archives, we found lists prepared on July 5, 1945, and signed "Brinzej", president of the Huszt commissariat, detailing the names of the men in POW camps and other places of unknown sites. The report, sent to the Ungvar commissariat contains the names of 439 men (born between 1893 and 1926) subject to the draft. Alongside 273 men's names is the mention "located in unknown place". The military addresses are shown alongside the names of the remaining men who were conscripted and had joined the Hungarian army. Only Brar Jozsef (1925), resident of Huszt, is indicated as having been taken to the camp at Szolyva.

The leaders of the Huszt KMKSZ, Udut Sandor, Buzinkay Janos and others, encountered many difficulties in preparing the list of the town's losses. The situation is confused; those who could furnish information are still afraid to speak or evoking the past is still too painful for them. So far, they managed to obtain details on 84 deportees and they discovered that 26 prisoners died in camp. Since



they have not finished their lists, we cannot give further details. However, they have brought to light a striking number of innocent, young women who were subjected to the most unspeakable humiliations by the Stalinists: - Dan Ilona . . . . Veinrauch Katalin (1925). Maybe not even time heal the wounds inflicted on them by the Stalinists.

On November 24, 1990, the KMKSZ organised a memorial service in the local cemetery and erected a wooden monument to the Hungarian and German victims of Stalinism.

### KOROSMEZO

In 1944, this town had 12,717 inhabitants of mixed Ruthen-German-Hungarian origins. Presently, there are 1100 Hungarian residents.

According to the material found in the archives: - the local authorities (the names of the town's mayor and the secretary are illegible) prepared the report that 136 draft-age men "resided at unknown locations".

The KMKSZ's lists contain the names of 41 civilian deportees, among them youngsters of German origin and women (Frindt-Derencsuk Borbala /1907/. . . . . . . . . .). Eight people joined the Czech legion already formed in Szolyva. The Hungarian-born men and women were interned on December 22, 1944 in Novogorlovka, near Donbasz. They were made to labour at various jobs during 22 months. In September 1945 typhoid fever broke out; many died in the epidemic. In the confusion that reigned then, many family members and relatives of party-members were also carried off. For instance, the cousin of Turjanica Ivan, leader of the (communist) party of Transcarpathia, was also there but was released within a few days. Most prisoners were only released in the autumn of 1949. All in all, 39 people were deported to the Stalinist camps; 28 perished and 11 returned.

Upon the initiative of the KMKSZ, a monument was erected in the local cemetery on October 24, 1990.

### NAGYBOCSKO

Presently, there are about 300 Hungarian-born inhabitants in this town which is located along the Ukrainian-Rumanian border, on the shores of the Tisza.

In 1944, it had 7,427 residents. We could not find any material concerning it in the district's archives.

The president of the local KMKSZ, which was founded in 1992, did not send us yet his list of the town's losses. However, we did hear from a survivor, Hormanszki Ferenc. In his letter, he tells us that: on November 20, 1944, about 39 men of draft age were taken from the town, first to Raho, then to the Szolyva concentration camp. Among them were some of German origin. Our writer was imprisoned together with his father, who perished in the far-away Gulag camps. He, himself, was released in 1947. Of the 39 deportees to the camp in Nevianszk, 17 returned and 22 died there.

The survivors, together with the activists of the KMKSZ, started the movement to erect a memorial.

## RAHO

Situated in picturesque surroundings, this district centre had, in 1944, 12,455 inhabitants of Ruthenian, Hungarian, and Rumanian origins. Of these, 1400 were Hungarians.

We could not find any material concerning Raho in the archives. The KMKSZ, founded in 1989 under the presidency of Bilics Eva, started amassing the data on the deportations.

She reports that on December 25, 1944:

the Hungarian and German nationals were collected in the former telephone central, from there, on January 2, 1945, they were transported by truck to the various camps. The women, between the ages of 18-35, were taken to Voloc (Wisauer Klotild, Stadler Valeria, Baron Jolan, Francz Maria, Neuman Erzsebet, Zaharovics Erzsebet, Schmolnauer Jolan). Schmolnauer Jolan got sick on the road and was therefore released. To make up the complement, they caught a little girl, Kulinyak Babi, who happened to be out walking on the street. It was a mild day, all she wore was light clothing, yet they took her along. Later, the women gave her a skirt to put over her head and some rags for her feet. When she learned what happened, her poor mother, dressed in slippers and robe, ran wailing after the truck, but the soldiers were adamant and did not let the child go. She was taken away; her fate is unknown.

Ninety-three people were deported from the town; of these 32 perished and 61 returned.

Upon the initiative of the KMKSZ, a monument was erected in the local graveyard to the victims of Stalinism.

### SZOLYVA

Stretching along the valley of the Latorca river, this town had about 8,000 inhabitants in 1944. As is well-known, on its outskirts was built the infamous deathcamp where innocent people died by the tens of thousands. In the camp's prayers, it became known as "the valley of death".

In August 1992, here too, the KMKSZ was established and elected Joross Bela as its president. They chose as their main purpose the sponsorship of a monument under construction, dedicated to the memory of the camps' victims, in a field alongside the First World War's military cemetery.

In November 1992, upon the initiative of the Roman Catholic parishioners, their pastor blessed the nameless mass graves and symbolically buried the victims during a funeral service. All those who were present committed themselves to yearly remembrance of the victims. The activists of the KMKSZ have started the task of collecting the names of the Hungarian, Saxon and German deportees from the town.

### TARACKOZ

This upper Tisza region settlement counts nowadays more than 50 but less than a 100 Hungarian inhabitants. We could find no material in the district's archives concerning this hamlet. The local chapter of the KMKSZ, established in 1992, (president: Fulop Janos) has to this day not sent in the list of the village's losses.

We know that Hungarian men were deported from here also, a fact brought to our attention by a response we received from one Suto Laszlo, resident of Tarackoz, who writes:

"We inform you that our father, Suto Bertalan (1896), was also taken to 'three days of labour on November 20, 1944. He was marched under escort to Szolyva where

he fell ill with dysentery. He was sent to the hospital in Sztarij Szabor; unfortunately, he never returned. Together with him, our brother-in-law, Tomcsik Zoltan (1920), was also deported but they were separated in Szolyva. He (Tomcsik) was sent to Orel where he worked in an electric power station until 1946 when he was released emaciated; weighing only 45 kg. on his return." (The letter is dated February 10, 1991)

### TEREBESFEHERPATAK

Situated on the shores of the Tisza, this village is inhabited by Hungarians and Hungarianized Germans. In 1944, it had 2648 residents. We could not find anything concerning this village in the district's archives.

The local KMKSZ, established on October 29, 1989, has collected the material for the list of the village's losses, but the leadership (Vadas Vilmos, Vadas Maria, Korn Maria) did not send us the camp lists. We know that 52 men were deported in the autumn of 1944; of these, 6 died in camps but 46 returned. Four people were brought to show trial.

Under the leadership of the KMKSZ, a memorial tablet to the victims of Stalinism was set in the local cemetery.

### TECSO

In 1944, this former crown city, situated along the shores of the Tisza, had 10,731 inhabitants

According to the notes taken by Szollosy Tibor: - a survivor, K. Istvan, relates the events of the deportations of November.

"The Russian troops arrived Sunday. On Thursday, they issued a proclamation that all Hungarian men between the ages of 16 and 55 must register at city hall for three days of labour. I took along the medical certificates of my disability and showed them to Nagy Lajos who was busy making arrangements. He was a communist, so he was trusted; he had fought in Spain. He said I can stand three days. About 300 of us were collected; - another transport had already left before us, escorted by some 'half-Hungarians' like Szligan Joska who was given a rifle. We left in the direction of Huszt; several of the men escaped during the march. We were driven

toward the camp at Szolyva where an epidemic of typhoid fever was raging. There very many people died; every morning they took wagon loads of corpses."

Another survivor, Erdo Karoly - who had just completed his 24th year - tells how he was picked up, with other men, by sub-machine-gun-toting Russian soldier and taken to city hall. There he was told to take three days' worth of food and he will have to go build bridges and roads. They were marched off under armed guard but not all deportees could keep up: -

"My neighbour, K.T. could not walk, the poor man was ill. The Russian soldiers yelled at him and one even took off his gun to shoot him, but we surrounded the unfortunate man and carried him along with us for two days until we reached Szolyva. Before that, in Huszt, everything we had was taken away from us. There we were herded into barracks so crowded that we could hardly stand, let alone lie down. By morning several people had already died; the bodies were tossed unto a wagon and taken out to be buried. We got nothing to eat; those who had something, ate, those who didn't went without. In a few days, we were taken farther."

One could fill reams with similar stories. We also found material on Tecso in the district's archives. On June 9, 1945, the local authorities listed the names and data on all men who were deported or sent to POW camps. Alongside many, they showed the names of the Szolyva, Szambor, Szanok and other deathcamps. There are 367 names on these lists of men born between 1890 and 1926.

With the help of survivors, the activists of the local KMKSZ tried to find out how many came back. The material they collected shows that 29 men died in battle during W.W.II; 190 were deported as civilians: - of whom 79 perished, 111 returned, and, as of February 25, 1991, 41 are still living. Twenty-eight people were brought to a show trial. On November 20, 1989, a commemorative tablet to the victims of Stalinism was placed in the local cemetery.

## TISZABOGDANY

There are barely 200 Hungarians among the 3000 inhabitants of this village.

In the district's archives, we found a list compiled on July 3, 1945 by the local judge and secretary (their signatures are illegible) that 135 men subject to military service were in camps or in "unknown places". The local KMKSZ (president: Pappariga Eva), which was founded in 1990, did not send us any of the

requested material. Therefore, based on our research in the archives, we can only state that deportations did take place here also.

## VISK

This large village is situated on the other bank of the Tisza in the Ukrainian-Rumanian border region. In 1944, it had 7644 inhabitants of mixed origins.

The deportations of November 1944 caused untold suffering, the wounds of which are still raw. Sari Jozsef Sr., who had also "gone to hell and back", spoke during the 1989 Beregszasz memorial conference and advised his fellow Hungarian mourners: -

"Let us try to have time and memory bring us peace and heal our unspeakable pain. We cannot build a viable future on hate."

The local pastor, Forgon Pal, bishop of the Reformed Church of Transcarpathia, fought fiercely for the rights of the deported; as a consequence and on the basis of fabricated charges he spent long years in a Siberian labour camp. Nagy Laszlo, resident of Sarospatak (although born in Satoraljaujhely, he had a teaching post in Visk from September 1939 until the fateful day of deportations) sent us a long, 23 typewritten-page chronicle of the calvary of the men of Visk. Here are some random samples taken from his recollection:

"On November 27, 1944, all Hungarian men between the ages of 18 to 60 were ordered out for three days of labour - with enough food for 3 days. Those who delayed were collected by the military, with the assistance of some of the Ruthaenian inhabitants. Only those who fled to the woods remained at large. But, as I found out later, the collection of men resumed twice more. At noon, 600 Hungarians left but we had no inkling of our destination.

The three days turned into three years; half of those who left never returned to their homes. We left at noon on November 27, and were marched to Huszt, arriving there around 5-6 o'clock. We spent three days there, in a fenced-in block-house. In the morning of November 30, we left for Szolyva, via Beregszasz and Munkacs. The march took three days; we arrived in Szolyva on the evening of the third day. The view of the camp from close by was dreadful. Our shock was heightened when the gate was opened and a big truck laden with corpses was let out before we were admitted. The view inside was even more horrible. Within the

barbed wire fence, an epidemic of typhoid fever was raging: every day two truckloads of corpses were taken out. We spent three days here; then went to Sztrij, from there to the camp at Szambor.

On December 17th, they put us into cattle cars: we reached Nyevjanszk in the Urals after three weeks. Those who did not assiduously de-louse themselves, died after 1-2 days - the lice ate them up. By the time we reached Nyevjanszk, 300 men had died of the 1000 that left."

Upon the request of the authorities, a list was compiled on July 11, 1945, of the men who landed behind barbed wire. It is signed by Ivan Tamas, then leader of the village. But the list we found in the archives in Beregszasz is incomplete: - its last pages are missing. On it there are only 308 names of men subject to military service. No mention is made of their ages nor to which camp they were sent since they counted civilians as POWs.

The activists of the KMKSZ, led by Sari Jozsef, Sr., started to compile the lists of the village's losses in November 1989. They proceeded with their in-depth survey by going from house to house. From the material they collected, the following picture emerges: there were 17 POWs from Visk, the remainder of the men were civilians taken from their homes and escorted by armed guard on their march to the concentration camp of Szolyva. So far, they identified 286 returned.

On November 26, 1989, during a funeral service, the residents erected a wooden memorial to the victims of Stalinism in the churchyard of the Reformed Church of Visk. Since then, a service is held every year in memory of these senseless deaths.

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## **THE DISTRICT OF MUNKACS**

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## BARKASZO

Belonging to the administrative district of Szernye, this hamlet had, in 1944, 680 residents. In November of that year, 106 Hungarian men, in the prime of their lives, were deported; those who professed to be Ruthenians or Slovaks were spared the horror of the camps. Of the deportees, 20 returned and 86 died.

The February 11, 1992 report shows that 13 are still alive. Three people were put on show trial, one of whom was executed. The Stalinist local activists never ceased their pressure on the Hungarian inhabitants.

The local chapter of the KMKSZ, erected a wooden monument in November 1989 and, on November 2, 1990, dedicated a tablet to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and of W.W.II. The list of the village's losses was compiled Suto Antal, Majoros Bela, Fokasz Valeria and Szilagyi Sandor, all activists of the local KMKSZ.

## BEREGRAKOS

Stretching along the Munkacs-Ungvar highway, this village was inhabited in 1944 by 3578 residents of mixed origins.

From this village, in November 1944, 173 Hungarian men of the Reformed Church were deported; of these 71 died and 102 came back. If we add the men deported from the neighbouring Kajdano, the number exceeds 200. According to a February 11, 1991 report, 47 are still among the living. Twenty-four men died in battle in W.W.II. Three residents of the village were put on show trial

The activists of the KMKSZ (Toth Margit, Molnar Vince, Szarka Janos) compiled the list of the village's losses and started the movement towards a memorial to the victims of W.W.II and Stalinism. On December 6, 1991, a commemorative monument was dedicated in the churchyard of the Reformed Church.

## CSONGOR



In 1944, this Hungarian settlement had 1906 inhabitants.

In November 1944, 300 people were deported from here; of these, 101 perished and 199 returned. In W.W.II, 29 died in action. According to a February 14, 1991 report, 26 of the deportees are still living.

It is interesting to note that the age limit for deportation was 55 in neighbouring Dercen, but it was raised to 60 in Csongor. The local KMKZ (Nagy Sandor, Torma Frika, Tamasi Erika, Hadar Gyozo) not only compiled the list of the village's dead but also immortalised them by erecting a memorial in the churchyard in 1990.

## DERCEN

In 1944, there were 2017 inhabitants in this, the largest and developing Hungarian settlement of this district. In November of that year, 402 people were deported, most between the ages of 18 and 55, the youngest being 17 and the oldest 66 years old. On January 27, 1945, another 19 people were deported, as political prisoners, without just cause, judicial inquiry or trial. Among them were a man of 67, a mother in her fifties, and six 16-year old boys. Most of them were sent back after three years in Stalinist camps. The losses of the village: 23 died in battle in W.W.II, of the deportees 72 died in the various camps of the Gulag, and 330 returned. According to a 1991 report, 72 are still living.

We could not find any material concerning this village in the district's archives. The lists were compiled by the activists Fodor Ferenc, Bakos Lajos, Szabo Marton and Horvath Ilona; their work continues.

We learn from Fodor Ferenc that Uszta Gyorgy, leader of the partisans, played a big role in the preparations for the deportations. Later he became a party-functionary, then brigadier-general and First under-secretary of Defence of Hungary between the years 1956-62. He was raised in Dercen, then in early November he re-appeared there. He lied and cheated and misled the villagers of his birthplace and caused the men of Dercen to be scattered, via the Szolyva concentration camp, throughout the camps of the Ukraine, Central-Asia, and Siberia.

In memory of those who died, the activists of the KMKSZ erected, on November 26, 1989 a wooden monument and dedicated a memorial in the churchyard of the Reformed Church on May 12, 1992

## FORNOS

In 1944, the inhabitants of this village counted 989 people.

According to the material collected by teachers Fodor Ferenc and Gulacsi Geza, 42 people were deported from here in the autumn of 1944; 20 of them died. Since no KMKSZ has been established here yet, the compilation of the lists of deportees was undertaken by the survivors and teachers. But here also, the village and church have honoured their dead by erecting a common tombstone, to which they also added the names of the 15 men who died in action.

## IZSNYETE

This village, one of five of purely Hungarian stock, situated on the plains, had 1804 residents in 1944. The deportations of the autumn of 1944 did not touch the Ruthenians; - those who belonged to the Reformed Church were all carried off.

We found in the archives, the lists prepared for Izsnyete by the local authorities on July 16, 1945 which contains 172 names. The compilers mention that these people reside "at unknown locations" or in POW camps. The material gathered by the local KMKSZ (by Meszar Iren, Derkacs Laszlo, Gati Ilona) reveals the following: 11 died in action on the various battlefields of W.W.II and 40 of the deported Hungarian men perished in Stalin's concentration camps.

As of 1990, 12 of the deportees were still alive. The collecting of data still continues.

The villagers, together with the activists of the KMKSZ, erected a monument to their dead in the churchyard of the Reformed Church in 1991.

## MUNKACS

This, the second largest city in Transcarpathia, had in 1944 31,602 inhabitants.

The officers of the local KMKSZ are preparing the list of the deportees and the work continues, but we can already form a picture of the extent of these deportations which included Hungarians, Germans, men, women, and even mothers of families.

According to Gulacsi Geza: - people were carried off from November 18, 1944 to the end of the 1940s. First, they took the men only; then, from December 1944, in line with the men, they started taking Hungarian and German women. Later, whole families were deported, women, children. Then it was the Uniate, Roman Catholic, Reformed Church priests' and pastors' turn. The collecting point was in the Rakoczi-residence; - long lines of deportees were headed there from the German-inhabited Posahaza, Varalja, and Palanka. Only a few returned in 1950 from the Soviet Gulags. The officers of the NKVD let go all those who professed to be Ruthenian or Slovak.

From the end of December 1944, the girls and women between the ages of 18 and 30 had to report at the town-clerk's office. Only those women were spared who had babies under the age of one. On January 1, 1945, the women's group of 200-250 was herded into open railroad wagons. Among them were 40-50 from Posahaza, Palanka, or Nagyret. They were taken to Voloc, the second Transcarpathian concentration camp after Szolyva. This one was prepared for women. From there, they were transferred to the coke and chemical factories of Gorlovka. It was only five years later that the last group was released.

In March 1946, the German families of Munkacs were still being interned, many taken to the region of Tyumeny where they were held for years, together with the Germans of the Volga region. The compiling of the lists and the research continue but we know by now that there were 123 victims of Stalinist terror, among them 3 women. Seventy-four men and 40 women returned alive (mixed, Hungarian or German).

The surrounding German-inhabited villages did not make up the lists of their losses yet. According to some estimates, over 2000 people were deported. As per lists presented by the officers of the KMKSZ (Gajdos Gyorgyne, Olah Gyorgy,

Neubauer Ferenc, Kron Pal, Popovics Bela), about 251 Hungarian men were deported of whom 125 perished and 126 came back.

In 1992, 49 were still alive. Lists we found in the district's archives that were prepared by the local authorities contain 772 names of people who, at that time, resided in "unknown locations" or labour-camps. On November 18, 1989, the local KMKSZ organized a memorial service in the cultural centre. On November 17, 1991., on the square in front of the Rakoczi-residence, was erected Transcarpathia's first commemorative statue, the creation of the Munkacs-born sculptor, Matl Peter. Also, a marble memorial plaque was placed on the wall of the Rakoczi-residence, the former collection point. These initiatives were supported by the German association.

## SZERNYE

This Hungarian village of the plains had, in 1944, 1494 inhabitants. It has its own village council. More than 2000 people live here now.

In November 1944, 204 people were collected and deported to Szolyva; of these, 34 died and 170 returned. The local activists (Horkay Zoltan, Nagy Balazs, Barta Zoltan, Kiss Maria) also discovered that during those months 49 POWs and deserters from Szernye were locked up in camps. In W.W.II, 13 men died in action.

Thanks to the local KMKSZ, a monument was erected to the victims of Stalinist terror in the centre of the village, next to the Reformed Church. At the same time, they put back the monument to those who died in action in the First World War where 27 names are engraved.

Furthermore, in 1990, a memorial was placed in the school yard to honour Balogh Sandor, erstwhile conductor of "Gyongykalaris" (a glee club) and well-known poet who was imprisoned for over 10 years in Siberian camps

## DISTRICT OF NAGYSZOLOS

### AKLI (OREG-)

Companion village to Nevetlenfalu, Oregakli lies directly on the Ukrainian-Pomanian border (border crossing, customs are located here). It had 823 inhabitants in 1944.

We have not found yet in the archives the list prepared in 1945. Therefore, we accept as authentic the one sent to us by Nagy Laszlo, President of KMKSZ which was checked by the survivors Bocskor Laszlo, Domokos Andras, and Bocskor Pal. On November 10, 1944, 27 men were interned in Szolyva and the interior of the Ukraine. Of these, 19 died in camps and 8 returned. As per the February 1992 report, 4 are still alive. Nine men died in action in W.W.II.

On November 11, 1990, the activists of the KMKSZ dedicated a memorial to the victims of Stalinism and of W.W.II in the churchyard of the Reformed Church.

### AKLIHEGY

This settlement started to develop into a village in the period between the two World Wars. Earlier, it was part of Oregakli and was known as Szolohegy. It had 819 inhabitants in 1940.

During W.W.II, 6 men died in action. In the autumn of 1944, 33 men were deported from the village; of these, 16 died in the camps and 17 came back. According to the December 1991 report, 5 are still alive.

In the course of a 1945 show trial, Kekes Janos was judicially condemned to forced labour; Bucs Istvan was shot by the NKVD at the time of the internment. His name also figures on the wooden monument which was erected in the autumn of 1989 to the memory of the victims of Stalinist terror.

This material was collected by Fori Eva, secretary of the local KMKSZ, with the gracious help of Penzes Janos, a survivor.

## BATAR

This settlement was inhabited by 733 people in 1944, most of them belonging to the Uniate Church.

We do not know how many people were deported in the autumn of 1944 from this hamlet. Upon instruction from higher authority, on July 1, 1945 a list was prepared of the POWs but the people of the village still do not know who survived the horrors of W.W.II.

According to the list prepared by Kubinyi Bela, President of the local KMKSZ, the NKVD deported only 3 men on that ominous day but with the tragic result that they all died in camps. This was authenticated by the relatives of the deceased, namely Barna Gyula, son, Konya Istvan, son, and Szilagyi Ilona, wife of the deceased. A further 3 men were convicted during a Stalinist show trial.

In November 1990, the activists of the KMKSZ erected a wooden monument in memory of the victims of Stalinism.

## CSEPE

This Ruthenian-Hungarian village had, in 1944, 1270 inhabitants. It had its own village council. Its associated villages, Csomafalva and Tiszaheteny, are inhabited by Ruthenians. Most of the residents belong to the Uniate church; there are about 200 Protestants.

Although on June 8, 1989 the local KMKSZ was established, its president, - Fulop Endre, did not reply to our request for a list of the village's losses, - nor could we find any material in the archives.

## FANCSIKA

This hamlet was inhabited in 1944 by 1325 Ruthenian and Hungarian residents. It had its own village council. Its associated villages are Tizsasasvar and Csonkas.

In November of 1944, the Hungarian men belonging to the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths were deported from here also. Discovered in the archives, the list prepared on July 1, 1945 contains the names of 81 men subject to military service; alongside 51 names figures the mention that they were taken to an unknown location or rather to the Szolyva concentration camp. It may safely be assumed that 30% of them did not return

The officeholders of the local KMKSZ (Kristof Katalin, Sztaroszta Mihaly), which was established in 1990, did not reply to our request; - hence, we cannot establish the list of the village's losses.

## FEKETEARDO

In 1944, there were 2346 inhabitants in this village. The list of those who were interned in the autumn of 1944 is not ready yet; however, we can reconstruct the events as follows: - a list prepared on July 1, 1945 by the local authorities contains the names of 130 men from Feketeardo, both those subject to military service and civilian internees born between 1895 and 1926. Alongside about a dozen names figures the address of the concentration camp of Szolyva. This list was signed by a certain Lovga, local judge or council president. The secretary's name is illegible.

A survivor who wishes to remain anonymous, wrote in 1989 the following recollections of the events: - "In the autumn of 1944 we had a hunch that something is being prepared against the Hungarians. The extremists held a big rally in Munkacs. We never knew what was decided there - did they ask for our deportation or something else? - but from that moment on the young rascals on the streets kept shouting: - Back to Asia, Hungarians! The soviet soldiers were occupied elsewhere rather than make peace in local differences, so they suggested: - Take the Hungarians to work! So it was announced by the town crier that all men between the ages of 20 (in some places, 18) and 50 were to report for work with three days' worth of food. All reported honourably."

During W.W.II, 51 men died in action; of the 24 deportees 19 perished and one man became the victim of a show trial. On November 11, 1990, the local KMKSZ (President: Rezes Geza) dedicated a monument in the local cemetery.

## FEKETEPATAK

This village, associated to Verboc, had 688 inhabitants in 1944.

On November 18, 1944, the men from Patak marched out to the sound of drums to complete three days' of labour.

Among them was the then 18-year old Nagy Jenő, now a retired teacher living in Ungvár. He had kept a diary of his personal experiences. As he put it: "My nationality was my only crime that justified my deportation." Together with his companions, he was imprisoned in camps in the Ukraine, in the Caucasus and other places. Gradually, from 1946 on, those who survived were slowly released. But most of the deportees did not return to their homeland; their bodies were buried in unmarked mass graves from Szolyva to Ocsemszori.

Nagy Jenő's camp diary, which was published in book form at the end of 1992 gives an authentic picture of his experiences, his recollections of the deceased companions and of this most tragic period in the life of Hungarians of Transcarpathia.

A list prepared upon instructions of the authorities and dated July 1, 1945 contains the names of 104 men (born between 1890 and 1926) taken to concentration camps. According to Nagy Jenő, 102 men were sent to POW camp; later it turned out that 8 men died in battle and 22 perished as civilians. The remaining 72 returned home, broken in body and spirit.

The villagers placed a plaque in honour of the dead on the wall of the Reformed Church.



## FERTOSALMAS

In 1944 this village had 799 inhabitants. In 1945 it still had its own local council.

Following the deportations by six months, upon instructions from higher authorities, on July 1, 1945, two lists were prepared by the local leaders (the president, a certain Somogyi; the secretary's signature is illegible). They certify that a total of 125 people were absent from the village and their families: 63 men were drafted into the Hungarian army and landed in "unknown places". They are aware that 62 civilian prisoners (born between 1896 and 1925) were languishing in Sztarij Szambor as a result of the call to "three days' of labour"

Biro Irma, the president of the local KMKSZ with the help of survivors, conscientiously collected all the available material on those who were forced by Stalinist tyranny to leave their families and homes. The still incomplete list of losses shows that 23 men died during W.W.II, about 90 people were deported of whom 22 perished and 59 returned. According to the March 3, 1991 report, 27 are still living.

The villagers paid homage to their dead. On November 18, 1989, in the local cemetery, they erected a wooden memorial and on October 14, 1990, they dedicated a monument to their memory in the churchyard of the reformed church.

## FORGOLANY

This village, - associated to Tiszapeterfalva, had 738 inhabitants in 1944. In 1945 it had its own village council.

In the autumn of 1944, 57 men (born between 1902 and 1926) were deported from here for three days' labour. Most of them returned desperately ill and soon died.

We could not find in the district's archives the report prepared by the village commissariat on July 1, 1945. Therefore, we only have the list that Vass Maria, president of the local KMKSZ, has sent to us. With the help of Foris Istvan, a survivor, she checked the available material; this work was finished on March 10,

1990, but they are pursuing further leads. The losses of the village amount to: - 13 men died in action during W.W.II; about 64 men were deported as civilians in the autumn of 1944; of these 23 perished and 41 came back; and 3 residents were put on show trial. According to a February 23, 1991 report, 23 people are still living.

The activists of the local KMKSZ started a collection to commemorate the victims of Stalinism. Construction of the monument is in progress but the villagers have already repeatedly paid homage to their dead.

### GODENYHAZA

Situated on the border between the Ukraine and Rumania, this village had 992 inhabitants in 1944. Here also, the Stalinists mercilessly interned the Hungarian-born farmers in the autumn of 1944.

The official list of those in concentration camps, prepared on July 2, 1945, has not been found, yet.

Therefore, Dupka Jozsef, president of the Godenyhaza KMKSZ, had to prepare the list of the village's losses by going from house to house and questioning the survivors. Among all the Hungarian villages of Transcarpathia, this one had the greatest losses in W.W.II: - 39 men died in action. The 30 remaining bread-winning survivors of military service were ruthlessly deported by the NKVD, thus exposing 15 of them to a senseless death by hunger and cold.

Fortunately, 15 returned in 1946 from Stalin's camps and 6 are still among the living according to a report dated January 26, 1992. One of the survivors even brought home the spoon that he used for eating in the camp. He gave it to the local KMKSZ to keep as a relic.

Two local residents were put on show trial.

Immediately after the return of the deportees, the weeping mourners of the deceased placed a commemorative plaque on the side of the church but the overzealous communists promptly tore it down.

It was only on November 26, 1989 that the handful of Hungarians could freely commemorate their dead and dedicate a monument in the local cemetery.

### KARACSFALVA

Administratively attached to Tiszakeresztur, this hamlet had, in 1944, 482 inhabitants of mixed Ruthenian and Hungarian origins.

Since 90% of the villagers profess to belong to the Uniate church, the deportations of November 1944 touched only a handful of lives.

We could not discover any report on this hamlet in the district's archives. As no local KMKSZ has been established here, there is no one to list the losses. Toth Janos, resident of Karacsfalva, did tell us in his letter that his father, Toth Karoly (1924) was deported to Szolyva; they have never heard from him again.

### KIRALYHAZA

This Ruthenian-Hungarian historic village had, in 1944, 5191 residents. Following the deportation of the Hungarian men, a manifest was prepared on July 3, 1945 of those who resided in Soviet POW- or concentration camps. This authenticated list contains the names of 209 men (born between 1896 and 1926) from Kiralyhaza. This report was signed by a certain Hadadi, secretary; the president's or judge's signature is illegible

We know now that of the 209 men residing in unknown places, 70 were deported by the NKVD in November 1944. Based on material collected from survivors, the officeholders of the local KMKSZ (President: ifj. Munkacsi Karoly, secretary: Dornback Katalin) determined that 34 men died of cold and hunger in the Stalinists' camps. Fortunately 43 came home; of these 6 are still living according to a March 1991 report.

On October 28, 1990, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Hungarians dedicated, in the Roman Catholic cemetery, an engraved memorial to all those who died in the Stalinist camps.

On this occasion, Tegze Elemer, a survivor, recited from memory the opening lines of a prayer he composed on Christmas in the Szolyva concentration camp. As a matter of fact, at least ten variants or variations of this prayer are circulating in our territory.

Here are those lines:

Someplace far, someplace distant,  
On the edge of a town lies a camp,  
Many a man was brought there to live or die,  
Grief engulfs their homes and families.

#### MATYFALVA

In 1944, this hamlet had 945 residents. In November of that year, the Stalinists deported 12 men; fortunately they all came back

According to the January 1992 report, 3 are still among the living. This material was sent to us by the officeholders of the local KMKSZ (Szeklyanik Peter, Aranyos Laszlo, and Magyar Janos). We also found in the archives on Matyfalva a report prepared on July 2, 1945 certifying that about 30 men of military age were absent from the village. We have no information of how many died in action in W.W.II.

#### NAGYPALAD

In 1944, it had 1744 inhabitants. Together with its associated village, Fertosalmas, it is considered, since 1944, a remote village, far from passable highways.

Upon request, on July 1, 1945, two lists were prepared by Nagy Lajos, the local commissar; the secretary's name is illegible. On one authenticated list figure

the names and relevant data - including their military addresses - of 107 men from Nagypalad (born between 1901 and 1926) who did not return from Hungarian military service and were sent to POW camp. The other list contains the names and data of 115 men (born between 1895 and 1926) deported as civilians. The compilers of the list are aware that 86 men were interned in the concentration camp of Sztarij Szambor. Thus, the post-war era swept away 222 men from their homes and families.

With the help of survivors (Sebestyen Jozsef), the tireless vice-president of the local KMKSZ, Juhasz Bela, prepared the list of the village's losses: it turned out that 51 people died in camp. Their final resting place will never be known.

On October 27, 1989, when the district's commissariat still looked askance on commemorative activities, the villagers, - following their hearts and the exhortations of the KMKSZ - were among the first to dedicate a memorial in the cemetery along the main highway. They also symbolically buried the victims of Stalinism. The losses of the village: 20 men lost their lives in W.W.II; 112 people were deported as civilians; of these 51 died and 61 returned.

## NAGYSZOLOS

This erstwhile county seat of Ugocsa County, now the chief town of the Nagyszolos district, shows many relics of its glorious past. In 1944, the inhabitants of this alternately flourishing or declining town counted 13,331 people of mixed origins.

"As soon as the Soviet troops entered, many residents of Nagyszolos immediately started rebuilding the bridge over the Tisza. They had worked several days already when the order came in mid November to report for three days of labour. The men were collected in the county hall whence they were marched in groups of a hundred to Tiszaujlak. The population of the surrounding villages was also ordered to Nagyszolos.

In the town itself, armed civilians went from house to house, ordering people to report with three days' worth of food at the county hall. There, herded into a well-guarded hall, the men could not leave until they were sent out with a group. In Ujlak, most of them had their valuables confiscated, then sent on foot on their way to Szolyva. From there, they were dispersed among various camps in the

country where they were imprisoned with Hungarian, Rumanian, Serbian, or German POWs." So does Keresztyen Balazs, in his lecture of November 18, 1989, describe the circumstances leading to the deportation of the Hungarian men of Ugocsa and its initial stages.

There was a total of 444 men subject to military service according to the two-part report dated July 1945 sent to Ungvar by the leaders of the Nagyszolos commissariat and found in the archives.

This report covers Hungarian men drafted into the army or a labour-brigade who disappeared on the battlefield or were taken prisoner by the Soviet army. At the time of the report's preparation, they were considered to be in POW-or labour camps. The compilers of the list do not mention the number of civilian internees. Analysing the list, we noted that alongside only 110 men was their a mention of the camps at Szolyva, Perecseny, or Szambor. We can assume that these men were civilians deported by the NKVD cadres.

We learn from the column headings: "Site of camp" and "Remarks" that, for example, Kovacs Pal (1911) and others were taken to "the Szolyva concentration camp" from Szevljus (Nagyszolos). We also found notes about "who" was sent "when" from Szolyva to other camps in the Ukraine: Kolb Bela (1911) on February 23, 1945; Nagy Janos (1907) from Szambor in December of 1944; Csorba Gyorgy (1906) in February 1945 to an "unknown location". We also learn that at that time dozens of men are imprisoned in Szambor: Kovacs Istvan.(1910) and many others.

The question is why do we analyse so thoroughly the lists found in the archives? Because this is a town, not a village, the activists of the KMKSZ face a hard task in preparing the list of the town's losses. On September 14, 1991, Milovan Jolan, president of the local organisation, has sent us the list containing the material on all the deportees from the town who died: 30 men in the prime of their lives are resting in Soviet camp graves. The research continues. We keep receiving information from relatives; the lists of the losses of Nagyszolos are expanding.

Initially, on November 24, 1989, the KMKSZ erected a wooden monument to the victims of Stalinist terror in the cemetery. They also placed a commemorative plaque on the wall of the county hall, the erstwhile collecting point. Fur Lajos, eminent historian and presently the Defence Minister of

Hungary, attended the requiem service. Then, in 1991, the activists of the KMKSZ dedicated a memorial plaque to the deported Jews on the wall of the former ghetto.

## NEVETLENFALU

In 1944 this border village had 728 inhabitants. Szabo Ferenc and Beres Ferenc, two survivors, prepared a written report of the deportations, giving us many details. "Here also, in November, 1944, the orders of Moszkopf, commander of Nagyszolos, were announced by the town crier. All those who were of Hungarian origin had to report at the county hall in Nagyszolos. There they were asked again whether they were Hungarians or Ruthenians. The Ruthenians were released and sent on their way. The remaining Hungarians were locked in a hall. The next day, they were told to stand to the right if they were of the Uniate faith and to the left if Roman Catholic or Protestant. Some did not know which way to go; the lines got all mixed up. The military commander asked the leaders of the village (Szelesztai Gy(rgy, Szirmai Bertalan, and Suba Pal) if they will take responsibility for these men. All declined.

On November 23 we left Nagyszolos on foot, under armed guard. After a night's rest, we were escorted to Beregszasz, then on to Szolyva. Then we were marched to Novij Szambor. There we were loaded into cattle-cars, arriving in Tuvan on January 8, 1945. In this camp we lost 180 men in two months; they were buried in common graves. We came home on May 9, 1945, our numbers decimated."

Santha Menyhert, a survivor, tells us that he ended up in Krasznauralszk. The prisoners were scattered all over the Gulag. On instructions from the leaders of the Zakarpatszka Ukrajina, here, too, on July 1, 1945, were listed those who had been conscripted into the army or were sent to camps. As shown on this list, 80 breadwinners between the ages of 19 and 44 were swept away by W.W.II.

We received additional material from Kaliska Jenő president of the local KMKSZ, who, together with Illes József, gathered authentic information from the 15 still remaining survivors. The village's losses amount to: 6 dead in W.W.II; 49 people were deported as civilians in the autumn of 1944. Of these 13 died and 36 returned. As of February 17, 1991, 15 of the deportees are still living.

In November 1989, the local chapter of the KMKSZ organised a commemorative funeral service and placed a memorial marker in the Roman Catholic and Protestant cemetery. In August 1992 they dedicated a monument to the victims in the centre of the village.

### SALANK

This village, which boasts of many sites connected with the history of the Rakoczis, had, in 1944, 2773 inhabitants.

On July 1, 1945, the leaders of the local commissariat (the signatures of the president and secretary are illegible) prepared a combined list of all men (born between 1896 and 1926) subject to military service who were deported as civilians or, serving in the armed forces, were sent to POW camps. The list contains the names of 299 men. On July 2nd and 3rd, 1945, two additional lists were made containing just one name each: that of Ronay Geza (1898) and Lenart Jozsef (1919). Therefore, 301 men were deported to camps, of which 175 were civilians.

The local chapter of the KMKSZ (President: Barta Jozsef, Vice-president: Homoki Arpad) with the co-operation of the local council (President: Gecse Elemer) and the survivors, prepared the list of the village's losses: in the autumn of 1944, 105 men were deported to Szolyva. Of these 59 lost their lives and 46, came back,. In March 1991, 15 were still among the living. Adam Andras was deported as a "kulak" (wealthy peasant farmer); he also lost his life and his burial place is unknown.

On November 26, 1989, a monument containing the names of the victims of Stalinist terror was dedicated on the main square of the village.

### SZOLOSZYVÁRA

The oldest village in Ugocsa County's wine region, it had, in 1944, 1123 inhabitants.

Between November 24 to 26, 1944, 105 men were deported from the village, in some cases whole families (like that of Orosz Istvan) where the father and his four sons were all interned. Some were ill, yet they were deported. Thirty-four native-born men died in the camps. Szabo Arpad lived a single day after he came



back. Sebestyén Sandor was the last of the deportees to return on May 23, 1949. According to the list of the community, on June 2, 1945, 155 local men were in the Gulag; they were deported to the camps as POWs or internees. The list was signed by the then President of the council, Mihail Kacsur; the secretary's name is illegible.

The Presidency of the local KMKSZ prepared the list. The activists received considerable help from Sapi Ferenc, .

In November of 1989 a wooden monument was erected, then a marble plaque was unveiled to the memory of the deportees.

### TEKEHAZA

Just a few generations ago, this village was inhabited mainly by Hungarians.

In 1944, the Hungarian-Ukrainian residents numbered 1269 people. The local chapter of the KMKSZ (President: Gerus Gabor) initiated the collection of the material concerning the deportations of the autumn of 1944. He received the active co-operation of many survivors. So far, no trace was found in the archives of the official camp-list prepared on July 3, 1945. But the list of the village's losses was compiled by the activists of our association. It shows that 7 men died during W.W.II and that 62 men from Tekehaza were interned in November 1944. Of these, 19 perished and 43 returned, ill and with their spirit broken. The January 19, 1992 report states that 7 are still alive.

The Hungarians of the village first remembered their dead on November 23, 1989 when they were symbolically buried; then they placed a monument in the local Protestant cemetery to the victims of Stalinist tyranny

### TISZABOKENY

Sister village to Tiszapeterfalva, it had, in 1944, 1166 residents. The cruel past has, here too, caused wounds that are slow to heal. The village remembers well the local henchmen of the communists; among them one commissar called David, Szverenyak Peter who had similar functions, and Bodo Ferenc. They were the ones who blindly obeyed the NKVD's instructions and prepared, without a twinge of conscience, the list of the men who were to go for three days of labour

and sent to section D-23614 of the Szolyva concentration camp on November 19, 1944

In the district archives we found the two-part list of names prepared post factum. The documents were signed by Szabo Istvan, president of the commissariat, and Virag Jozsef, acting secretary. On one list figure the names of those who joined the army and since then "reside in unknown locations", although alongside some names, their army address is shown. They assume, therefore, that 51 people (born between 1901 and 1924) were sent to POW camps. The other list of three pages contains the names of 55 civilian men (born between 1900 and 1926) who were sent to the camp in Szolyva. Of these, 8 (Kovesdi Andras, Gorbe Gyorgy, Kormos Vilmos, Virag Istvan, Lazar Istvan, Dankovics Bela, Vincze Andras, Nagy Antal) were barely 18 years old. There are altogether 106 names on the two lists.

Upon request of the KMKSZ, the widow Papp Andrasne (born Toldi Katalin) organized the collection of the internees' names by going from house to house. The following picture emerges from the material she gathered on the now joint villages of Tiszabokeny and Tiszafarkasfalva: - in total, 200 vigorous men were taken to the hellhole of Szolyva.

Survivors tell us that quite a few escaped from the march. An NKVD officer shot one escapee in his own attic. Quite a few, hoping to save their lives, joined the Soviet army in Szolyva; of these, 7 died. Thirteen men lost their lives in action as Hungarian soldiers. and 26 civilian internees perished senselessly. Until 1947, 76 young men from 16 to 18 were carried off to the coal mines in Dunbasz where they were obliged to labour for three years. One young man died. Those who tried to escape were condemned to 5 years of forced labour.

The village has not erected yet a memorial to the victims of Stalinism.

### TISZAFARKASFALVA

Joined administratively to Tiszapeterfalva, this hamlet had, in 1940, 452 inhabitants belonging mainly to the Uniate faith.

After 1944-45 for a time it was listed as an independent village, then was joined to Tiszabokeny. From this hamlet also, men born between 1901 and 1926 were carried off to the deathcamp at Szolyva. Upon instructions from higher authorities, following the deportation, lists were prepared of those who did not reside in the village. These surveys were compiled by Molnar Laszlo, local head of the communist party, and Ivan Ivanovics Derkacs, president of the commissariat. One of the lists, dated July 1, 1945, contains the names of those men (born between 1907 and 1923) who did not return from the Hungarian army. Alongside all 13 names figure their army addresses. On the second list figure the names of the civilian internees, with 38 of them shown in the Szolyva camp. Few of the survivors are still alive. The work of checking the lists continues.

No monument has as yet been erected to the victims of Stalinism.

## TISZAKERESZTUR

In 1944, this hamlet had 566 inhabitants.

Immediately after the Soviet armies marched in, they started to gather up the men. Upon instructions from the authorities in Ungvar, the camp lists were prepared on July 1, 1945 (the president's and the secretary's names are illegible). On one list we find the names of the 36 people (born between 1902 and 1923) who were sent to POW camps as soldiers or were swept away by W.W.II; on the other figure the names of 56 people (born between 1901 and 1926) who were carried off to Szolyva as civilians. Altogether 92 men were separated from their families. Later, the "people's court" of Ungvar declared two men from (Tisza)Keresztur as "people's enemies" and condemned them to forced labour.

The activists of the local KMKSZ (President: Gerendely Bela) prepared new lists according to which 26 men died in W.W.II and 56 were sent to concentration camp of whom 12 perished there. The report of January 1992 states that of the 44 men who came back 18 are still alive.

The villagers erected a tombstone to the victims of Stalinism in November 1989.

## TISZAPETERFALVA

This purely Hungarian hamlet had 765 inhabitants in 1944. According to documents, on November 18, 1944 the men of Tiszapeterfalva were interned.

The material prepared upon instructions from higher authorities on July 1 1945 by the leaders of the commissariat (president: Marton Jozsef, secretary Virag J.) consists of two parts. At that time altogether 110 men were absent from the hamlet. Those who were conscripted into the Hungarian army and declared POWs number 47 men (born between 1901 and 1926). On the other equally authenticated document, figure the names and important data of 63 civilians (born between 1897 and 1926) who were marched to drumbeat to the Szolyva concentration camp on November 18, 1944.

Among those carried off to Szanok, there is a ,conspicuous number of youngsters barely 18 years old (Szabo Sandor, Lator Istvan, Simon Gyorgy, Tomori Istvan, Pal Janos, Gajdos Laszlo, Gajdos Janos, Szombati Kalman, Forgo Jozsef). We quote Ary Jozsef, a survivor and representative of this generation: "we were escorted all along like wild beasts, surrounded everywhere by rifles and bayonets. Our destination was Beregszasz - Szolyva. We barely settled in when our first casualty occurred: a 17 year-old student. After that, every day more and more people fell ill; among them Kovacs Bela, Sipos Janos who never recovered... . We were eaten alive by lice."

"We built a bridge in Szkotarszkoje. Then we were sent on; on the way I lost my beloved brother. After all this, we ended up in Lemberg. There, a Jewish captain gave us some rotting fish. After investigation, he was transferred and we never saw him again. From then on, we lived in the camp under normal circumstances."

Instigated by the local KMKSZ (president: Virag Laszlo), its activists, together with some survivors, established the list of the victims of Stalinism. The hamlet counts 23 deaths; only the strongest and most vigorous could withstand the horrors of camplife. Ary Karoly spent 4-5 years behind barbed wire.

On July 8, 1990, one of Transcarpathia's biggest memorials was dedicated in the public square. On this huge marble plaque are engraved the names of 54 martyrs from Tiszapeterfalva and Tivadarfalva, those who lie in unmarked holes. Msgr. Oroszi Pal held a symbolic funeral for them. Hadadi Csaba designed and supervised the realisation of this monument.

## TISZAUJHELY

There were 1048 residents in this village in 1944.

On the July 1, 1945 officially authenticated list prepared by the local authorities (the names of the president and the secretary are illegible) figure the names of 63 local inhabitants (born between 1895 and 1926) who were in concentration camps. The compilers knew exactly that 42 men were deported as civilians to the NKVD's camps in Szolyva, Szambor and Szanok and that 16 were soldiers and disappeared in W.W.II.

According to the latest material sent to us by the local KMKSZ (president: Mrs. Marian Boldog Edit), 93 men were carried off from the village for three days of labour; of these, 33 died. Of those who returned, 26 are still alive (as per a report of April 1991). The first president of the local KMKSZ, Gyori Miklos, sent us, back in 1989, the incomplete list of the village's dead.

On November 26, 1989, a monument was erected in the churchyard to the memory of those who died in unknown places

## TISZAUJLAK

Its inhabitants numbered 3429 in 1944. Between November 17-26, 1944, the civilian men were deported. It is well known that the officers of the NKVD assigned a special role to this village: the deportees on their way to Szolyva spent the night here. Their victims were all taken from the various settlements of the Tisza-Tur region.

The camplist prepared on July 1, 1945 upon request from higher authorities (the name of the compilers are illegible) shows that at the time 228 men (born

between 1889 and 1926) were absent from the village. Alongside the names of 126 men torn from their families figure the camps at Szolyva, Szanok and Szambor. Aside from the civilian deportees, the names of 102 ex-soldiers are also recorded as POWs. Some carry their last field addresses.

The local KMKSZ (president: Fabian Balazs) prepared the list with the aid of survivors, counting 147 deported men; of these 23 died and 124 returned. There are still 17 men living in the village who survived the camps' hell. (Report of January 11, 1991) About 50 men lost their lives in W.W.II. On November 16, 1989 a memorial plaque was unveiled in the cemetery to the victims of Stalinism.

Note: - after 1944 the overzealous communists and Ukrainian nationalists razed to the ground the memorial to Rakoczi and the St. John's Chapel which was erected in memory of the great flood. It is horrible that they saw fascist symbols in the "turul madar" (Hawk); they savaged it and hid it. They placed its pedestal on the grave of the soviet soldiers in the square in front of the shoe factory. It was at this time also that they carried off and condemned to death the father of Fabian Kazmer, organiser of the Rakoczi festivals. Since then both memorials have been restored and proclaim the Hungarian will to live.

## TIVADARFALVA

This sister village to Tiszapeterfalva had, in 1940, 555 inhabitants. As late as 1945 it counted as an independent settlement with its own administration.

Upon instructions from higher-ups, the camplists were prepared here also on July 1, 1945. It is interesting to note that here individual data sheets were completed on each person, in Hungarian, but the forms are not initiated by the leaders of the local authorities. One reads as follows: "Narodnij Komitet Fedorovo. Nev (Name): Kocsis Daniel. Szuletett (Born): 1915, VIII, 24, Fedorovo, Ugocsa m. Lakik (Resides): Fedorovo. Anyja neve (Mother's name): Olajos Eszter. Foglalkozasa (Occupation): Foldmuves (farmer) Katonafogoly (POW)." The certifying seal reads: "Ugocsa varmegye (county), Tivadarfalva kozseg (village), 1938, XI.I0."

On the data-sheet of a civilian deportee one can read the following: "Nev (name): Sarkozy Viktor. Szuletett (born): 1920, IX. 18, Fedorovo., Ugocsa m.

Lakik: (resides) Fedorovo. Anyja neve (Mother's name): Biky Malvin. Foglalkozasa (occupation): foldmuves (farmer). Civil fogoly (civilian prisoner): Szolyva, Szanok, Szambor...".

Altogether, these data-sheets covered 78 people which, broken down, give the following picture: there were 26 POWs, 52 civilian internees and 1 voluntary soviet soldier (in the person of Hudacsik Andras). The listing of occupation for each person is also significant: Fary Gabor (1924) student; Gyarmathy Sandor (1919) cobbler; Gajdos Pal (1,922), Nagy Jozsef (1907); Lengyel Mihaly (1904); Gajdos Sandor (1904) and Bozzon Peter (1912) farmhands; Dudics Istvan (1905) dam watchman; Ungi Kalman (1904) and Sarkozy Akos (1903) merchants; Ukrin Laszlo (1915) clerk; Kutasi Bela (1925) agricultural labourer; and the others were deported as farmers.

The Tivadarfalva activists (Varady Gyula) of the KMKSZ of Tiszapeterfalva prepared the list of the village's losses: of the 78 men 22 never returned, their graveside is unknown. Their names were engraved on the marble plaque on the public square of the two villages and the inhabitants jointly paid tribute to the victims.

## VERBOC

This purely Hungarian Protestant village was inhabited by 1168 residents in 1944. Following the November 18, 1944 deportations, and upon instructions from their superiors, leaders of the local commissariat prepared the list of the 233 men (born between 1895 and 1926) from VerboC and Patak who were absent from the villages. We do not know how many were sent to Szolyva as civilian internees; the data on that is missing.

The activists of the local KMKSZ (president: Csato Anna) compiled the list of deportees with the assistance of survivors. According to that list, 69 men were sent to Szolyva; 41 perished there and 28 returned.

A monument was erected in the churchyard of the Reformed Church to the memory of the victims of Stalinist tyranny and W.W.II

## **DISTRICT OF UNGVAR**

### **BATFA**

Administratively linked to the village of Galocs, this hamlet had, in 1944, 221 inhabitants. According to the local KMKSZ (president: Rakajsza Gyula), established on October 15, 1989, "no one was carried off from Batfa by the Stalinists". We could not find any material on this village in the district archives. Nor do we have any information on the number of men drafted into the Hungarian army or how many lost their lives in battle.

### **BOTFALVA**

Joined administratively to Ungtarnoc, this little settlement had, in 1944, 495 inhabitants. According to the list of July 10, 1945 found in the district archives, 28 people were absent from the village; of these 7 - as per the compilers - were sent to Szambor, Szolyva and Turka.

A communication received from the local KMKSZ (presidents: Korpa Peter, Toth Laszlo) that was established on June 17 1989, of the men sent to concentration camps 3 died and 5 came back. 14 men lost their lives in action during W.W.II.

The activists of the KMKSZ initiated a movement toward the erection of a tombstone in the local graveyard.



## CSAP

Raised to township in 1957, this village, which stretches along the right bank of the Tisza, had 3498 inhabitants in 1944.

After a month of bloody battles and bombings, on November 23, 1944, the soviet army occupied the village, an important railroad junction. Within a few days, the Stalinists gathered the men who reported for field work and carried them off to Szolyva and from there - who knows? In the district archives we found a list which states that as of July 7, 1945, 74 men of military age were absent from the village. We have no information on how many died in W.W.II.

On November 26, 1989, the local KMKSZ (president: Halasz Jozsef) erected a monument in the local cemetery to the memory of the deported Hungarians and particularly to the 36 proven dead. The final list of names is not finished yet; a conscientious group of activists (Laczi Zoltan) is still trying to trace those who disappeared.

## CSASZLOC

In 1944, the inhabitants of this hamlet numbered 505. The local KMKSZ, established April 16, 1989, (president: Gergely Zoltan) did not send us the list of the village's losses. All we know is that they erected a monument; to the memory of the victims of W.W.II and Stalinist terror.

In the district archives we found a list prepared on July 10, 1945 by the local judge and secretary containing 37 names of men, among them 27 subject to military draft, who were absent from the village. They also attached the list of 10 young cadets whose names were obviously kept on file. Their fate is unknown.

## ESZENY

The inhabitants of this village amounted to 2526 in 1944. In the autumn of that year, the Stalinists carried off 313 men of whom 94 perished and 219 returned.

Fifteen men were put on show trial; two died as political prisoners. During W.W.II, 10 men died in action. Found in the district archives, the list prepared on July 7, 1945 by the local judge and secretary contains the names of 321 men of military age who "resided in unknown locations" at that time.

The local KMKSZ prepared its list with great care, survivors and the village's eminent elders (Fekete Jozsef, Tagyi Klara) checking off each name. The wholly identical names are individual people.

On November 9, 1991, the KMKSZ erected a monument, in the churchyard to the memory of the deportees, martyrs of Stalinism. On September 9 of the same year, they dedicated a memorial plaque on the wall of the church honouring Balog Sandor, Protestant pastor, who was also victim of Stalinist tyranny.

## GALOCS

Seat of a village council, this hamlet had 529 inhabitants in 1944. According to a communication by the local KMKSZ (president: Molnar Laszlo), "interestingly no one was deported from here" (supposedly thanks to the then local judge). W.W.II took the lives of 9 men.

On October 31, 1990 they dedicated a memorial in the churchyard of the reformed church to those who died in action in W.W.II. (The compilers of the list - Molnar Laszlo, Perjesi Mihaly - did not indicate the year of birth.)

## KETERGENY

Administratively linked to Kincseshomok, the inhabitants of this hamlet numbered 245 people. As per a communication of the local KMKSZ, established on October 25, 1990, "no deportations took place from this village in November 1944".

A list dated July 7, 1945 found in the district archives contains the names of 30 men of draft age who did not then reside in the village.

### KINCSESHOMOK

In 1944, there were 538 residents in this hamlet.

Established in 1991, the local KMKSZ (presidents: Tarczy Sandor, Komonyi Jozsef) have yet to send us the list of the hamlet's losses.

The material dated July 7, 1945 in the district archives shows that 33 draft-age men resided in unknown locations. It may be assumed that of these 9 were in the labour camps of Szolyva and Szambor. The local judge and secretary compiled the list; their signature is illegible. From these facts we cannot determine how many men lost their lives in action in W.W.II, or how many died in camps as civilians.

### KISDOBRONY

Its inhabitants counted 1469 people in 1944. According to an incomplete report dated July 6, 1945 found in the district archives, 52 draft age men resided in unknown places. The local KMKSZ established in 1989, (presidents: Varadi Imre, Bernath Csaba, Ur Sandor) tells us that 154 men were deported in November 1944. Of these 72 died in action or in the Various concentration camps.

On November 26, 1989 a memorial plaque was unveiled in the local cemetery honouring the village's martyrs.

### KISGEJOC

Administratively linked to Nagygejoc, this village had 980 inhabitants in 1944. Two lists were prepared in Kisgejoc on July 7, 1945 and found in the district archives. On one figure the 53 names of men who, as soldiers, were absent from the village. The second list contains 29 names of men who, according to the local judge and secretary, were deported to the Szambor labourcamp.

The list of the village's losses compiled by the local. KMKSZ (president: Fegyverneki Ferenc) tells us that of the 82 men, 16 never returned from the camps and 19 died in action in W.W.II.

In November 1989 a wooden memorial was erected in the cemetery and on November 1. 1991 a memorial was dedicated to the victims of Stalinist tyranny.

#### KISSZELMENC

Divided by the Ukrainian-Slovak border and administratively linked to Palagykomoroc, this hamlet had 319 residents in 1944. The local KMKSZ (president: Veres Peter) reckons that in the autumn of 1944, 15 men of draft age were carried off by the Stalinists; of these, 10 perished in camp and 3 died in action in W.W.II. We could find no material on Kisszelmenc in the district archives.

In the spring of 1992, the activists of the KMKSZ dedicated a monument in the local cemetery to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and W.W.II.

#### KONCHAZA

Belonging to the administration of Kincseshomok, this hamlet had 499 residents in 1944. No KMKSZ has been established here as yet.

A local resident, Totik Lajos reacted to our request and sent us the names of the hamlet's martyrs. In the autumn of 1944, according to the list found in the district archives, 40 draft age men were absent from this settlement. The remarks

entered on this list by its compilers, the local judge and secretary, indicate that on December 26, 1944, of the 40 men 38 were deported to the camp in Szolyva. Our informer tells us that 11 of these perished there.

### KORLATHELMEC

Inhabited by residents of mixed origins, this village had 890 people in 1944. In the autumn of 1944, 24 Hungarian men were carried off; of these, 15 perished in Stalin's camps. In W.W.II, 13 men died in action. The material on Korlathelmec found in the district archives shows that on July 7, 1945, 61 men of the village resided in unknown places.

On April 5, 1990, the KMKSZ of Korlathelmec (president: Sepela Maria) had a memorial dedicated in the local cemetery paid for by public contributions. They also had the names of the victims of W.W.II engraved on the marble plaque. Aside from the Hungarians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians too contributed to the public subscription - it did not matter of what religion or whether they were members of the KMKSZ. Sepela Maria and Katona Zsigmond prepared the list of the village's losses. No year of birth was indicated.

### MINAJ

Joined administratively to Kincsesonok, this hamlet had 454 inhabitants in 1944. According to the material dated July 11, 1945, found in the district archives, 31 men of draft age were carried off by the Stalinists; of these 28 resided in unknown places. Established on April 18, 1990, the local KMKSZ tells us that 3 men died in the Stalinist camps.

In their honour, a memorial was erected.

### NAGYDOBRONY

This largest village in Transcarpathia had 4007 residents in 1944. We know from documents in the district archives, that as per the list prepared by the local judge and secretary on July 6, 1945, 397 men of draft age resided in unknown places. Of the deportees, 92 died and 152 men lost their lives in W.W.II, as was reported by the local KMKSZ (president: Orosz Ildiko) established on April 9, 1989.

Stories concerning Nagydobrony are still circulating in the countries of Western Europe about the crimes committed by the advancing soviet troops: about how they slaughtered the inhabitants and razed the village to the ground by Napalm bombing. Among the intellectuals, Balla Gyula was the first in Hungary to deny this legend or horror story. Among Hungarians living in the West, Skultety Csaba, political writer, argued that the time has come to relegate this horror story to the other delusions and folk legends of history.

In the autumn of 1989, the activists of the KMKSZ brought from its hiding place in the cemetery the statue commemorating the dead of W.W.I. and restored it to its rightful place in the churchyard in the main square. In June 1991, they also erected a memorial to the martyrs of the village next to the reformed church.

## NAGYGEJOC

In 1944, this village, which had the right to its own village council, had 1005 inhabitants. The material dated July 7, 1945, found in the district archives indicates that 103 men of draft age did not reside in the village. The local KMKSZ (president: Rati Ferenc) informs us that among these deported in the autumn of 1944 14 men became victims of Stalinism and that in W.W.II, 24 men died in action.

In October of 1989 they placed a wooden memorial in the local cemetery and are planning a monument to honour their dead.

## ORDARMA

This village, administered jointly with Ungtarnoc, had 1305 inhabitants in 1944. The documents found in the district archives show that on July 1, 1945, 43 men, subject to military service, were absent from the village.

Nowadays, the number of Hungarians is negligible in this village inhabited mainly by Ukrainians and Slovaks.

Since no KMKSZ was formed here, we have no information on the losses of the village.

## PALAGYKOMOROC

Situated along the border and between the Latorca and Ung rivers, the village had 811 inhabitants in 1944.

According to the facts gathered by the local KMKSZ, 21 men were deported in the autumn of 1944, of whom 18 died in camps. In W.W.II, 9 men lost their lives on the battlefield. We could not, unfortunately, find any material in the district archives relating to this village. Szanyi Ilona, the local organisation's president, sent us the list of the village's losses.

The activists of the KMKSZ dedicated a monument in the local churchyard to the memory of the victims of both Stalinist tyranny and the W.W.II.

## PALLO

Joined administratively to Galocs, this settlement had 568 residents in 1944. In November 1944, 42 men were carried off by the Stalinists, of whom 16 perished. Two men died in action in W.W.II.

Upon the urging of President, Ferencz Angela, in November 1989, the activists of the KMKSZ of Pallo erected a memorial in honour of the martyrs. The following survivors authenticated the list of the settlement's losses: Baki Jozsef, Csucska Istvan, Toth Istvan, Nagy Gyula, Kerek Geza, Czurko Imre.

### RAT

Situated in the immediate vicinity of Szurte, the total inhabitants of Rat (Nagy-, Kis-) numbered 1163 people. The two villages were joined in 1945. Concerning Rat, we found in the district archives a list prepared on July 9, 1945, indicating that 40 men subject to military service did not reside in the village at the time.

A survey by the local KMKSZ (president: Vetoczky Ambrus) shows that 14 men were deported from the village; of these, 11 died in the camps. We have scant information on the victims of W.W.II One resident was brought to show trial.

A monument was erected in the church yard on November 26, 1989 and on October 2, 1990 a plaque was unveiled there in memory of the martyrs.

### SISLOC

This hamlet, within the administration of Ungtarnoc, had 322 inhabitants in 1944. A list dated July 10, 1945, found in the district archives, shows that 21 draft age non resided in unknown places.

The local KMKSZ (president: Kallai Erika) prepared the list of the hamlet's losses which indicates that in the autumn of 1944, 3 men were deported, of whom one died. Three men lost their lives in W.W.II.

The activists of the KMKSZ started the movement to place a tombstone in the local cemetery.



## SZALOKA

The inhabitants of this village numbered 829 people in 1944.

The material in the district archives, dated July 7, 1945, shows that 146 draft-age men resided either in the camp at Szolyva or in unknown places. In the autumn of 1944, 108 men were carried off of whom 58 perished. In the W.W.II, 12 men died in action. The committee of the KMKSZ of Szaloka, under the guidance of its president, Soos Kalman, prepared the list of the hamlet's losses on the basis of original sources, as well as the recollections of camp-fellows and ether survivors.

On November 26, 1989, they erected a tombstone in the local cemetery to the memory of the victims.

## SZEDERNYE

This village has an important historic past. It was, among other things, the home of Dobo Istvan; the "vanquisher of the Turks" where he lived out his life.

In 1944, its inhabitants numbered 2617 souls. The documents concerning Szerednye in the district archives show that as of July 6, 1945, 88 draft-age men were either in concentration camps or in unknown places.

Since no KMKSZ was formed here, we do not have the list of the village's losses. Nor do we have any information on how many men lost their lives in W.W.II.

The Hungarian families living here became assimilated; many moved to other settlements.

## SZURTE

Having their own independent village council, Szurte's inhabitants numbered 1314 people in 1944.

Documents in the district archives indicate that on July 7, 1945, 93 men of military age were absent from the village. The activists of the local KMKSZ, established on October 10, 1989 (presidents: Katko Laszlo, Braun Jozsef) compiled here, also the list of those deported in the autumn of 1944. This shows the names of 21 men that were carried off; of those, 3 escaped on the way; one person was released and 10 never returned. In W.W.II, 23 men lost their lives in battle.

On March 21, 1991, a monument was erected in the churchyard of the local reformed church to the memory of the victims of Stalinist tyranny and those who died in the war.

## TEGLAS (KIS-)

Administratively linked to Szurte, in 1944 this village had 531 inhabitants. We found nothing concerning this village in the district archives.

Established in May 1990, the local KMKSZ (president: Szucs Sandor) tells us that in the autumn of 1944, 50 people were deported to Stalinist camps from this village. Of these, 5 died there and 45 came back. In W.W.II, 6 men lost their lives in action.

On November 26, 1989, a monument was dedicated to their memory in the local graveyard.

## TISZAAGTELEK

This village joined in administration to Kisdobrony, had 686 residents in 1944.

The documents found in the district archives indicate that as of July 6, 1945, 117 draft-age men were absent from the village. According to the survey of the KMKSZ activist of Kisdobrony, Ur Sandor, about 87 men were deported to Szolyva from this village. Of these, 37 died on the front or in various camps.

At the end of the '40s, the inhabitants of the village - perhaps among the very first in Transcarpathia - erected a monument in the local Protestant cemetery to the memory of all those deceased martyrs who were faithful members of the parish. No KMKSZ was established here.

#### TISZAASVANY

Situated on the banks of the Tisza, this little settlement had 686 inhabitants in 1944.

From here, in the autumn of 1944, 53 bread-winning tillers of the soil were deported, among them four 17-year olds, that is minors, who never returned. From the material collected by Onodi Geza, president of the local KMKSZ, we can establish that 32 men died in the camps at Boriszovo and Orsa. During 1946-47, 21 drifted back home. Fabian Janos got the farthest from his homeland: he returned from Kom (ASSR). In W.W.II, only 9 soldiers lost their lives in battle. One man was brought to show trial.

Thanks to the KMKSZ of Tiszaasvany, the village erected a monument in the local cemetery to the memory of Stalinist martyrs.

The list in the district archives indicates that on July 9, 1945 94 men from Tiszaasvany, subject to military service, were absent from the village. The compilers of the list, the judge and secretary, made note of the fact that the men were carried off in separate groups to the concentration camp in Szolyva on November 18, 23, and 29, 1944, as well as some on December 3 and 10.

## TISZASALAMON

Located near the town of Csap in the area of the triple border, this village had, in 1944, 972 residents. The two lists found in the district archives (prepared by judge Berta Lajos; the secretary's name is illegible) indicate that on July 7, 1945, 62 men of the village were in Szambor or in unknown places.

The survey of the local KMKSZ (president: Balogh Gyula) shows that 43 men were carried off by the Stalinists of whom 19 died and 21 came back. We have no information concerning the losses of W.W.II.

On November 26, 1989 those who perished in the camps were symbolically buried and a wooden memorial was placed in the graveyard. A monument to their memory is planned.

## UNGTARNOC

In 1944, the residents of this hamlet lying along the (river) Ung numbered 411 souls. From the documents found in the district archives we learn that on July 6, 1945 48 draft-age men were absent from the village. Of these, 18 were taken to Szambor.

The local KMKSZ (president: Leco Erzsebet) did not send us the list of the village's losses.

## UNGVAR

Situated in the lower Carpathians along the banks of the river Ung, this town had, in 1944, 35,250 residents of which 27,397 were Hungarians, the rest being Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Russian or Slovakian.

The soviet army occupied Ungvr on October 27, 1944. The infamous resolution #0036 of the 4th Ukrainian Front dated November 13, 1944 ordering the deportation of Hungarian- and German-born men of draft age was first published here by the Stalinists. It was printed in Hungarian and Russian in the erstwhile Miravcsik printing house. Barat Mihaly, Sr., a survivor, remembers thus the 2nd resolution of the commandant, whereby he orders, under severe penalty, the registration on November 14-16 of all Hungarian-born men at the commandant's office:

"After reading the proclamation stuck on the lampposts, I registered also. They sent us to the Teleki Street school where, after being searched by soldiers and officers, we were locked up in the big hall. We waited there until noon, when they took us through the fence to the churchyard of the Roman Catholic church. On November 19, 1944 at 20h30 we were marched out of the churchyard, opposite the post office, across the temporary bridge of Bozdos Street, then turning left in the direction of the road to Munkacs, toward Szedernye. We were overtaken by the trucks carrying the residents of Ungvar to the big meeting at Munkacs. They asked where we were going I replied: "YOU ought to know!".

Another survivor, Majorosi Bela, relates: "I was 19 years old during these events. I attended the Roman Catholic boys' school. What a strange coincidence that I was deported from this building! I was led to our former principal's office, to a soviet officer who was tall, a fine figure of a man. He asked me what my origins were. It did not even occur to me to deny my being Hungarian. After this, I was searched, then led to where there must have been around 30 other men. We were there the whole night; my mother managed to sneak in some food through the window. What struck us as strange, right from the beginning, was that we were all Hungarians".

We learned from Mrs. Asztalos Istvan that on November 23, 1944, they deported all the railroad men who came to Ungvar from Hungary; - they even carried off the rail maintenance men. Few survived life in the camps during winter.

On January 26, 1945, Hriczko Lajos fell ill and was sent home. His son is still keeping the certificate of release that was given to him when he was freed. This was signed by a colonel Jermilov, commander of the Szolyva concentration camp. The number D-23614 was given as field address of this place of collection.

The unsigned list, prepared by the local authorities in city hall in June 1945, and found in the district archives; speaks of 1266 draft-age men who were at that time in unknown places, or rather, as POWs, in camps in the Soviet Union, in Romania or Moldavia. Next to 217 names of men who, we may assume, were deported as civilians, the prison camps in Szolyva, Perecseny, Szanbor and Szanok are mentioned.

The KMKSZ of Ungvar, established in 1989 (presidents: Kover Gyorgy, Kiszely Tihamer) issued a proclamation asking for help from the citizens in the preparation of the list of the town's losses. As a result, we received several hundred letters. But even so, after 40 years, compiling the camp lists seems to be a daunting task in this overpopulated town where only about 10% of the inhabitants are Hungarians.

With the aid of friends and survivors (Barat Mihaly, Sr., Varga Gyula, Szemrad Emil), we can still form a picture of the events here. More than a hundred men died in W.W.II as Hungarian soldiers. In November 1944, about 1000 men were deported as civilians; of those around 100 perished.

In November 1989, under the leadership of the local KMKSZ, a monument was erected on the Ungvar Calvary to the memory of the victims of W.W.II and Stalinism. The dedication of a memorial is also planned in the same place. Since then, a yearly commemorative meeting and ecumenical service are held in recollection of the Hungarian victims.

## THE VICTIMS

### THE LIST OF THE DEAD (Incomplete)

Asztely

Badak Balint (1900), Bako Sandor (1890), Csok Benjamin (1914), id. Csok Jozsef (1897), Derczeni Bela (1912), Dragamer Sandor (1915), Fazekas Gyula (1897), Fazekas Istvan (1913), File Bertalan (1900), File Istvan (1925), Gabor Geza (1924), Gabor Gusztav (1920), Kiss Geza (1900), Kovacs Lajos (1909), Kodobocz Bertalan (1890),- Lakatos Ferenc (1908), Lakatos Kalman (1910), Nagy

Bertalan (1912), Nagy Bela (1909), Nagy Jozsef (1915), Nagy Sandor (1908), Orosz Sandor (1913), Pal Bela (1912), Pal Ferenc (1925), Pal Istvan (1929), ifj. Pal Jozsef (1912), Penzes Karoly (1909), Simon Gyula (1910), Somi Dezso (1911), Somi Jozsef (1918), Somi Miklos (1910), Verbias Bela (1907), Verbias Pal (1911), Suto Jozsef (1890).

### Badalo

Bak Istvan (1887), Bak Andras (1923), Biro Beni (1900), Biro Bertalan (1910), Biro Marton (1904), Biro Bela (1898), Biro Bertalan (1897), Biro Pal (1905), Biro Elek (1908), Biro Gusztav (1903), Biro Albert (1915), Biro Laszlo (1901), Biro Imre (1925), Biro Elek (1917), Biro Kalman (1925), Biro Gyula (1910), Biro Dezso (1905), Biro Bela (1902), Biro Miklos (1901), Csobi Bertalan (1887), Esze Elek (1898), Esze Elek (1924), Esze Karoly (1913), Hajdu Istvan (1909), Hajdu Ferenc (1903), Illes Bela (1900), Jakab Gyula (1900), Kovacs Bela (1904), Kovacs Lajos (1905), Kovacs Jozsef (1911), Kovacs Dezso (1905), Kovacs Karoly (1900), Kovacs Gaspar (1911), Kallai Dezso (1901), Kallai Jozsef (?), Kovacs Gusztav (1901), Kallo Istvan (1901), Kazmer Bela (1920), Lorincz Andras (1924), Nagy Ferenc (1905), Nagy Jozsef (1921), Nagy Pal (1903), Nagy Bela (1915), Nagy Gabor (1900), Nagy Elek (1929), Nagy Elek (1902) Paladi Peter (1899), Paladi Gyula (1907), Papai Balazs (1911), Peter Albert (1920), Peter Gyula (1919), Peter Gusztav (1898), Peter Beni (1924), Peter Imre (1901), Peter Gyula (1903), Polner Gusztav (1901), Polner Karoly (1898), Palfi Moric (1904), Papai Balazs (1910), Sarkozi Lajos (1908), Sarkozi Gaspar (1913), Sarkozi Bela (1911), Somok Ignac (1901), Szabo Elek (1914), Szabo Zoltan (1911), Szalai Dezso (1900), Szabo Karoly (1902), Szekely Gyula (1902), Szilagyi Elek (1910), Szoboszlai Erno (1913), Szekely Karoly (1911), Szalai Karoly (1912), Szabo Dezso (1909), Toth Istvan

### Balazser

Bihari Gabor (1922), id. Bihari Jozsef (1903), ifj. Bihari Jozsef (1926), Bihari Karoly (1916), Daroci Balint (1900), Daroci Bertalan (1896), Harant Karoly (1904), Ivan Bertalan (1906), Ivan Gabor (1908), Ivan Jozsef (1924), Ivan Sandor (1926), Izsak Andras (1912), Izsak Bela (1906), Katona Janos (1907), Sirokai Imre (1912), Sirokai Karoly (1916), Szabo Gabor (1904), Szabo Gusztav (1904), Toth Ferenc (1923), Varga Ferenc (1901), Varga Istvan (1908), id. Varga Jozsef (1904), Varga Samuel (1900).

## Batyu

Baksa Jozsef (1895), Baksa Laszlo (1926), ifj. T. Barate Albert (1924), Barate Bela (1915), Berber Antal (1916), Danko Janos (1926), Demjen Endre (1908), Demjen Erno (1904), Demjen Ferenc (1906), Demjen Gabor (1909), Demjen Janos (1901), Demjen Jozsef (1908), Demjen Jozsef (1912), Drohobeczky Kornel (1895), Dudas Janos (1926), Halasz Menyhert (1906), Kovacs Karoly (?), Kosztyu Jozsef (1924), Kelemen Pal (1926), Markus Bela (1919), Markus Jozsef (1925), Nagy Ferenc (1918), Nyeste Gabor (1909), Nyeste Geza (1905), Nyeste Ignac (1901), Nyeste Sandor (1900), Olah Janos (1922), Orban Andras (1920), Orban Gabor (1924), Sebestyen Istvan (1907), Suto Andras (1904), Suto Ferenc (1914), Szabo Andras (1924), Toth Istvan (1910), Toth Jozsef (1910), Toth Miklos (1907), Toth Vilmos (1924).

WW II losses:

Baksa Karoly (1919), Bihari Endre (1912), Borcsik Ferenc (1904), Danko Gyula (1923), Demjen Peter (1920), Jenei Gyula (1922), Kosztyu Ferenc (1912), Lacko Jozsef (1920), Markus Bertalan (1910), Nyeste Erno (1913), Revesz Janos (1910), Suto Bela (1918), Szuhanek Istvan (1910), Szufilkanics Andras (1920), Szucs Tibor (1912), Toth Geza (1907), Toth Miklos (1921), Tuba Menyhert (1902).

## Bene

Balogh Istvan (1922), Balogh Sandor (1901), Benke Balint (1922), Elek Andras (1927), Fekete Sandor (1925), Gazda Lajos (1899), Harapka Bela (1923), Harapka Janos (1925), Horvath Bela (1912), Hegyi Bela (1926), Holozsai Jozsef (1912), Holozsai Karoly (1923), Juhasz Janos (1906), Katko Miklos (1905), Kovacs Ferenc (1925), Kovacs Istvan (1926), Kovacs Bela (1924), Kocsis Istvan (1923), Nyiri Miklos (1920), Olcsvari Odon (1905), Oremusz Laszlo (1896), Oremusz Laszlo (1921), Oremusz Bela (1924), Oremusz Istvan (1900), Percsi Istvan (1926), Polak Janos (1906), Pak Miklos (1925), ifj. Putnoki Jozsef (1922), Sandor Istvan (1924), Sandor Bertalan (1926), Szekely Sandor (1910), Veres Istvan (1925).

Hungarian prisoners of war murdered by Szoviet troops:

Gosi Gyorgy (1917), Lipicki Pal (1918), Kovesi Janos (1914).



## Beregardo

Babjak Sandor (1922), Bakos Gabor (1924), Baksa Gyula (1901), Baksa Elek (1925), Boldizsar Sandor (1924), Galajda Pal (1904), Huszar Andras (1908), Jakab Janos (1920), Kacsanovszky Istvan (1925), Kosan Janos (1908), Mate Ferenc (1917), Szircsak Ferenc (1910), Szircsak Pal (1925), Szokoloczky Bertalan (1912), Toth Andras (1901).

WW II losses:

Bakos Miklos (1912), Bakos Imre (1920), Beka Gyula (1919), Csapo Sandor (1917), Illyes Erno (1913), Kovacs Imre (1919), Kosan Sandor (1912), Molnar Bertalan (1916), Orosz Janos (1907), Szabo Janos (1921).

## Beregdeda

Barate Jozsef (1901), Barat Karoly (1924), Bessenyei Imre (1924), Bessenyei Sandor (1887), Fekete Istvan (1926), Gazdag Andras (1913), Gazdag Istvan (1921), Gazdag Jozsef (1903), Gazdag Sandor (1905), Gerzsenyi Istvan (1925), Homoki Albert (?), Illes Bertalan (1904), Izsak Janos (1925), Jaszik Bertalan (1918) Jaszik Ferenc (1917), Jaszik Miklos (1901), Joni Jozsef(1905), Kemeny Bela (1910), Kiss Albert (1906), Miskolci Bela (1903), Pallagi Janos (1926), Pasztor Gyorgy (1904), Perpek Lajos (1900), Plevinszki Lajos (1923), Sinszki Lajos (1926).

## Beregsom

Baksa Endre (1909), Baksa Bela (1904), Balogh Gyula (1907), Barkaszi Gyula (1899), Barta Balazs (1912), Barta Janos (1907), Barta Bela (1910), Deme Bela (1907), Deme Bertalan (1910), Deme Kalman (1906), Fejes Gabor (1900), Kelemen Bertalan (1900), Kelemen Ferenc (1904), Kelemen Zoltan (1925), Kodus Beni (1907), Kodobocz Laszlo (1910), Kodobocz Arpad (1924), Kodobocz Sandor (1896), Kodobocz Pal (?), Nagy Pal (1926), Nagy Arpad (1918), Szabo- Simon Bela (?), Tuba Ferenc (1903), Toth Ferenc (1899).

WW II losses:

Baksa Endre, Baksa Ferenc, Baksa Lajos, Balogh Ferenc, Barkaszi Lajos, Barta Erno, Barta Balint, Biri Peter, Demjen Gyula, Demjen Lajos, Gerzsenyi Ferenc, Hajdu Geza, Kelemen Sandor, Kondor Janos, Kodus Balazs, Papp Sandor, Simon Jozsef, Tegh Mihaly, Tuba Beni.

## Beregszasz

Alekszi Gyorgy (1918), Almassy Geza (1907), Balla Istvan (1913), Balla Sandor (1881), Barta Gabor (?), Billa Endre (1920), Cseh Sandor (1898), Dani Istvan (1912), id. Deak Gyorgy (?), if. Deak Gyorgy (?), Demeter Janos (1910), Fazekas Istvan (1923), Finta Ferenc (1912), Forgon Gusztav (?); Gaal Bela (1926), dr. Gecse Istvan (1900), Haupman Bela (?), Henkel Jozsef(1902), Hubert Karoly (1917), Hunyadi Istvan (1926), Imre-testverek (?), Iski Endre (1909), Iski Sandor (1910), Kari Bela (?), Kelemen Karoly (1921), Kelemen Laszlo (1926), Komonyi Andras (?), Kovacs Kalman (1915), Kovacs Kalman (1898), Kovacs Pal (?), Kovacs Pal (1925), Lenert Pal (1915), Lukacs Bela (1920), Mandi Sandor (1925), Marosi Miklos (?), Mihovics Miklos (1927), Morvai Bela (1897), Nagy Karoly (1909), Nagy Laszlo (1926), Nagy Miklos (1911), Nyiri Andras (1925), Orosz Sandor (1899), Papai Geza (1910), Papai Janos (1907), Paloczi Balint (1914), Papp Ferenc (1898), Regos Istvan (?), Sarkozi Jozsef (?), Szabo Dezso ( 1911), Szabo Sandor (?), Szendrei Jozsef (?), Takacs Gyula (?), Timko Janos (1915), Toth Jozsef (1906), Turi Ferenc (1910), Ujvari Jozsef l?), Varadi Barnabas (1900).

## Beregujfalu

Acs Arpad (1915), Acs Balint (1923), Acs Bela F. (1923), Acs Bela J. (1923), Acs Mihaly ( 1909), Csete Balazs (1923), Dano Balint (1923), Darcsi Geza (1923), Ivan Janos (1902), Mate Balint (1911), Mate Balint B. (1925), Mate Bela (1923), Mate Ferenc (1905), Mate Tibor (1913), Molnar Andor (?), Molnar Arpad (1921), Molnar Balint (1924), Molnar Elek (1909), Molnar Endre 11898), Molnar Ferenc (1921), Molnar Ferenc F. (1900), Molnar Gyula (1907), Molnar Janos (1910), Molnar Peter (1907), Molnar Samuel (1899), Molnar Sandor (1922), Orosz Bertalan (1901), Orosz Sandor (1917), Orosz Geza (1925), Orban Gyula (1919), Pal Jozsef (1902), Papai Geza (1897), Puskas Tibor(1925), Puskas Pal (1919), Tihor Bence (1923), Tihor Elemer (1921), Tihor Gabor (1898), Tihor Geza (1922), Tihor Geza B., Tihor Karoly (1897) Tihor Sandor, Toth Arpad, Toth Bela, Toth Istvan, Toth Balazs.

## Botragy

Angalet Istvan (1899), Albok Gabor (1918), Beres Menyhert (1899), Beres Jozsef (1902), Bagu Bertalan (1925), Bagu Imre (1910), Bagu Ferenc (1895), Bagu Ignac (1907), Bagu Ferenc (1910), Bajusz Aron (1899), Bajusz Balazs

(1910), Bajusz Jozsef (1905), Bajusz Andras (1924), Bajusz Daniel (1906), Balogh Bela (1899), Balogh Bela (1924), Biro Andras (1902), Biro Janos (1908), Baranyi Jozsef (1902), Bohics Janos (1909), Deak Ferenc (1908), Doka Andras (1903), Doka Jozsef (1902), Estok Sandor (1903), Ember Jozsef (1912), Ember Istvan (1914), Filep Gyula (1899), Hajdu Karoly (1909), Gero Peter (1912), Gero Dezso (1903), Gal Benjamin (1905), Gal Jozsef (1922), Gal Janos (1918), Izsak Ferenc (1907), Izsak Dezso (1900), if. Izsak Dezso (1925), Izsak Janos (1901), Izsak Erno (1924), Izsak Balint (1902), Izsak Gyula (1903), Kodoboc Pal (1921), Kate Ignac (1910), Marton Dezso (1908), Molnar Balazs (1900), Molnar Miklos (1898), Molnar Pal (1911), Molnar Bertalan (1912), Molnar Andras (1908), Molnar Kalman (1902), Molnar Ferenc (1902), Molnar Gabor (1900), Molnar Balint (1901) Molnar Kalman (1895), Marton Gyula (1916), Magyar Balazs (1900), Orban Andras (1908), Orban Sandor (1910), Orban Janos (1903), Pecs Ferenc (1909), Pecs Dezso (1905), Peter Dezso (1903), Peter Istvan (1914), Rati Dezso (1911), Revesz Balazs (1906), Simon Gyula S. (1899), Simon Gyula Gy. (1921), Szikora Andras (1902), Szakacs Balint (1905), Toth Janos (1895), Toth Janos K (1906), Toth Bela (1922), Toth Jozsef (1905), Toth Ferenc (1925), Tar Jozsef (1925), Tari Gyorgy (1910), Varga Janos (1905), Varro Istvan (1896), Vojtku Dezso (1915).

#### Bulcsu (Nagy-)

Balla Jozsef (1895), ifj. Balazs Bertalan (1911), Bodnar Bela (1914), Bodnar Janos (1899), Bodnar Jozsef (1907), Bodnar Mihaly (1905), Birta Ferenc (1916), Csernati Lajos (1905), Csernati Pal (1908), Gerboc Gyula (?), Hecko Gyula (?), Hrobak Fulop (?), Kassai Jozsef(1904), id. Kallo Bertalan (1904), if. Kallo Bertalan (1925), Kalman Lajos (1910), Kaposzta Peter (1900), Klima Bela (1926), Klima Ferenc (1926), Klima Imre (1925), Kocka Barnabas (1925), Komari Ferenc (1908), Komari Karoly (?), Kota Gabor (1906), Krajnik Ambrus (1925), Krajnik Bertalan (1907), Krajnik Janos (1906), Krajnik Jozsef(1918), Krajnik Miklos (1913), Krajnik Peter (1910), Lukovics Bertalan (1905), Lukovics Jozsef (1903), Majercsik Elek (1919), Mindak Ferenc (1901), if. Mindak Ferenc (1911), Mindak Gyorgy (1901), Nagy Andras (1911), Nagy Istvan (1924), Nagy Jozsef (1925), Nagy Sandor (1916), Nagy Bela (1923), Nagy Bela (1913), Nemet Bela (1925), Nemet Kalman (1905), if. Paloczy Jozsef (1919), Pasztor Istvan (1924), Percsi Bertalan (1905), Rozsa Bertalan (1901), Rozsa Ferenc (1925), Sandor Jozsef (?), Sarkozi Lajos (1913), Siti Sandor (1913), Slahta Jozsef(1895), Somi Jozsef (1916), Szabo Janos (1913), Szabo Laszlo (1904), Szabo Sandor (1908), Szlepek Jozsef (1895).

## Csetfalva

Balogh Sandor (1902), Balogh Gabor (1912), Balogh Dezso (1921), Balogh Istvan (1918), Blanar Andras (1915), Blanar Sandor (1917), Blanar Bela (1923), Blanar Ferenc (1921), Dicse Gabor (1911), Dicse Albert (1903), Erdelyi Dezso (1912), Galyas Ferenc (1909), Gergely Istvan (1905), Gergely Andras (1900), Horvath Andras (1905), Horvath Gusztav (1907), Kardos Dezso (1919), Kerekes Dezso (1900), Lorincz Dezso (1910), Lorincz Bela (1912), Lakatos Lajos (1907), Laszlo Jozsef (1903), Miklos Andras (1899) Mester Sandor (1909), Molnar Sandor (1903), Magos Janos (1920), Ombodi Bela (1904), Nasko Mihaly (1909), Nagy Laszlo (1907), Nagy Bela (1903), Papp Jozsef (1921), Papp Dezso (1899), Papp Lajos (1906), Papp Jozsef (1909), Papp Andras (1921), Suto Jozsef (1899), Szakal Fulop (1921), Szeles Andras (1914), Szabo Kalman (1905), Szeles Bela (1916), Szeles Sandor (1910), Toth Bela (1924) Toth Ferenc, Tar Andras, Torzsas Gabor.

## Csonkapapi

Bacso Jozsef (1897), Bako Karoly, Baksa Lajos (1904), Baksa Pal (1926), Barat Andras, Berenyi Istvan (1924), Buda Gabor (1909), Buda Gyula (1903), Buda Gyula J. (1903), Buda Lajos (1914), Buda Peter (1897), Buda Samuel (1910), Dobos Karoly (1902), Doka Jozsef (1925), Fejes Pal (1901), Galgoczi Istvan (1904), Halasz Dezso (1902), Halasz Geza (1906), Jakab Jozsef (1922), Kiss Lajos (1908), Kiss Tamas (1910) Kodobocz Imre (1909), Papp Jozsef (1907), Simon Gyula (1926), Suto Ignac (1907) Suto Istvan (1923), Szabo Ferenc (1902), Szatmari Daniel (1900), Szatmari Jozsef (1905), Szatmari Kalman (1924), Szatmari Sandor (1909), Szecsi Bela (1903), Toth Benjamin (1925), Toth Gabor (1912) Turoczy Bela (1908), Turoczy Lajos (1926), Vasas Janos (1926), Vasas Mihaly (1900), Veres Gabor (1912), Veres Gabor (1900), Veres Imre (1913) Veres Kalman (1924), Veres Lajos (1916), Veres Sandor (1902) Veres Sandor (1908), Veres Sandor (1926).

## Gat

Bak Gedeon (1925), Bak Endre (1923), Bak Bertalan (1896), Bak Bela (1903), Bak Bela B. (1900), Bak Beni (1917), Bakos Andras (1908), Bakos Bela (1914), Biro Geza (1909), Biro Kalman (1907), Botos Lajos (1908), Csontos Jozsef (1905), E. Turi Sandor (1921) E. Turi Menyhert (1905), Hee Gyula (1901), Hee

Elek (1903), Hee Aron (1902), Hee Ignac (1908), Hee Sandor (1912), Jaro Sandor (1901), Jaro Marton (1910), Kacso Daniel (1903), Kacso Viktor (1909), Kacso Ignac (1898), Kacso Endre (1925), Kacso Bertalan (1903), Kacso Beni (1897), Kacso Pal (1909), K Lorinc Bertalan (1906), Kiraly Sandor (1898), Kiraly Ignac (1908), Kiraly Janos (1915), Kiraly Andras (1907), Kiraly Erno (1912), Kiraly Endre (1925), Lorinc Bertalan (1926), Lorinc Lajos (1921), Lorinc Pal (1909), Marton Bela (1912), Molnar Sandor (1896), Menyhert Bertalan (1915), Molnar Ignac (1915), Monus Janos (1906), Orosz Ferenc (1896), Orosz Ferenc F. (1908), Stencinger Jozsef(1903), Szabo Antal (1912), Szabo Sandor (1910), Turi Gyula (1903), Torma Daniel (1913), Verbias Lajos (1914), Veg Karoly (1913).

### Gut

Antal Gyula (1909), Balogh Lajos (1901), Balogh Gyula (1911), Balogh Jozsef (1924), Barkaszi Gyula (1910), Barkaszi Karoly (1898), Barkaszi Jozsef(1926), Barkaszi Bela (1912), G. Barkaszi Bertalan (1901), Bence Bertalan (1924), Bence Jozsef(1910), Bihari Lajos (1922), Bodok Istvan (1900), Bodok Gyula (1924), Bodok Jozsef (1910), Bahun Ferenc (1897), Butos Imre (1904), Doka Jozsef (1911), Daresi Gyula (1901), Daresi Lajos (1901), Daresi Andras (1919), Danko Gyula (1916), Deak Lajos (1900), Denjen Jozsef (1905), B. Doka Istvan (1923), B. Doka Jozsef (1900), Doka Karoly (1913), Doka Zsigmond (1924), Doka Andras (1896), Doka Bertalan (1919), G. Doka Tamas (1924), Fuzo Andras (1915), Fuzo Gyula (1924), Nagy Jozsef (1908), Nagy Ferenc (1909), Nagy Gyula (1910), Peres Gyula (1905), Peres Bertalan (1905), Pocsai Lajos (1924), Pocsai Jozsef (1903), Pocsai Vince (1915), Pocsai Lajos K (1925), Pocsai Gyula (1908), Puskas Ferenc (1897), Simon Bela (1925), Szalontai Jozsef(?), Szalontai Gyula (1910), Szolnoki Janos (1922), Sz. Toth Jozsef (1910), Toth Jozsef (1925), Toth Kalman (1897), Toth Kalman Gy. (1911), Verbias Lajos (1914), Verbias Karoly (1924), Verbias Bela (1922), Veres Gyula (1923).

### Halabor

Bako Zsigmond (1925), Balog Ferenc (1926), Balog Sandor (1896), Balog Janos (1905), Balog Alajos (1924), Balog Andras (1919), Balog Jozsef(1908), Belanszki Gusztav (1922), File Sandor (1910), Gajdos Sandor (1918), Gergely Sandor (1910), Jakab Elemer (1917), Kadar Dezso (1925), Kis Andras (1902), Kocsis Laszlo (1926), Kocsis Alajos (1900), Kocsis Zsigmond (1904), Kocsis Elek (1907), Komaromi Elek (1920), Komaromi Alajos (1905), Kovacs Sandor (1900), Lengyel Geza (1910), Nyiri Janos (1925), Orban Balazs (1921), Strom Zsigmond

(1906), Szabo Andras J. (1904), Szabo Andras A. (1926), Szatmari Kalman (1921), Tar Istvan, Tar Miklos, Tar Andras, Toth Peter.

### Hetyen

Antal Jozsef (1922), Berec Bela (1925), Berec Pal (1922), Barta Pal (1918), Barta Andras (1916), Benko Menyhert (1908), Benko Janos (1908), Benko Elemer (1909), Benko Lajos (1926), Borsodi Zoltan (1924), Cellar Istvan (1911), Cselle Bela (1925), Cselle Benjamin (1920), Gerzsenyi Istvan (1925), Gerzsenyi Jozsef (1901), Ferenci Karoly (1900), Fodor Jozsef (?), Henter Jozsef (1911), Horvath Jozsef (1897), Joo Bela (1924), Kodobocz Lajos (1908), Komjati Laszlo (1919), Kovacs Andras (1906), Kovacs Balazs (?), Kondor Jozsef (1926), Kondor Sandor (1924), Molnar Lajos (?), Racz Gabor (1919), Suto Endre (1900), Suto Bela (1921), Sebestyen Istvan (1926), Sebestyen Jozsef (1923), Sebestyen Jozsef S. (?), Suto Zoltan (1914), Suto Lajos (1924), Sebestyen Sandor (?), Szarka Bela (?), Szarka Bela I. (?), Szikora Bela (1922), Toth Geza (1910), Toth Bela (1920), Toth Kalman (1920), Toth Endre (1923), Toth Pal (1899), Toth Geza (1925), Toth Menyhert (1908), Toth Balint (1903), Toth Istvan (1904), Toth Jozsef (1921), Toth Bela (1913).

### Kigyos

Bacskai Istvan (1921), Bakos Imre (1907), Bakos Jozsef (1919), Bakos Sandor (1912), Bako Andras (1914), Biro Jozsef (1904), Csok Erno (1924), Derceni Istvan (1900), File Lajos (1924), Fring Bela (1926), Gracsin Ferenc (1922), Hezser Jozsef (1921), Illyes Andras (1926), Kocsis Balazs (1919), Kocsis Karoly (1926), Makacs Jozsef (1895), Mester Karoly (1904), Mester Karoly (1909), Molnar Bela (1905), Toldi Gyula (1907), Tompa Bela (1910), Tompa Jozsef (1905), Toth Andras (1899), ifj. Toth Andras (1925), Toth Istvan (1905), Toth Sandor (1910), Vass Sandor (1906), Vegh Sandor (1926).

WW II losses:

Almasi Bela (1912), Baba Jozsef (1913), Cseh Janos (1920), Cseh Sandor (1922), Csok Bertalan (1902), Nagy Bertalan (1919), Sass Jozsef (1913), Sas Karoly (1904), Szentpeteri Jozsef (1910), Tar Bela (1911), Toldi Zoltan (1927), Urban Andras (1922), Vasas Sandor (1905).

### Kisbegany

Bocskai Istvan (1915), Cseh Jozsef (1926), Domokos Vince (1917), Fekete Sandor (1906), Gazdag Gyula (1906), Gazdag Bela (1926), Gazdag Imre (1910), Horvath Istvan (1918), Komari Gyula (1925), Komari Beni (1914), Komari Gabor (1910), Komari Bela (1905), Komari Istvan (1922), Kuja Bertalan (1921), Kukri Gabor (1907), Meszar Lajos (1914), Mihalyi Menyhert (1913), Nanasi Kal man (1907), Nanasi Bela (1907), Orosz Imre (1909), Orosz Endre (1913), Orosz Istvan (1920), Orosz Vince (1902), Orosz Gabor (1924), Suto Gyula (1910), Suto Istvan (1913), Suto Endre (1907), Racz Gabor (1925), Turoczy Beni (1910), Turoczy Sandor (1925), Varga Imre (1913), Varga Ferenc (1906), Zsoldos Imre (1904).

### Macsola

Becza Sandor (1898), Bundovics Gusztav (1905), Bruszki Istvan (1900), Bruszki Sandor (1887), Cseke Sandor (1904), Cselle Albert (1898), Drohobecki Kornel (1901), Fejbaba Sandor (1920), Fekete Bertalan (1900), Gyorkos Pal (1903), Hezser Sandor (1922), Homoki Samuel (1899), Homoki Sandor (1912), Homoki Pal (1925), Homoki Pal (1903), Horvath Jozsef (1906), Horvath Miklos (1903), Horvath Elemer (1917), Kosa Ferenc (1924), Koszegi Pal (1901), Medve Bela (1924), Miskolci Bela (1906), Mosika Mihaly (1898), Mandzak Lajos (1907), Nagy Gaspar (1905), id. Nagy Andras (1897), Nagy Andras (1921), Nagy Bertalan (1925), Nagy Miklos (1897), Papp Istvan (1926), Racz Gyula (1898), Rakosi Jozsef (1926), Rakosi Marton (1901), ifj. Somogyi Elemer (1921), Soter Janos (1905), Szabo Bertalan (1925), Szentleki Jozsef (1924), Telinger Janos (1903), Telinger Menyhert (1902), Veress Endre (1925), Vegso Istvan (1923), Vegh Mihaly (1918).

WW II losses:

Bruszki Janos (1919), Bruszki Zoltan (1905), Cserhati Bela (1922), Faggyas Jozsef (1912), Kesmarki Odon (1912), Lukacs Istvan (1909), Lukacs Pal (1911), Nagy Pal (1919), Pallagi Mihaly (1924).

### Makkosjanosi

Balazsi Bertalan (1902), Balazsi Ferenc (?), Balazsi Pal (1896), Balogh Janos (1920), Balogh Sandor (?), Bekfi Albert (?), Bekfi Imre (190?), Billa Endre (1924), Billa Gyula (1924), Csonka Gyula (?), Darcsi Imre (1898), Faggyas Istvan (1903), Halavacs Miklos (1907), Hapak Bertalan (1898), Kozma Mihaly (1907), Lengyel Dezso (1925), Popovics Ferenc (?), Popovics Ignac (1907), Szabo Andor (1922), Szalontai Gyula (1906), Tompa Jozsef (1898), Toth Mihaly (1902).

## Mezogegecse

Badak Daniel (1897), Benko Ignac (1901), Cibla Bertalan (1909), id. Cibla Istvan (1899), id. Cibla Jozsef (1913), Cibla Jozsef (1924), Fodor Gedeon (1925), Fodor Janos (1913), Fodor Janos (1911), Horvath Jozsef (1902), Jancsi Istvan (1895), Jancsi Jozsef (1897), Kiraly Albert (1908), Kovacs Lajos (1909), id. Lorinc Istvan (1901), ifj.Lorinc Istvan (1925), Nagy Gabor (1899), Rajo Miklos (1911), Rakosi Jozsef (1914), Rojnoha Jozsef (1909), Sipos Janos (1911), Varga Balint (1915), Varga Bertalan (1903), Varga Jozsef (1906).

WW II losses:

Fejes Bela (1926), Mester Istvan ( 1921), Sarinszky Istvan (1907), i\_. Varga Pal (1916), Verebik Laszlo (1909).

## Mezohomok

Csok Pal (1903), Dancs Jozsef (1902), Drohobeczki Kornel (1896), Egressy Bela (1907), Hada Ferenc (1924), Kosztyo Andor (1904), Kuszka Erno (1923), Mandzak Miklos (1905), Molnar Endre (1905), Molnar Geza (1900), Pal Bela (1921), Pracu Bertalan (1911), Ruszinka Bela (1924), Ruszinka Miklos (1926), Temeto Ambrus (1905), Toth Andor (1924), Toth Istvan (1910), Vascsak Jozsef (1926), Zan Janos (1900).

WW II losses:

Egressy Aladar (1914), Egressy Istvan (1908), Egressy Sandor (1921), Lengyel Janos (1905), Molnar Tamas (1922), Petras Ambrus (1917), Pracu Lajos (1913).

## Mezokaszony

Agardi Jozsef(1897), Auksz Gyorgy(1898), Balog Samuel (1890), Bojtos Jozsef (1901), Barat Istvan (1895), Barat Istvan I. (1926), Barat Janos (1891), Badalevics Ferenc (1926), Balla Balint (1907), Csete Ferenc (1901), Csengeri Jozsef (1909), Dancs Jozsef (1925), Darcsi Janos (1925), Gajdos Janos (1910), Gazdag Bertalan (1896), Gal Sandor (1900), Hegedus Miklos (1913), Kota Janos (1925), Kiss Pal (1905), Kovacs Ferenc (1926), Krajnik Jozsef(1904), Kiss Miklos (1901), Kato Janos (1909), Korodi Janos (1899), Korodi Laszlo (1924), Kati Janos (1900), Kovacs Istvan (1906); Kiss Istvan (1904), Kiss Karoly (1912), Kiss Tamas (1919), Lakatos Kalman (1921), Lenart Endre (1926) Laszlo Gyorgy (1895), Laszlo Pal (1925), Molnar Janos (1924), Meszar Bertalan (1924), Martin Mihaly (1905), Mehesz Jozsef(1901), Mehesz Peter (1908), Nagy Pal (1896), Nagy Denes (1925),



Orosz Istvan (1900), Parocai Sandor (1919), Ricsei Lajos (1902), Rozsa Istvan (1917), Sipos Kalman (1898), Simon Rozsa Lajos (1894), Suto Janos (1922), Sverha Jozsef (1904), Sebestyen Sandor (1909), Szaniszló Ferenc (1911), Szilágyi Imre (1911), Szucs Andras (1925), Toth Jozsef(1893), Toth Erno (1923), Tar Arpad (1898), Tar Janos (1897), Udvarhelyi Pal (1926), Urban Janos (1899), Varadi Jozsef (1896), Varadi Karoly (1912), Varadi Pal. Varga Laszlo, Varga Jozsef, Varju Sandor, Varga Gyula, Zele Endre, Zsell Sandor.

### Nagybakos

Bara Andras (1898), id. Kovacs Imre (1899), if. Kovacs Imre (1926), Kovacs Jozsef(1898), Kovacs Karoly (1898), Lazar Mihaly (1903), Misak Ferenc (1901), Petro Andras (1908), Revak Istvan (1924), Sos Gabor (1895), Tokar Jozsef (?), Toth Lajos (1910).

WW II losses:

Bara Ferenc (1922), Bercik Janos (1921), Kun Bela (1921), Sandor Janos (1922), Szimcsak Janos (1921).

### Nagybereg

Balint Sandor (1926), Banyai Ferenc (1902), Baus Marton (1922), Biro Gusztav (1902), Bodnar Geza (1911), Bodnar Jozsef (1912), Derceni Karoly (1901), Farkas Gusztav (1906), Fuzesi Geza (1910), Homoki Zsigmond (1895), Horvath Geza (1906), Ivan Ferenc (1902), Juhai Andras (1894), Kaszonyi Balint (1901), Kelemen Balazs (1901), Kelemen Zoltan (1926), Kopor Balint (1909), Kopor Istvan (1914), Kopor Janos (1901), Kovacs Balazs (1903), Kovacs Bertalan (1906), Kovacs Gusztav (1924), Kovacs Tamas (1907) Kurmai Balint (1926), Lakatos Balazs (1925), Mester Jozsef (1903) Nyilas Elemer (1921), Orban Janos (1910), Somi Balazs (1901) Somi Balazs (1903), Sipos Elemer (1926), Szarka Jozsef (1904) Toth Jozsef (1913).

### Nagyborzsava

Allo Ferenc (1902), Banyai Bertalan (1895), Balogh Janos J. (1916), Benko Arpad (1900), Benko Bela I. (1906), Benko Bela F. (1925), Benko Bertalan (1914), Benko Gyula (1916), Benko Elemer (1906), Benko Janos (1896), Benko Laszlo (1918), Butka Bela (1924), Bikfalvi Jozsef (1925), Cselle Bela (1912), Cselle Istvan (1909), Cselle Pal (1924), Cseke Lajos (1902), Darcsi Zoltan (1924) Egri

Lajos (1912), Ember Lajos (1913), Farkas Lajos (1898), Fornosi Endre (1904), Forgacs Sandor (1920), Fuscics Jozsef (1925), Gaal Ferenc (1907), Gaal Gyula (1897), id. Gondi Karoly (1893), Gondi Karoly (1920), Hegyi Miklos (1899), Homoki Janos (1909), Homoki Sandor (1904), Horvath Antal (1909), Horvath Gabor (1896), Huszti Janos (1925), Jakab Antal (1900), Kalman Bela (1923), Kaluja Bertalan (1908), Kaluja Janos (1895), Kaluja Gyula (1912), Kaluja Karoly (1914), Kelnik Bela K (1926), Kelnik Bela F. (1923), Kende Gaspar (1908), Kende Zsigmond (1915), Kerekes Elek (1910), Kertai Pal (1906), Lovasi Bela (1913), Lorincz Karoly (1911), Lukaes Miklos (1904), Lupcsó Endre (1912), Mandi Bertalan (1922), Mandi Zoltan (1896), Mandi Pal (1903), Makkai Gusztav (1905), Molnar Sandor (1907), Melika Janos (1903), Nagy Elek (1903), Nagy Endre (1905), Nagy Ferenc (1902), Nagy Jozsef (1904), Nagy Sandor (1908), Orosz Istvan (1896), Osztermut Ede (1926), Pava Jenő (1925), Papp Jozsef (1926), Porge Imre (1905), Puskas Ferenc (1921), Puskas Lajos (1925), Simon Jozsef (1906), Sipos Endre (1905), Sipos Istan (1910), Siti Mihaly (1904), Suto Kalman (1896), Szekely Kalman (1915), Sztrain Ferenc (1925), Tari Endre (1903), Tari Balint (1900), Toth Karoly (1904), Toth Lajos (1901), Tompa Jozsef (1897), Zeman Ede (1898).

WW II losses:

Baka Bela (1913), Hegedus Sandor (1908), Kalman Ferenc (1919), Lupcsó Gyula (1913), Molnar Lajos (1909), Szabo Andras (1919).

### Nagybegany

Andrasi Istvan (1904), Bezzeg Janos (1925), Bezzeg Jozsef (1926), H. Bezzeg Janos (1900), Bezzeg Imre (1921), Biro Sandor (1905), Borsos Jozsef (1904), Botos Albert (1900), Bonyar Dezso (1911), Bence Jozsef (1897), Fekete Lajos (1909), Fekete Miklos (1926), A. Gajdos Andras (1924), A. Gajdos Jozsef (1926), Gajdos Gyula (1912), Gajdos Istvan (1923), Gajdos Janos (1912), F. Gajdos Janos (1911), P. Gajdos Sandor (1903), P. Gajdos Istvan (1924), Gerics Bela (1925), Herengu Jozsef (1908), Herengu Ferenc (1911), Kocsis Imre (1913), Kocsis Istvan (1901), Kozma Karoly (1920), Krakab Jozsef (1924) Krakab Sandor (1925), Kopasz Lajos (1920), Kopasz Bertalan (1920), Koblos Janos (1912), Laky Vince (1900), Lengyel Bela (1925), G. Mezei Bertalan (1925), G. Mezei Sandor (1900), Mindak Jozsef (1919), Pecsí Miklos (1904), Pecsí Lajos (1901), Peter Miklos (1925), Remecki Andras (1901), Sass Ferenc (1924), Siro Bertalan (1910), Suto Jozsef (1912), Szabo Aladar (1917), Szabo Miklos (1924), Szolnoki Zoltan (1910), Szurnyak Sandor (1902), B. Tompa Samuel (1923), Tompa Tamas (1904), Toth Bertalan (1914), H. Toth Jozsef (1914), Sz. Toth Jozsef (1926), Zs. Toth Jozsef

(1914), Toth Janos (1912), Turoczy Bertalan (1896), Turoczy Tibor (1925), Varga Bela (1924), Varga Bertalan (1897).

### Muzsaly (Nagy-)

Almasi Karoly (1903), Almasi Pal (1926), Almasi Gusztav (1920), Babik Laszlo (1916), Bako Elek (1911), Beregszaszi Gusztav (1912), Beregszaszi Miklos (1897), Beregszaszi Pal (1914), Beregszaszi Istvan (1909), Beregszaszi Lajos (1900), Dr. Bereczky Gusztav (1921), Bereczky Gyorgy (1903), Birta Gabor (1900), Bodnar Sandor (1900), Bonyar Dezso (1900), Csipo Ferenc (1919), Csipo Andras (1900), Daboci Daniel (?), Dancs Ferenc (1909), Debreceni Istvan (1902), Delegan Gyorgy (1907), Doka Andras (1900), Ekk Istvan (1915), if. Fiser Geza (1925), id. Fiser Geza (1896), Fiser Ferenc (1905), Fring Pal (1903), Gonci Istvan (1903), Grica Sandor (1915), Homoki Sandor (1925), id. Horvath Pal (1898), if. Horvath Pal (1925), Hunyadi Istvan (1925), Hurcik Jozsef(1910), Ivancsik Sandor (1907), Juhasz Istvan (1925), Kenez Ferenc (1903), Kenez Jozsef (1922), Kis Pal (1901), Kis Gyorgy (1904), Kis Sandor (1909) Kertesz Sandor (1900), Keresztesi-Gazda Bela (1925), Kocsis Balint (1900\_ Kovacs Lajos (1911), Kovacs Istvan (1900) Kovacs Imre (1899), Kovacs Sandor (1924), Kovacs Istvan (1910), Kovacs Bertalan (1911), Kocsis Pal ;1904), Kocsis Sandor (1908), Kover Ferenc (1926), Kover Janos (1922), Kun Ferenc (1900), Kremer Gusztav (1912), Lengyel Andras (1914), Lorincz Sandor (1919), Lorincz Tamas (1900), ifj. Lorincz Tamas (1926), Marinka Istvan (?), Marko Jozsef (?); Matola Jozsef (1903), Mate Janos (1900), Mate Endre (1894), Mate Sandor (1903), Mate Andras (1900), Miklosi Bela (1903), Miko Gusztav (1910), Mohacsek Istvan (1903), Nagy Ferenc (1904), Nagy Sandor (1900), Nagy Imre (1895), Nagy Andras (1900), Nagy Jozsef(1900), Nagy Janos (1896), Nagy Istvan (1906), Narancsik Imre (1910), Olcsvari Janos (1904), Orgovan Mozes (1904), Palfi Jozsef (1925), Pataki Gusztav (1902), Pataki Sandor (1926), Pataki Karoly (1926), Papp Pal (1910), Pal Sandor (1900), Peto Janos (1903), Peto Lajos (1908), Peto Mihaly (1912), Popovics Janos (1902), Pok Istvan (1920), Pok Miklos (1927), Puskas Pal (1917), Pusztai Ferenc (1918), Pusztai Bela (1916), Reti Janos (1906), Ruscsak Janos (1897), Salanki Janos (1895), id. Seres Antal (1899), itj. Seres Antal (1926), Simon Andras (?), Simon Dezso (1925), Szabo Mihaly (1900), Szatmari Pal (1922), Szegedi Istvan (1910), Sztreha Janos (1903), Sztreha Gyula (1925), Tarpai Janos (1900), Tarpai Mihaly (1914), Toth Pal (1906), Toth Lajos (1908), Toth Menyhert (1900), Toth Elemer (1924), Toth Zoltan (1925), Toth Lajos (1926), Toth Sandor (1900), Toth Balazs (1905), Toth Moricz (1926); Tuzes Sandor (1903), Tuzes Jozsef (1915), Tuzes Balazs (1925), Tuzes Bela (1916), Tuzes Janos (1909), Tuzes Mihaly (1914), Varga Lajos (1910),

Varga Boldizsar (1897), Varju Sandor (1901), Vaci Lajos (1910), Vereb Lajos (1910).

### Rafajnaufalu

Antal Sandor (1915), Antal Zsigmond (1925), Barta Vince (1914), Barta Daniel (1907), Bimba Bela (1909), Demeter Tamas (1925), Hegedus Lajos (1900), Hegedus Zsigmond (1925), Hete Lajos (1923); Vanyi Gyula (1926).

### Sarosoroszi

Babel Imre (1896), Brekoczki Jozsef (1905), Bundovics Imre (1905), Bundovics Andras (1907), Csurman Janos (1904), Doma Zsigmond (1908), Drotar Jozsef (1923), Filep Peter (1911), Feher Jozsef (1909), Gal Bela (1900), Gati Laszlo (1907), Gal Andras (1925), Gyurko Sandor (1924), Gyurko Balazs (1919), Gyurko Jozsef(1912), Heder Anton (1903), Heder Bela (1910), Heder Mihaly (1918), Heder Pal (1902), Heder Balint (1899), Jankoczki Janos (1911), Konc Andras (1900), Kosa Laszlo (1908), ifj. Lorincz Karoly (1907), Lorincz Bertalan (1912), Lakatos Geza (1906), Mihok Istvan (1917), Mihok Jozsef (1910), Orosz Andras (1908), Pistak Mihaly (1905), Pistak Peter (1895), Pogyor Andras (1923), Pogyor Istvan (1925), Pogyor Jozsef (1895), Pogyor Karoly (1898), Pataki Jozsef(1899), Sebi Karoly (1901), Sebi Istvan (1898), Salanki Janos (1898), Szolics Karoly (1924), Szabo Karoly (1902), Szircsak Karoly (1902), Szircsak Karoly (1899), Szircsak Jozsef (1901), Szekely Zsigmond (1901), Toth Istvan (1911), Toth Miklos (1919), ifj. Toth Janos (?), Varju Istvan (1905), Vilicsku Istvan (1913).

WW II losses:

Babel Sandor (1920), Barkaszi Istvan (1914), Bundovics Bela (1913), Dobronyi Andras (1921), Doma Jozsef(1922), Gyurko Balazs (1919), Gyurko Jozsef (1912), Hagymas Jozsef (1908), Hagymas Karoly (1922), Heder Sandor (1912), Pogyor Lajos (1915), Sima Jozsef (1909).

### Tiszacsoma

Abrany Sandor (1913), Babinec Bela (1925), Babinec Mihaly (1900), Bakancsos Elek (1903), Banyasz Jozsef(1908), Beca Andras (1906), Csuha Dezso (1905), Dobronyi Balint (1904), Fekete Miklos (1901), Fekete Miklos (1914), Jakab Elek (1905), Jakab Albert (1924), Jakab Mihaly (1923), Jakab Istvan (1898), Kosztyu Mihaly (1905), Kosztyu Janos (1907), Kosztyu Janos (1921), Kosztyu Peter (1896), Kosztyu Jozsef(1901), Kovacs Miklos (1914), Molnar Endre (1913), Nagy

Karoly (1913), Nagy Karoly (1897), Nagy Karoly (1924), Pallagi Andras (1922), Pallagi Sandor (1925), Papp Peter (1897), Papp Imre (1923), Pal Jozsef (1924), Popovics Jozsef(1921), Posze Peter (1910), Rati Gyula (1906), Ruszin Balint (1902), Szuhan Jozsef (1905), Szerceg Elek (1911), Toth Istvan (1902), Toth Jozsef(1901), Toth Lajos (1898), Varju Bertalan (1910), Virosztek Jozsef (1923).

### Ujbatyu

Bako Mihaly (1906), Barate Andras (1897), Barate Janos (?) Barszaki Sandor (1896), Demjen Jozsef (1908), Horvath Ferenc (1922), Pal Ferenc (1901), id. Simon Janos (1898), ifj. Simon Jozsef (1925), Tamasi Ferenc (1904), Toth Janos (1905).

WW II losses:

Borcsik Ferenc (1904), Ember Peter (1917).

### Zapszony

Budo Janos, Csernati Pal, Gerics Jozsef, Szabo Imre, Szabo Sandor, Szabo Gabor, Toth Andras, Toth Sandor, Turoczy Istvan, Varga Imre.

### Vari (Mezo-)

Albok Sandor (1908), Bajnok Andras (1913), Bajnok Janos (1906), Bajnok Jozsef (1913), Barta Dezso (1924), Barta Gabor (1909), Barta Gusztav (1911), Barta Istvan (1902), Barta Istvan (1926), Barta Gyula (1922), Barta Janos (1903), Barta Sandor (1908), Barta Odon (1907), Ban Sandor (1926), Beregszaszi Lajos (1917), Beregszaszi Sandor (1918), Benecs Gusztav (1901), Berki Dezso (1912), Biro Dezso (1905), Biro Karoly (1923), Borbas Arpad (1926), Borbely Sandor (1905), Borbely Janos (1906), Brodi Mihaly (1904), Debreceni Lajos (1908), Debreceni Balazs (1898), Debreceni Gusztav (1907), Debreceni Jozsef(1916), Domokos Karoly (1907), Domokos Sandor (1912), Erdei Elek (1910), Erdei Bertalan (1919), Farkas Andras (1900), Farkas Karoly (1922), Feke Jozsef (1908), File Janos (1899), File Karoly (1915), Fulop Jozsef (1912), Fulop Gusztav (1912), Gal Janos (1906), Gal Ferenc (1913), Gal Samuel (1900), Gal Sandor (1906), Gancsos Tamas (1912), Halasz Pal (1916), Hajla Istvan (1924), Hankovszki Lajos (1900), Jakab Kalman (1898), Jakab Istvan (1914), Jakab Bela (1926), Janosi Gyorgy (1914), Jozan Boldizsar (1905), Jozan Gusztav (1905), Jozan Istvan (1910), Karolyi Pal

(1916), Kis Jozsef (1901), Kis Karoly (1926), Kenyeres Janos (1899), Kenyeres Jozsef (1908), Kenyeres Andras (1910), Kondor Antal (1905), Kondor Pal (1910), Kondor Jozsef (1925), Kovacs Endre (1913), Kovacs Gabor (1895), Kovacs Gabor (1925), Kovacs Dezso (1905), Kovacs Zsigmond (1923), Kosa Bertalan (1919), Kosa Ferenc (1920), Kosa Lajos (1924), Kontra Istvan (1913), Kover Gyula (1924), Kerekes Dezso (1906), Lacko Sandor (1903), Lacko Janos (1906), Lakatos Karoly (1909), Lengyel Janos (1912), Lengyel Gabor (1902), Lengyel Lorinc (1902), Lengyel Bertalan (1905), Lengyel Sandor (1906), Lengyel Jozsef(1908), Lengyel Andras (1908), Loncsak Daniel (1925), Loncsak Lajos (1925), Makkai Kalman (1916), Makkai Lajos (1906), Makkai Sandor (1922), Matyus Dezso (1906), Mester Lajos (1913), Miklosi Gyula (1923), Molnar Sandor (1910), Molnar Jozsef (1914), Molnar Lajos (1919), Molnar Sandor (1898), Molnar Istvan (1902), Molnar Istvan (1920), More Ferenc (1909), Monus Lajos (1925), Nagy Lajos (1907); Nagy Sandor (1907), Nagy Bela (1923), Nanasi Gabor (1903), Nyiri Jozsef (1904), Nyilas Lajos (1906), Olah Lajos (1903), Ombodi Sandor (1922), Orosz Sandor (1924), Paladi Jozsef(1906), Papp Jozsef (1921), Pal Janos (1902), Pal Sandor (1912), Petrovics Janos (1905), Polyak Gyorgy (1908), Polyak Bertalan (1898), Polyik Ferenc (1903), Polyik Jozsef (1912), Polyik Karoly (1917), Racin Andras (1925), Resko Istvan (1924), Revicki Dezso (1893), Revicki Dezso (1926), Repasi Gabor (1900), Repasi Sandor (1926), Sarkadi Karoly (1907), Seffer Jozsef(1913), Somogyi Janos C1895), Szarka Gabor (1910), Szarka Sandor (1903), Szarka Lajos (1918), Szarka Karoly (1905), I. Szarka Andras (1902), I. Szarka Andras (1902), Szarka Andras (1923), Szarka Zsigmond (1912), I. Szarka Elemer (1916), I. Szarka Elemer (1917), Szarka Dezso (1916), Szarka Gusztav (1926), Szarka Tamas (1916), Szabo Gusztav (1899), Szabo Albert (1926), Szasz Gabor (1919), Szeles Sandor (1914), I. Szilagyi Jozsef(1910), I. Szilagyi Jozsef(1924), Szucs Janos (1926), Tariska Bela (1898), Torzsas Gabor (1898), Torzsas Andras (1926), Torzsas Endre (1908), Torzsas Janos (1915), Toth Karoly (1898), Toth Sandor (1912), Torok Zsigmond (1906), Varga Sandor (1913); Varga Lajos (1923), Varga Bela (1922), Varga Lajos (1924), Varga Istvan (1908), Varadi Gyula (1925), Varadi Jozsef (1925), Vass Ferenc (1912), Vass Aron (1909), Vari Lajos (1926), Veres Sandor (1912), Vince Sandor (1906), Vince Antal (1904).

#### Aknaszlatina

Avasan Andras (1918), Avasan Laszlo (1911), Benedek Marton (1896), Bukor Miklos (18891, if. Bukor Miklos (1924), Banyasz Ferenc (1919), Beszerman Janos

(1906), Borody Janos (1911), Barati Janos (1904), Benedek Sandor (1924) Bertin Nandor (?) Bozsuk Mihaly (1916) Bocskai Bela (?), Borody Istvan (1905), Csaholyi Jozsef (1906), Csaholyi Bertalan (1919), Csaholyi Nandor (1917), Csonka Ferenc (1899), Csonka Jozsef (1911) Derecskei Jozsef (1911), Dancs Istvan (1920), Debreeni Lajos (1920) Engli Ferenc (1909), Feher Imre (1906), Franko Jozsef (1925), Fodor Sandor (1926), Filip Sandor (1925), ifj. Frank Jozsef (1922) , Feher Lajos (1917), Fulop Lajos (?), Galgoczi Aladar (?), Gorog Janos (?) Gurka Jozsef (?), Gurka Janos (1912), Gorog Ferenc (1912), Gerbel Istvan (1914), Gorog Peter (1922), Gurka Lajos (1912), Gurka Andras (?), Gal Jozsef (1912), Holcberger Ferenc (1917), Holcberger Sandor (1918), Holcberger Zoltan (1903), Holcberger Ferenc (1909), Holcberger Jenő (1912), Hajdu Imre (1914), Hajdu Istvan (1911), Hajdu Janos (1910), Horbasz Gyula (1919), Huszar Janos (1914), Imlauer Janos (1905), Imlauer Karoly (1900), Kovacs Jozsef(1912), Kovacs Istvan I 1900), Kovacs Janos (1906), Kovacs Gyorgy (1895), Kotka Jozsef (1900), Kotka Janos (1912) Kolozsvari Jozsef (1906), Keresztyen Karoly (1907), Kereszteny Jozsef (1911) Kereszteny Janos (1902), Kozma Zsigmond (1904), Kondra JaNOS (1918), Kormendi Istvan (1918), Krapacs Janos (1914), Koszovan Istvan (1906), Kemeny Istvan (1901), Kontor Gyula (1914), Kondra Jozsef (1917), Korosi Gyorgy (1924) Kraval Imre (1919), Koszovan Peter (1904), Kruk Janos (1924), Kosztinszki Istvan (1914), Kosztinszki Peter (1917), Kutasi Gyula (1921), Lakatos Sandor (1919), Lenkei Janos (1899), Minya Bela (1912), Mihalka Mihaly (1910), Minya Jozsef(1916), Minya Istvan (1916), Meszaros Sandor (1914), Mira Miklos (1904), Melega Jozsef (1906), Melega Antal (1901), ModicsLajos (1919), Moldovan Sandor (1902), Munkacsi Mihaly (1918), Munkacsi Ferenc (?), Miklos Jozsef (?), Nagy Laszlo, Nyikora Laszlo (1902), Nezepa Jozsef(1907), Nezepa Bela (?), Nemeti Bela (1915), Nemeti Vilmos (1903), Orosz Janos (1921), Orosz Laszlo (1901), Paladi Bela (1904), Paladi Jenő (1905) Papp Mihaly (1901), Papp Lajos (1914), Papp Jozsef (1907), Papp Janos (1902), Papp Jozsef (1914), Papp Janos (1912), Pataki Miklos (1907) Polacsek Jozsef (1914), Pantlik Mihaly (1907), Pohl Istvan (1911), Pohl Janos (1913), Pantlik Istvan (1912), Peter Sandor (1912), Pragyid Sandor (1916), Reisz Jozsef (1907) Reisz Istvan (1907), Raba Sandor (1925), Raba Janos (1908), Rusznak Janos (1911) Stercli Jozsef (1903), Stercli Karoly (1907), Snepp Jozsef (1900), Snepp Miklos (1904), Snepp Karoly (1908), Schroff Bela (1909), id. Schroff Bela (1910), Slarku Mihaly (1899), Schroff Albert (1922), Schroff Janos (1922), Skerhak Janos (1908), Stark Jozsef (1906), Slarku Janos (1902), Simko Istvan (1914), Simko Jozsef (1915), Simko Vilmos (1912), Slarku Sandor (1921), Sonkadi Gyorgy (1899), Spak Sandor (1895); Spak Antal (1917), Svajger Janos (1915), Sutta Janos (?), Sutta Jozsef (1917), Szabo Istvan (1906) Szakacs Laszlo (1914),

Szamoilov Viktor (1912), Szedlak Andras (1913), Szedlak Antal (1904), Szedlak Istvan (1907), Sztaronszki Mihaly (1906), Traxler Arpad (1905), Traxel Marton (1909), Traxler Antal (1910), Traxler Ferenc (1902), Traxler Gabor (1905), Traxler Janos (1926) Trajszta Istvan (1906), Tamaska Janos (1900), Tamas Janos (1905), Takar Janos (1904), Szabo Janos (1917), Tamas Sandor (1925), Tatar Bela (1911), Terentyak Sandor (1907), Tamas Janos (1912), Terentyak Elek (1918), Vajnagi Karoly (1910), Vizaver Ferenc (1907), Veszelo vszki Jenő (1905), Vello si Gyorgy (1924), Vrazsgyak Jozsef (1906), Zborovszki Karoly (1904).

WW II losses:

Dudla Istvan, Erdelyi Janos, Filip Lajos, Kuban Albert, Munkacsi Ferenc, Nazarovics Jozsef, Simko Jozsef, Szedlak Antal, Tamasko Jozsef.

### Bustyahaza

Czauner Geza, Cziller Jozsef, Cziller Zoltan, Hausberger Janos, Kellner Ignac, Nemet (?), Maramarossy Istvan, Maramarossy Jenő, Reiz Rudolf, Roman Sandor, Sterczl Ferenc, Szalka Laszlo, Takar Istvan.

### Gyertyanliget

Csillik Jozsef (1912), Csillik Miklos (1910), Drimus Janos (1920), Erdelyi Ferenc (1923), Erdelyi Peter (1918), Florian Gyorgy (?), Enrich Miklos (1916), Kortvelyesi (Herman) Gyula (1907), Huszti Antal (?), Illia Istvan (1910), Kandai Arnold (1903), Kandai Oszkar (1905), Karla Albert (1911), Kravz Gyula (1916), Moulisz Jozsef (1897), Penzes Stadler (?), Sardi Jozsef (1908), Seff Jozsef (?), Schneider Andras (1905), Schneider Jozsef (?), Schvamberg Jozsef (1923), Tuser Jozsef (?), Toth Jozsef (1904), Wermester Gyozo (1899), Weiner Jozsef (?), Zinn Istvan (1905), Zinn Gyula (1923), Zinn Jenő (1919), Zadranszky Bela (?).

### Huszt

Balog Gyula (1917), Boros Janos (1903), Gerhardt Janos (1897), Gosta Jozsef (1911), Konig Frigyes (1905), Olasz Mihaly (1909), Sin Antal (1889), Szauner Istvan (1893).



## Korosmezo

Adler Adolf, Aczberger Lajos, Biro Pal, Bobrovszky Rezso, Bobrovszky Jozsef, Ferenczi Jozsef, Frindt Janos, Francz Ferenc, Francz Ferenc R., Frindt Jozsef, Hamuth Jozsef, Kirchner Istvan, Kirchner Karoly, Kirchner Pal, Kirchner Raimund, Leitner Antal, Lengyel Istvan, Lengyel Mihaly, Lengyel Raimund, Milcsevics Lajos, Neiman Antal, Reparuk Ferenc, Reparuk Istvan, Skerhak Nandor, Szadeczky Imre, Szentimrey Sandor, Wolf Sandor, Wisauer Antal.

## Nagybocsko

Alsanszky Ferenc (1909), Batori Jozsef (1895), Fodor Ferenc (1903), Horbasz Antal (1926), Hormanszki Ferenc (1896), Janovszky Jozsef (1914), Kadas Karoly (1912), Mutter Jakab (1912), Novodarszky Ferenc (1915), Pelion Jozsef (1903), Reisch Ludwig (1904), Selega Imre (1925), Simon Bertalan (1900), Szabo Andras (1908), Szabo Laszlo (1916), Szucs Ferenc (1907), Traxler Bela (1914), Traxler Jozsef (1917), Varadi Sandor (1912), Vince Aladar (1910), Zadranszky Gusztav (1913), Zelenko Imre (1917).

## Raho

Anger Bela (1901), Andriovszki Gyula (1898), Baron Emil (1909), Balogh Gyula (1918), Brandisz Jakab (1896), Faltinszky Jakab (1894), Falticsko Jozsef (1925), Francz Jozsef (1926), Hamut Jozsef (1904), Honis Matyas (1901), Honis Janos (1902), Honis Lajos (1916), Kulcsar Gyula (1912), Krafta Bela (1919), Lajtner Antal (1910), Lengyel Bertalan (1907), Milcsevics Jozsef (1897), Milcsevics Jozsef (1911), Milcsevics Laszlo (1913), Petroczi Gyula (1904), Minich Peter (?), Sleiher Jozsef (1901), Sleiher Gyula (1926), Smotzer Antal (1904), Stadler Lajos (?), Stadler Karoly (1898), Stadler Emil (1900), Traxler Bela (1924), Tuser Jozsef (1903), Wisauer Karoly (1896), Wainrauch Jozsef (1898), Zaharovics Jozsef (1906).

## Szolyva

Enyedi Jozsef, Hutira Antal, Papp Bela, Peterlik-Pencer Marta, Udvarhelyi Imre.

## Tecso

Bacai Bela (1899), Balo Karoly (1890), Banyasz Sandor (1901), Bartos Endre (1899), Biro Gabor (1924), Braun Ferenc (1911), Bucsok Emil (1926), Cebely Imre (1905), Compa Elek (?), Csetnek Istvan (1925), Csik Ferenc (1920), Debreceni Karoly (1906), Debreceni Lajos (1916), Debreceni Istvan (1911), Erdo Sandor (1901), Erdo Albert (1903), Erdo Albert (1908), Erdo Zsigmond (1908), Erdo Bela (1919), Fekete Zsigmond (1908), Gazda Lajos (1901), Gosta Jozsef (?), Gati Jozsef (?), Hanka Balint (1924), Horbasz Sandor (1899), Horvath Imre (1901), Izsak Imre (?), Joros Mihaly (1915), Kaszo Ferenc (1911), Kaszo Bela (1926), Kaszo Karoly (1901), Kazinci Ferenc (1909), Kegyes Sandor (1901), Kerekes Endre (1912), Kekesi Andras (1910), Kekesi Istvan (1906), Kekesi Lajos (1903), Kekesi Sandor (1920), Kiss Janos (1909), Koos Lajos (1907), Koos Albert (1917), Koos Endre (1911), Kozma Lajos (1902), Kantor Sandor (1917), Korozsi Karoly (1912), Lajos Janos (1904), Lesovszki Istvan (1905), Meszaros Imre (1915), Meszaros Karoly (1922), Meszaros Balint (1904), Munkacsi Karoly (1923), Meszaros Albert (1906), Munkacsi Istvan (1904), Munkacsi Arpad (1924), Monya Sandor (?), Nemeti Karoly (1904), Novak Gyorgy (1924), Roman Gyula (1910), Roman Zsigmond (1905), Roman Istvan (1905), Roman Balint (1908), Roman Sandor (1901), Roman Imre (1924), Roman Albert (1922), Rozsi Sandor (1910), Rozsi Imre (?), Rozsi Lajos (1913), Rudai Sandor (1926), Sofalusi Istvan (1900), Sofalusi Sandor (1898), Salka Pal (?), Szenek Sandor (1908), Szepi Janos (1927), Penzes Janos (1905), Tatar Imre (1911), Toth Bela (1926), Toth Imre (1926), Onodi Gyorgy (?), Varga Istvan (1923).

## Visk

Adler Karoly (1906), Bacsai Tamas (1917), Bacsai Jozsef (1903), Balazs Karoly (1910), Bakkai Lajos (1926), Banyai Jozsef (1900), Berecz Jozsef (1917), Berecz Balint (1919), Becske Imre (1924), Becske Janos (1903), Berki Samuel (1903), Berecz Lajos (1901), Botos Imre (1897), Botos Bela (1921), Botos Imre (1904), Botos Lajos (1898), Czebely Balint (1904), Czebely Balint (1907), Czebely Gyula (1902), Czebely Lajos (1901), Czebely Sandor (1909), Decsi Sandor (1911), Domocs Istvan (1900), Deak Jozsef (1927), Godi Karoly (1919), Fodd Jozsef (1924), Farkas Imre (1904), Farkas Marton (1896), Fesus Jozsef (1903), Hanka Imre (1909), Hanka Karoly (1923), Hanka Jozsef(?), Hanka Imre (1905), Horvat Marton (1901), Heczeli Jozsef(1912), Heczeli Balint (1910), Heczeli Imre (1912), Heczeli Imre (1909), Heczeli Imre (1918), Heczeli Balint (1902), Heczeli Balint (1912), Heczeli Marton (1924), Heder Jozsef (1914), Heder Barna (1924), Heder

Jozsef (1907), Heder Jozsef (1915), Huber Istvan (1907), Igyarto Imre (1911), Igyarto Lajos (1925), Jancso Imre (1915), Jenei Imre (1906), Joros Lajos C1896), Kruzsely Imre (1904), Kruzsely Lajos (1925), Kruzsely Lajos (1917), Kaszo Lajos (1928), Kurpe Jozsef (1907), Kun Karoly (1904), Kincses Daniel (1896), Lator Gyula (1909), Langrof Albert (1905), Langrof Sandor (1909), Langrof Jozsef(1907), Lingvai Imre (1904), Nacinec Lajos (1903), Otvos Jozsef(1911), Pal Janos (1900), Poncz Pal (1915), Poncz Marton (1907), Pufler Gyula (1922), Pufler Jozsef (1900), Ponevacs Bela (1901), if. Ponevacs Bela (1925), Pol Lajos (1925), Rozsi Janos (1898), Rozsi Karoly (1910), Rozsi Gyula (1925), S. Lator Sandor (1909), Stefanovics Jozsef(1908), Stok Imre (1908), Stok Karoly (1917), Stok Bela (1925), Suta Jozsef (1913), Suto Balint (1922), Szabo Pal (1900), Sztojka Gyula (1904), Szabo Geza (1925), Szup Sandor (1905), Szepi Imre (1909), Torjai Ferenc (1915), Toth Jozsef(1905), Toth Karoly (1911), Varga Gyula (1916), Zsambok Jozsef (1900), Zsigo Sandor (1911).

#### Barkaszo

Balogh Bela, Balogh Karoly, Balogh Ferenc, Balint Janos, Bihari Jozsef, Boros Balint, Csoma Mihaly, Egri Kalman, Fejes Menyhert, Gorei Ferenc, Gorei Ignac, Gorei Pal, Galambosi Bela, Galambosi Janos, Gyorgy Miklos, Gyorgy Tibor, Hadar Gyula, Hadar Lajos, Hadar Zsigmond, Halasz Bela, Halasz Janos, Halasz Ferenc, Horvath Andras, Horvath Karoly, Horvath Karoly, Horvath Lajos, Horvath Laszlo, Halasz Gyula, Horvath Janos, Halasz Sandor, Kalman Geza, Kovacs Bela, Kodoboc Ferenc, Koleszar Gyula, Kuni Gyula, Lazar Mihaly, Mate Laszlo, Nemethy Janos, Orosz Mihaly, Pole Mihaly, Pallagi Janos, Pallagi Mihaly, Pallagi Ferenc, Suto Bertalan, Suto Bela, Suto Jozsef, Suto Endre, Suto Sandor, Suto Menyhert, Suto Zsigmond, Szalontai Bela, Szalontai Ferenc, Szalontai Elemer, Szalontai Mihaly, Szalontai Jozsef, Szanyi Ferene, Szanyi Mihaly, Szolnoki Laszlo, Szegedi Lajos, Toth Pal, Toth Istvan, Szanyi Jozsef, Mezei Imre, Varga Bela, Varga Laszlo, Vantus Balint, Vantus Gyorgy, Vantus Gyula, Vantus Sandor, Vantus Pal, Ujvari Janos, Rapka Jozsef.

#### Beregrakos

Bara Karoly, Bolyog Peter, Bolyog K. Mihaly, Bolyog K. Karoly, Balla Bela, Bolyog Mihaly, Bolyog Janos, Bolyog Z. Sandor, Bolyog K. Andras, Bolyog P. Sandor, Bara G. Sandor, Bara Pal, Doktor A. Mihaly, Doktor Bela Andras, Doktor Gergely, Doktor P. Sandor, Darcsi Beni, Goci M. Mihaly, Golnici Sandor, Goci B.

Sandor, Goci Matyas, Goci Sz. Jozsef, Goci Mihaly, Goci Jenő, Goci Lajos, Goci N. Kalman, Goci Matyas, Kantor Imre, Kiss D. Mihaly, Kozma Samuel, Kopasz Sandor, Kalman Endre, Molnar Gy. Janos, Molnar Gy. Jozsef, Molnar I. Imre, Molnar G. Janos, Molnar G. Zoltan, Molnar G. Sandor, Molnar Gy. Gyorgy, Molnar B. M. Karoly, Molnar M. Jozsef, Molnar B. Zoltan, Molnar Jenő, Meszar B. Marton, Meszar D. Gyorgy, Meszar Samuel, Meszar D. Istvan, Meszar B. Gyorgy, Pallagi M. Janos, Toth J. Balint, Toth L. Andras, Tar Balint, Toth J. Matyas, Tar B. Mihaly, Toth J. Mihaly, Toth P. Sandor, Tar B. Sandor, Tar Gy. Karoly, Toth M. Andras, Tar M. Janos, Tar M. Sandor, Toth J. Sandor, Vass Gy. Andras, Vass Gy. Sandor, Vass B. Janos, Vass D. Janos, Vass Gy. Janos, Vass Gy. Sandor, Vass Balint.

### Csongor

Baksa Bertalan, Baksa Lajos, Baksa Peter, Baksa Ferenc, Baksa Kalman, Baksa Matyas, Baksa Tamas, Baksa Jozsef, Balint Janos, Biro Endre, Biro Bela, Biro Miklos, Biro Balazs, Biro Bertalan, Bodnar Janos, Csakany Bela, Csakany Geza, Csakany Karoly, Csakany Kalman, Csakany Dezso, Csakany Mihaly, Csoka Gyula, Csoka Erno, Dano Matyas, Fejes Ferenc, Foldi Endre, Gyorgy Endre Gyorgy Ferenc, Gyorgy Jozsef, Hadar Bela S., Hadar Bela I., Hadar Bela P., Hadar Vine, Hadar Mihaly, Hadar Zsigmond, Hadar Andras, Hadar Balint A., Hadar Balint V., Hadar Gyula, Hadar Sandor, Hadar Geza, Hadar Zoltan, Hadar Istvan, Holovej Istvan, Kiraly Marton, Kopasz Karoly, Kopasz Kalman, Kelemen Balazs, Kelemen Pal, Kelemen Sandor, Kovacs Bela, Kovacs Ferenc, Kovacs Gyula, Kovacs Imre, Molnar Miklos, Marton Balint, Marton Istvan, Marton Karoly, Marton Gyula, Marton Tamas, Misak Balint, Misak Bela, Misak Dezso, Misak Istvan, Misak Ferenc, Misak Karoly, Misak Gyula, Nagy Janos, Nagy Andras, Papp Mihaly, Orosz Sandor, Sandor Balazs, Sandor Ferenc F. (1903), Sandor Ferenc F. (1912), Sandor Ferenc M., Sandor Tamas, Sandor Zsigmond, Sandor Bela, Sandor Lajos, Sandor Mihaly, Sandor Geza, Sandor Matyas, Sass Jozsef, Sass Bela, Sass Imre, Sido Jozsef, Simon Endre, Szkiba Peter, Tamasi Ferenc Jozsef, Tamasi Ferenc Janos, Tamasi Ferenc F., Tamasi Andras, Tamasi Balint, Tamasi Bela, Tamasi Kalman, Tamasi Samuel, Tamasi Sandor, Tamasi Zsigmond, Toth Bela.

### Dercen

Bakos Bela (1926), Bakos Bertalan (1911), Bakos Geza (1926) Bakos Geza (1905), Bakos Ignac (1900), Bakos Matyas (1916), Balla Antal (1913), Balla

Jozsef (1914), Balla Pal (1903), Biro Albert (1920), Biro Arpad (1900), Biro Lajos (1912), Biro Peter (1908) Biro Lajos (1901), Biro Sandor (1922), Biro Sandor (1907), Biro Sandor (1925), David Imre (1900) Doka Jozsef (1878), Doka Jozsef (1904), Fodor Andras (1923), Fodor Andras (1903), Fodor Jozsef (1921), Fodor Sandor (1922), Fodor Tamas (1922), Fodor Tamas (1924), Gorondi Bela (1910), Gorondi Beni (1911), Gorondi Zsigmond (1914), Hee Ferenc (1905), Hee Sandor (1889), Horvath Antal (1909), Horvath Elemer (1905), Ivan Andras (1902), Ivan Jozsef (1926), Kiraly Jozsef (1913), Kopasz Balint (1905), Kopasz Janos (1921), Kopasz Janos (1899), Kopasz Pal (1910), Lorinc Antal (1906), Lorinc Sandor (1900), Lorinc Tamas (1910), Mate Andras (1896), Mate Anta) (1926), Mate Samuel (1925), Mate Tamas (1900), Nagy Bela (1923), Orosz Andras (1907), Orosz Daniel (1914), Orosz Erno (1905), Orosz Janos (1923), Orosz Jozsef (1903) Orosz Jozsef (1892), Orosz Jozsef (1909), Orosz Sandor (1896) Orosz Tamas (1910), Orosz Vince (1925), Patai Lajos (1903), Patai Sandor (1909), Pelsoci Imre (1922), Pelsoci Zsigmond (1924), Puskas Pal (1902), Puskas Peter (1890), Szabo Andras (1924), Szabo Antal (1890), Szabo Bela (1905), Szabo Jozsef I. (1915), Szabo Jozsef II. (190?), Szabo Jozsef III. (1907), Szabo Karoly (1905), Szabo Sandor (1908).

WW II losses:

Bakos Albert (1915), Bakos Imre (1920), Bakos Karoly (1911), Bakos Lajos (1921), Balazs Karoly (1921), Balazs Peter (1912), Barta Ferenc (1915), Biro Peter (1900), Darcsi Andras (1922), Fodor Aladar (1919), Fodor Zsigmond (1921), Gorondi Balint (1903), Gorondi Bela (1900), Hee Jozsef (1910), Ivan Lajos (1911), Kopasz Geza (1920), Kopasz Imre (1916), Kopasz Lajos (1919), Lukacs Lajos (1914), Maronics Janos (1915), Marce Tamas (1907), Mate Balazs (1920), Mate Imre (1877), Pelsoci Karoly (1916), Szabo Andras (1886).

### Fornos

Bekfu Bela (1926), Bodnar Jozsef (1903), Cs. Darcsi Antal (1906), G. Darcsi Bela (1900), N. Darcsi Beni (1900), L. Darcsi Beni (1905), Cs. Darcsi Jozsef (1923), K Darcsi Pal (1925), M. Darcsi Sandor (1900), P. Darcsi Sandor (1912), B. Darcsi Sandor (1925) P. Darcsi Tamas (1909), V. Darcsi Tamas (1913), Dumi Bela (1900), K. Kukri Andras (1906), Gy. Kukri Janos (1915), Kukri Vince (1905), Nagy Ignac (1906), G. Nagy Mihaly (1906), Pupas Beni (1910).

### Izsnyete

Bahus Jozsef (1896), Bahus Jozsef (1903), Bahus Jozsef J. (1908) Bahus Kalman (1911), Bahus Janos (1914), Balog Daniel (?), Balog Sandor(1904), Bence Jozsef (1915), Bence Sandor (1895), Bene Geza (1923), Bence Mihaly (1901), Bence Dezso (1926), Bence Janos (1900), Bekfi Istvan (1895), Bojog Sandor (1910), Csakany Sandor (1910), Deak Geza (1924), Doka Imre (1902), Goci Geza (1925), Goci Geza (?), Hidi Kalman (1914), Jaro Albert (1907), Lorinc Ferenc (1924), Molnar Gabor (1897), Orosz Sandor (1903), Orosz Jozsef (1907), Orosz Mihaly (1919), Orosz Jozsef S. (1927), Orosz Bela (1914), Orosz Ferenc (1900), Orosz Janos (1901), Orosz Mihaly J. (1902), Pallagi Ferenc (1918), Pallagi Dezso (1924), Pallagi Jozsef (1908), Pallagi Sandor (1902), Pallagi Imre (1907), Sido Janos (1924), Toth Geza (1923), Toth Gyula (1910), Vank Jozsef(1907).

WW II losses:

Bahus Jozsef (1916), Bahus Dezso (1921), Deak Kalman (1916), Geci Ferenc (1917), Kopasz Endre (1917), Orosz Albert (1920), Orosz Dezso (1920), Orosz Jozsef (1913), Orosz Kalman (1920), Pallagi Jozsef(1922), Vank Jenő (1915).

### Munkacs

Adam Dezso, Adam Geza, Balogh Sandor, Balog Laszlo, Bartos Tibor, Bazar Gyorgy, Barzso Janos, Bencze Oszkar, Bernat Dezso, Bertok Janos, Bihari Karoly, Bodonyi Antal, Borbe Istvan, Bodoki (?), Cipf Antal, Cipf Janos I., Cipf Janos I., Cipf Jozsef, Cipf Mihaly, Cipf Rudolf, Csanyi Bela, Darcsi Sandor, Daroczy Jozsef, Demko Mihaly, Demlich Ferenc, Demlich Miklos, Derkacs Zoltan, Dorkota Peter Pal, Puliskovics Viktor, Erdelyi Karoly, Erdos Sandor, Fekete Zoltan, Fekete Sandor, Ferenczy Janos, Fodor Tamas, Fogel Jozsef, Frink Istvan, Furik Ferenc, Fulop Ferenc, Garcsar Sandor, Gerzsenyi Bela, Glasz Gyorgy, Glasz Jozsef, Glasz Ferenc, Gerei Bela, Gyorgy Ferenc, Hausler Gyorgy, Harsanyi Gyula, Henzel Magdolna, Henel Jozsef, Kaliska Gyula, Kanizsai Jozsef, Kapornai Jozsef, Kazinczi Janos, Kepler Antal, Keker Antal, Kiraly Jozsef, Kiss Gyula, Kiss Imre, Kizman Gyorgy, Kizman Ferenc, Kizman Lenard, Kizman Mihaly, Klub Jenő, Kosztyu Janos, Kovassy Elemer, Kraner Johanna, Kraner Katalin, Kraner Janos, Kraner Ferenc, Kraner Hermina, Kraner Jozsef, Kul Dezso, Kuhl Jozsef, Kukemezei Istvan, Labath Kalman, Langbauer Bela, Lehotay Albert Zoltan, Lehotay Jozsef, if. Lehotay Jozsef, Lib Janos I., Lib Janos I., Lib Gyorgy, Limbach Vilmos, Lokker Zoltan, Major Ferenc, Mozer(?), Nemes Bela, Nagy Ignac, Nigli Viktor, Orosz Oliver, dr. Papp Gyula, Pataky Jozsef, Pataky Zoltan, Panigai Erno, Palatin(?), Percy Andras, Peter Lenard, Pfeifer Jozsef, Penzelik Gyorgy, Piller Jozsef, Pribek Ferenc, Pribek Mihaly, Robel Karoly, Sarkany Zoltan, Seffer Janos, Sehin Gyula, Stefanszki Sandor, Strausz Janos, Strausz

Mihaly, Strausz Gregor, Soter Jozsef, Szabo Janos, Szatmari Ede, Szatmary Eduard, ( 1926), Szegedi Jozsef, Szepesvary Bela, Szopo Andras, Takacs Geza, Tamasy Kalman, dr.Tarczy Karoly, Tarczy Andras, Tellinger Janos, Tajpsz Janos, Thegze Miklos, Tivadar Istvan, Torok Tibor, Vereb Vanos, Vizinger Erno, Vizinger Mihaly, Zirszak Ervin, Zatlukar Andras.

#### Szernye

Baksa Gyula, Barkaszi Karoly, Barta Jozsef, Bimba Geza, Fejes Sandor, Hodi Jozsef, Kiss Bela, Kiss Daniel Kiss Peter, Kozma Zsigmond, Kovacs Kalman, Nagy Janos, K. Orban Ferenc, Orban Kalman, Orban Vince, Orban Zsigmond, Simon Balazs, Simon Kalman, Simon Samuel, Suto Jozsef, Szabo Gabor, Szabo Sandor Szopo Zsigmond, Tamasi Andras, Tamasi Kalman, K Tar Bela, N. Tar Bela, Tar Geza, Tar Tamas, Tar Vince, Toth Kalman, Toth Balazs, K Toth Janos, Oro Gyula.

WW II losses:

Barta Geza, Bimba Imre, Bimba Ferenc, Bimba Zsigmond, Hadar Balazs, Kajla Janos, Keresztyen Balazs, Kiraly Janos Simon Zsigmond, Simon Dezso, Tar Balint, Tar Erno, Tar Ignac.

#### Akli (Oreg-)

Bocskor Antal (1921), Bocskor Pal (1902), Domokos Aladar (1909), Domokos Elemer (1905), Domokos Gyula (1902), Domokos Karoly (1906), Farkas Zsigmond (1925), Fodor Janos (1904), Nagy Istvan (1898), Oroszi Gyorgy (1900), Oroszi Istvan (1907), Oroszi Kalman (1902), Poti Janos (1921), Salamon Andras (1904), Sebestyen Sandor (1910), Szerecseny Pal (1902), Toth Gabor (1904), Toth Karoly (1902), Toth Pal (1918), Varga Gyorgy (1902).

#### Aklihegy

Armas Lajos (1902), Balar Gyorgy (1906), Bucs Istvan (1906) Fancsiki Ferenc (1924), Ferenci Jozsef(1905), Fulep Gyula (1924) Kapa Mihaly (1906), Kovacs Mihaly (1905), Kovacs Lajos (1910) Kore Gyula (1909), Kore Janos (1924), Kore Gyorgy (1924), Molnar Istvan (1924), Nemeth Ferenc (1909), Pal Ferenc (1924), Penzes Gyula (1913), Simon Pal (1894).

WW II losses:

Barin Janos, Kekes Jozsef, Kovacs Miklos, Penzes Laszlo, Vaszka Aladar.

## Batar

Barna Antal (1909), Konya Istvan (1913), Szilagyi Ferenc (1904).

## Feketeardo

Balogh Istvan (1896), Garanyi Pal (?), Hanka Dezso (1905), Ilyas Endre Kondor Ferenc (1926), Peleskei Geza (1905), Paladi Pal (1904), Paladi Odon (1903), Paladi Gyorgy (1909), id. Paladi Daniel (1897) if. Paladi Daniel (1926), Paladi Zsigmond (1895), Paladi Lajos (1906) Paladi Istvan (?), Petrus Marton (?), Risko Gyorgy (1905), Seres Lukacs (1901), Seres Sandor (?), Seres Gyorgy (1905) (1901), Szabo Aron (1895), Toth Lukacs (1904), Toth Sandor (1901), Toth Karoly (?),

## Feketepatak

Balogh Sandor (1894), Beregi Jeno (1919), Beregi Jozsef (1903) Boda Andras (1920), if. Derceni Endre (1918), Derceni Geza (1920), Dapsi Aladar (1916) Fazekas Andras (1906), Fazekas Andras B. (1909), Fazekas Arpad (1914), Fazekas Bela (1903), Fazekas Gyorgy (1924), Homoki Lajos (1898), Homoki Kalman (1920), Jana Elemer (1926), Jana Istvan (1922), Jana Frigyes (1926), Kadar Aron (1914), Kadar Sandor (1926), Kelemen Gyorgy (1909), Orban Lajos (1907), Paladi Elemer (1924), Paladi Jeno (1917) Salamon Ignac (1901), Szabo Bela (1926), Tihor Elemer (1906). Tihor Endre (1912), Tihor Gabor (1917), Tihor Tivadar (1914), Vass Tibor (1921).

## Fertosalmas

Balogh Pal (1910), Biro Andras (1919), Biro Karoly (1919), Cellar Gabor (1905), Gereben Endre ( 1912), Kover Sandor ( 1917), Kengyel Laszlo (1907), Legan Laszlo (1921), Lorincz Gyula (1917), Lorincz Jozsef(1908), Lorincz Karoly (1904), Meszaros Laszlo (1897), Mondics Endre (1906), Nagy Gergely (1914), Szabo Gaspar (1921), Szabo Gabor (1906), Szabo Gyorgy (1910), Tarackozi Gerzson (1906), Tar Imre (1923), Tegze Gabor (1918), Zelikovics Geza (1903), Zelikovics Janos (1911).

## Forgolany



Balla Karoly (1911), Balla Sandor (1921), Balogh Endre (1924), Balogh Karoly (1922), Biky Endre (1926), Biky Menyhert (1922), Biky Sandor (1914), Foris Jozsef(1904), Kincses Janos (1906), Kocsis Balint (1908), Komaromi Sandor (1902), Kondor Jozsef(1914) Nagy Albert (1905), Orosz Endre (1906), Szabo Andor (1926), Szabo Gaspar (1925), Szabo Arpad (1921), Szabo Gabor (1912), Tusa Lajos (1923), Varga Jozsef (1907), Vass Geza (1902).

#### Godenyhaza

Bokenyi Ferenc (1903), Bokenyi Jozsef (1905), Deak Daniel (1922), Gacs Balint (1911), Gerus Balint (1907), Kolozsvari Sandor (1906), Kosa Lajos (1907), Kovacs Geza (1896), Nagy Bela (1905), Radvanszky Lajos (1895), Radvanszky Arpad (1907), Sovari Lajos (1897), Sovari Janos (1922), Toth Lajos (1893), Velicsko Mihaly (1902).

#### Kiralyhaza

Balasa Laszlo (1924), Bajos Geza (1917), Balogh Gyorgy (1913), Baski Andras (?), Bekecs Janos (1920), Csalokozi Laszlo (?), Gal Janos (1914), Gal Lajos (1927), Gasparovics Jozsef (1916), Gerhardt Sandor (1921), Gerhardt Janos (1901), Grof Gyula (1920), Grof Karoly (1915), Gyorffy Lajos (1922), Kocsis Gyula (1905), Kocsis Miklos (?), Laszlo Balazs (1917), Lecs Janos (1914), Lengyel Geza (1900), Lengyel Janos (?), Lezu Sandor (1902), Madai Sandor (1916), Meszaros Andras (1895); Meszaros Sandor (1898), Molnar Sandor (1901), Nagy Karoly (1917), id. Nagy Lajos (1900), ifj. Nagy Lajos (1925), Stefanovics Janos (1900), Szankovszky Antal (1904), Szemere Zoltan (1912), Szirku Laszlo (?), Takacs Janos I. (1911) Takacs Janos I. (1913), Takacs Laszlo (1900), Varadi Janos (?), Varadi Laszlo (1908), Vekony Jozsef (1910).

#### Nagypalad

Balogh Endre (1903), Bago Ferenc (1899), Bago Istvan (1914), Bago Karoly (1916), Bago Sandor (1906), Barat Sandor (1900), Barta Sandor (1914), Bihari Kalman (1913), Bornemissza Endre (1910), Csele Istvan (1909), Csele Jozsef (1911), Csele Sandor (1909), Dani Janos (1904), Dani Sandor (1920), Deak Istvan (1911), Gal Lajos (1898), Hadadi Jozsef(1906), Hadadi Sandor (1908), Ignacz Janos (1897), Illes Balint (1898), Illes Elek (1914), Illes Gusztav (1900), Illes Jozsef(1908), Illes Laszlo (1901), Istvanfi Marton (1908), Kalman Endre (1897),

Kalman Jozsef(1898), Kincses Lajos (1909), Kovacs Jozsef (1911), Laszlo Elek (1919), Laszlo Endre (1908), Laszlo Lajos (1910), Mandi Elek (1918), Mandi Jozsef (1911), Mandi Lajos (1913), Marozsi Endre (1911), Marozsi Jozsef (1909), Mico Jozsef(1908), Nagy Balint (1900), Nagy Ferenc (1906), Nagy Jozsef(1908), Nagy Sandor (1903), Oroszi Endre (1903), Oroszi Istvan (1898), Oroszi Istvan (1905), Oroszi Pal (1898), Oroszi Sandor (1910), Sarkadi Jozsef(1913), Varadi Jozsef(1908), Varga Zsigmond (1910), Virag Endre (1904).

### Nagyszolos

Amort Jozsef (1925), Amort Zoltan (1926), Bakk Endre (1917) Balogh Zoltan (1926), Bekecs Pal (1895), Berki Gusztav (1910), Csorba Gyorgy (1906), Danko Gyorgy (1908), Engi Lajos (1890), Gajdos Pal (1901), Hee Mihaly (1903), Horok Jozsef (1910), Ivan Jozsef(1903), Kenez Pal (1926), Kerekes Ferenc (1911), Komaromi Istvan (1924), Kovacs Bela (1906), Kovacs Imre (?), Kovacs Istvan (1906), Kovacs Jozsef (1909), Kovacs Pal (1908), Kovacs Sandor (1896), Konya Istvan (1925), Kulcsar Istvan (1898), Madi Ferenc (1888), Madi Istvan (1912), Madi Janos (1904), Madi Zsigmond (1925), Mezei Zoltan (1926), Nagy Janos (1924), Nyiri Endre (1925), Szaniszlo Karoly (1921), Tako Janos (1909), Vine Endre (1915).

### Nevetlenfalu

Budahazi Elek (1911), Erdelyi Jozsef (1922), Fancsiki Elek (1906), Kadar Jenó (1916), Kaliska Gyula (1898), Kosztya Endre (1914), Kovacs Jenó (1925), Mate Jozsef (1916), Szabo Jozsef (1910), Szilagyi Laszlo (1921), Torok Janos (1908), Vajda Jozsef (1912), Varadi Zsigmond (1912), Zekulics Lajos (1908).

### Salank

Adam Andras (1905), Balint Andras (?), Balint Geza (1898), Balla Bela (1925), Banyai Ferenc (1901), Danko Janos (1903), Delenyi Endre (1903), Dencs Jozsef (1897), Dunics Mihaly (1898), Fabian Andor (1923), Fanta Gyula (1906), Gecse Andras (1912), Gecse Bela (1910), Gecse Frigyes (1926), Gomba Gyorgy (1904), Hleba Ferenc (?), Hleba Endre (1907), Homoki Jozsef (1907), Hudan Endre (1906), Imre Bela (1904), Iszak Endre (1924), Kanik Bela (?), Karaman Janos (?), Kenez Jenó (1913), Kenez Mihaly (1924), Kesz Bela (1924), Kesz Ferenc (1899), Kis Andras (1904), Kis Ferenc (1902), Kis Gusztav (?) Kucsinka Janos (1913),

Kun Andras (1903) Kun Sandor (1904), Laszlo Geza (1925), Laszlo Geza F. (1902) Laszlo Elemer (1923), Laszlo Tihamer (1917), Mako Pal (1923) Man Jozsef (?), Mate Bela (1908), Molnar Laszlo (1909), Morvai Bela (1920), Nyiri Mihaly (1900), Pataki Ferenc (1910), Pilip Janos (1908), Popovics Janos (1910), Sarga Bela (1910), Sarga Zoltan (1916), Sipos Geza (1907), Sipos Sandor (1901), Szabo Bertalan (1897), Szidor Bela (1902), Szunku Ferenc (1898), Tarackozi Gabor (1904), Toth Elek (?), Zan Bela (1902), Zan Jozsef(1923), Zsoldos Elemer (1922), Zsoldos Frigyes (1924).

### Szolosgyula

Antal Istvan (1924), Bocskor Balint (1906), Csetneki Ferenc (1921), Domokos Sandor (?), Elek Janos (1913), Garanyi Pal (?) Gecse Bertalan (1906), Hevesi Istvan (?), Jakab Jozsef (1899), Kiss Andras (1908), Kozma Karoly (1901), Molnar Miklos (1925), Nagy Bela (1908), Nagy Jozsef (1902), Nagy Sandor (1899), Olah Istvan (1903), Oroszi Bela (1907), Oroszi Sandor (1911), Oroszi Zsigmond (1912), Paladi Karoly (?), Paladi Miklos (1907), Paladi Sandor (1906), Polgar Jozsef (1904), Polgar Karoly (1899), Rezes Geza (1900), Sapi Istvan (1898), Sapi Jozsef (1901), Sebestyen Pal (1920), Szabo Balint (1900), Szabo Karoly (1900), Varadi Jozsef (1900), Varadi Karoly (1898), Vince Lajos (1900), Zsendely Jozsef (1900).

### Tekehaza

Ajb Lajos (1912), Balogh Balint (1902), Balogh Jozsef (1907) Gerus Arpad (1900), Gerus Janos (1894), Gerus Lajos (1904), Jakab Janos (1905), Jakab Jozsef (1904), Kocsi Bela (1907), Kocsi Benedek (1911), Kocsi Elek (1926), Kocsi Janos (1909), Kocsi Sandor (1924), Miklos Pal (1910), Olah Bela (1902), Olah Daniel (1902) Olah Janos (1925), Sapi Jenó (1926), Turda Sandor (1901)

### Tiszabokeny

Argyilan Gyorgy (1911) Balogh Andras (1924), Berezovszky Janos (1915), Borsos Jozsef (1910), Cigus Janos (1912), Dudics Istvan (1905), Dupka Andras (1921), Illes Miklos (1907), Illes Zsigmond (1915), Mandi Istvan (1910), Sarga Zsigmond (1916), Szabo Jozsef (1910), Varadi Mihaly (1906), Virag Istvan (1926).

WW II losses:

Huszti Janos (1900), if. Huszti Janos (1924), Hudacsik Andras (1910), Kovaly Laszlo (1911), Szabo Mihaly (1926).

### Tiszafarkasfalva

Danku Elek (1926), Dankovics Jozsef (1903), Deszkovics Andras (1921), Fulop Janos (1911), Gajdos Sandor (1907), Kovacs Bela (1911), Kotobe Andras (1922) Molnar Pal (1907), Papp Elek (1917).

WW II losses:

Postak Gyorgy (1911), Safi Gyorgy (1922).

### Tiszakeresztur

Balogh Gabor (1921), Dobsa Sandor (1914), Forgacs Albert (1921), Horvath Istvan (1910), Kallai Lajos (1924), Kupor Dezso (1913), Kupor Pal (1926), Papp Gyula (?), Pogyor Istvan (?), Podor Antal (1924) Sarkadi Karoly (1909), Szabo Sandor(1907).

### Tiszapeterfalva

Ary Balint (1909), Bodo Lajos (1920), Bodo Menyhert (1923), Bocskay Laszlo (1926), Borbely Jozsef (1908), Dankovics Andras (1921), Elek Andras (1926), Erdei Peter (1902), Gonczy Daniel (1908), Homoki Gabor (1925), Homoki Jozsef (1900), Horvath Gyorgy (1919), Kis Jozsef (1905), Kovacs Bela (1910), Lator Endre 1906) Lator Karoly (1899), Megyeri Gyorgy (1901), Sarkozy Endre (1903) Siklosi Gyula (1916), Sipos Janos (1912), Szombati Kalman (1926), Tomori Istvan (1926), Varju Mihaly (1914).

### Tiszaujhely

Bihari Sandor (1913), Boldog Janos (1914), Boldog Sandor (1925), Egri Sandor (?), id. Jovcsak Janos (1895), Liszak Janos (1924), Rozsa Gabor (1911), Sima Mihaly (?), Szenek Miklos (?), Szilagyi Ferenc (?), Szpodni Berta)an (?),

### Tiszaujlak

Bene Jozsef (1908), Bihari Peter (?), Biky Sandor (?), Bosnyak Sandor (1911), Bunna Jozsef (?), Csuha Arpad (1916), Hentes Balint (?), Kapitany Jozsef (1908), Kosa Karoly (?), Kulcsar Andras (1906), Lizak Gyorgy (1906), Markus Ferenc (?),

Molnar Istvan (1897), Orloczki Lajos (1900), Palotas Janos (1923), Pekli Jozsef (?), Podor Antal (1926), Rozman Daniel (?), Suto Andras (1926), Szilagyi Sandor (?), ifj. Szilagyi Sandor (?), Toth Sandor (?), Vig Jozsef 1906 , Zelik Gyula (1902).

#### Tivadarfalva

Anicko Istvan (1900), Balogh Ferenc (1926), Biky Karoly (1917), Biky Zsigmond (1902), Fori Gabor (1924), Feher Gyula (1907), Gajdos Sandor (1904), Hudacsik Andras (1907), Ivanyi Janos (1920) Meszaros Ferenc (1900), Meszaros Andras (1903), Nagy Jozsef (1902), Nagy Károly (?), Sarkozy Istvan (1918), Sarkozy Mihaly (1920), Sarkozy Miklos (1924), Toth Jenő (1924), Ungi Zsigmond (1915), Varga Arpad (1913), Varga Bela (?), Varady Gyula (1905) Varga Karoly (1924).

#### Verboc

Balogh Antal (1925), Balogh Ferenc (1901), Balogh Gabor (1910) Balogh Endre (1926), Balogh Zsigmond (1924), Banyai Ferenc (1919), id. Banyai Gyula (1901), Ifj. Banyai Gyula (1926), Bodor Endre (1925), Borsos Zsigmond (1902), Dicso Bela (1896), Enyedi Alajos (1902), Fabian Endre (1910), Gal Gyula (1903), Gal Lajos (1902), Gonczy Elek (1895), Gonczy Endre (1905), Gonczy Istvan (1903), Horvath Elek (1905), Horvath Gyula (1908), Janki Zsigmond (1906), Kadar Balint (1896), Kadar Istvan (1912), Komaromy Alajos (1919), Komaromy Karoly (1906), Komaromy Istvan (1913) Komaromy Alajos (1903), Komaromy Elemer (1924), Komaromy Zsigmond (1901), Kozak Endre (1913), Kovacs Endre (1924), Konec Elek (1906), Nyeki Jozsef (1908), Orosz Balint (1926), Papp Zsigmond (1918), Papp Sandor (1903), Sipos Bela (1926), Sipos Sandor (1898), Spir Gyorgy (1909), Szenyes Gyorgy (1898), Tihor Jozsef (1895).

#### Botfalva

Balazs Sandor, Cap Istvan, Szlinszky Peter.  
WW II losses:  
Adam Miklos, Bakos Zoltan, Breza Istvan, Korpa Istvan, Kovacs Istvan, Mikso Janos, Mikula Gyorgy, Nagy Imre, Nyisztor Balazs, Nyisztor Gyorgy, Szucs Sandor, Turi Elek, Turi Zoltan, Volosin Mihaly.

## Csap

Adam Jozsef, Adam Sandor, Baksa Ferenc, Bado Gyula, Balogh Ignac, Belovics Zoltan, Batori Janos, Csopak Ferenc, Dan Antal, Fabian Sandor, Fedor Ferenc, Kajla Janos, Kazinci Ferenc, Komar Pal, Kun Andras, Kojsza Miklos, Kovacs Karoly, Kazsmer Bela, Lesko Balint, Molnar Bela, Molnar Sandor, Magyar Gabor, Molnar Ferenc, Neger Jozsef, Nagy Bela, Nagy Istvan, Onodi Jozsef, Orgovan Janos, Szamai Mihaly, Szabo Lajos, Szirmai Jozsef, Talian Sandor, Tagyi Lajos, Toth Benjamin, Palko Bertalan.

## Eszeny

Bado Endre, K. Bado Ferenc, T. Bado Janos, N. Bado Miklos N. Bado Sandor, Balla Janos, Balla Sandor, Banga Istvan, Barabas Gyula, Barkaszi Kalman, Batka Bela, Battyanyi Gyula, Bauman Janos, R. Beregszaszi Jozsef, Biro Imre, Csonka Janos, Csonka Kalman, Dancs Ferenc, Dano Arpad, Deak Tibor, Eszterhazy Jozsef, Farkas Istvan, Feka Bela, Gyorke Kalman, Hadar Geza, Hadar Ferenc, Hidi Jozsef, Horvath Ferenc, Jonas Daniel, Kacsi (Patikas) Jozsef, Kacso Jozsef, Kadas Janos, Kadas Jozsef, S. Kadas Jozsef, Kara Ferenc, Kara Janos, Kara Jozsef, Kertesz Jozsef, D. Kertesz Jozsef, E. Kertesz Jozsef, Kisari Miklos, Kiss Bela, Komonyi Sandor, Kovacs Bela, B. Kovacs Daniel, B. Kovacs Ferenc, B. Kovacs Ferenc, D. Kovacs Ferenc, K Kovacs Ferenc, K Kovacs Ferenc, Sz. Kovacs Ferenc, B. Kovacs Janos, M. Kovacs Jozsef, Kovacs Miklos, B. Kovacs Miklos, Kulcsar Sandor, Kun Bela, Ladanyi Istvan, Mezo Andras Mezo Miklos, Molnar Gabor, P. Molnar Janos, P. Molnar Jozsef, T. Molnar Jozsef, Molnar Jozsef, Nagy Ferenc, Nagy Miklos, Ovari Gyula, B. Papp Jozsef, Papp Karoly, Papp Sandor, Petro Andras, Racz Janos, Rati Gabor, Sandor Miklos, Sebok Sandor, Somogyi Janos, Sos Zoltan, P. Szabo Daniel D. Szabo Gyula, Szabo Istvan, V. Szabo Janos, V. Szabo Jozsef, Szabo Laszlo, Szantai Miklos, Tolvaj Sandor, Toth Sandor, Turoczy Antal, Varga Jozsef, Vinda Karoly.

## Galocs

WW II losses:

Ilko Janos, Molnar Ferenc, Molnar Bertalan, Perduk Miklos, Papai Barna, Papai Laszlo, Ruzska Gyula, Tarczy Janos, Toth Zsigmond.

## Kisdobrony

Baksa Bela (1908), Bajusz Bela (1912), Berta Lajos (1911), Bernath Miklos (1900), Bernath Jozsef (1925), Bitai Laszlo (1921) Dancs Gaspar (1899), Demes Ferenc (1910) Demes Karoly (1926), Demes Kalman (1926), Dokus Lajos (1900), Dokus Jozsef (1899) Farkas Kalman (1904), Fabian Kalman (1913), Fabian Miklos (1919), Fazekas Ignac (1900), Gaal Jozsef (1902), Gaal Dezso (1924), Gaal L. Lajos (1900), Komonyi Daniel (1901), Komonyi Imre (1899), Komonyi Ambrus (1910), Komonyi L. Kalman (1907), Komonyi Kalman (1905), Kertesz Jozsef (1923), Kocsi Sandor (1912) Kiss Bela (1910), Lelkes Sandor (1924), Lakatos Norbert (1922) Lakatos Gabor (1926), Nagy Gyula (1900), Nagy Elemer (1900) Nagy Ferenc (1902), Nagy K. Zsigmond (1923), Nagy M. Miklos (1912), Nagy A. Janos (1899), Nagy Imre (1920), Nagy Istvan (1905), Nagy Peter (1905), Nagy Kalman (1923), Nagy D. Zoltan (1919), Nagy M. Tibor (1926), Nagy Vince (1898), Paksi Dezso (1918), Sandor Gyula (1916), Solymos Sandor (1900), Solymos J. Jozsef (1901), Sos Kalman (1908), Sos Kalman (1925), Sos Albert (1916), Sos B. Bertalan (1922), Sos Bertalan (1923), Forma Kalman (1912), Forma Istvan (1910), Torma Jozsef (1920), Toth Lajos (1920), Ur. A. Gyula (1920), Ur J. Kalman (1899), Ur M. Jozsef(1905), Ur A. Lajos (1925) Ur Lajos (1926), Ur Bela (1897) Ur A. Ambrus (1925) Ur Kalman (1897), Ur Sandor (1919), Ur Gy. Ambrus (1920), Urban Ferenc (1900), Ujvari Laszlo (1922) Ujvari Janos (1899) Varadi Imre (1918), Varadi Peter (1908), Varadi Bertalan (1906).

### Kisgejoc

Bogathy Ferenc, Csakany Karoly, Hajdu Jozsef, Hajdu Miklos, Halasz Janos, Halasz Jozsef, Kalman Bela, Kiss Gyula, Ladanyi Janos, Laszlo Gyula, Nagy Albert, Nagy Dezso, Nagy Janos, Novotnyak Gyorgy, Ruszkovics Bela.

WW II losses:

Balogh Istvan, Bilakovics Sandor, Bodor Jozsef, Bogathy Odon, Hurik Janos, Javorszky Gyorgy, Kocsis Gyorgy, Kornuta Istvan, Laszlo Sandor, Nagy Antal, Nagy Jenő, Palko Ferenc, Pankotay Zoltan, Ritook Lajos, Svab Miklos, Szabo Bela, Sztecko Janos, Toth Jozsef, Vasky Janos.

### Kisszelmenc

Balogh Lajos (1926), Ivan Bernat (1924), Ivan Bertalan (1911), Ivan Ferenc (1915), Ivan Zsigmond (1922), Pekarovics Istvan (1924), Szakacs Bela (1926), Szakacs Zoltan (1925), Takacs Bela (1924), Toth Vince (1897).

WW II losses:

Csurma Istvan (1906), Ignac Gyula (1920), Jevcsak Istvan (1919).

#### Konchaza

Banocki Janos (1909), Csakany Istvan (1915), Hudak Imre (1916), Lakatos Sandor (1914), Mitro Sandor (1914), Ormos Ambrus (1914), Poliska Jozsef (1909), Remecki Lajos (1922), Reho Jozsef (1920), Reho Ferenc (1918), Reho Vince (?).

#### Korlathelmec

Biro Sandor, Butkoczy Lajos, Csicsak Janos, Fedor Ferenc, Gortvay Jenő, Gortvay Kalman, Gazda Imre, Koszoru Bela, Munkacsy Endre, Munkacsy Denes, Munkacsy Sandor, Novak Janos, Putnok Jozsef, Putnok Lajos, Szanyi Ferenc, Teglassy Lajos,

#### Minaj

Balogh Istvan (1921), David Zoltan (1927), Krajnik Mihaly (1919).

#### Nagydobrony

Bado Ferenc (1903), Batyi Jozsef (1908), Balog Janos (1907), Balog Janos (1907), Balog Ferenc (1902), B. Balog Ferenc (1903), Biro Ferenc (1899), Biro Jozsef (1926), Balint Janos (1908), Batyi Arpad (1913), Balog Sandor S. (1903), Balog Janos (1904), Fazekas Ignac (1912), Gore Istvan I. (1899), Or Hidi Sandor Gy. (1920), Hidi F. Andras (1906), Hidi Ferenc (1926), Hidi Sandor (1923), N. Hidi Sandor (1921), N. Hidi Ferenc (1919), Hidi F. Samuel (1899) Hidi Sandor J. (1900), K. Hete Ferenc J. (1897), Hete Andras (1912), Hete Sandor (1919), Hete Ferenc S. (1910), Hete Janos (Csojo) (?), Hete Janos (Hudak) (?), G. Katona Janos J. (1898) Katona Ferenc J. (1924), Kovacs Andras A. (1926), Katona Ferenc (1919), K Balog Jozsef (1897), G Katona Jozsef (?), H. Katona Andras (?), Honved Hidi Ferenc S. (1924), Geci Jozsef (1922), Geci Janos (1918), Egi Molnar Sandor (1904), Egi Molnar Andras (1915) Molnar P. Sandor S. (1901), Molnar Andras (1913), Molnar Kalman S. (?), Molnar Janos J. (?), Molnar Andras (Vinda) (?), Molnar Sandor (?), K Nagy Sandor (1921), Nagy Sandor Janos (1903), Nyomo Janos (1922), Pinte Andras (1926), Pinte Sandor (1922), Pinte Jozsef J. (?), Pinte Sandor (Fecske) (?), Szilvasi Miklos (1900), Szanyi Jozsef(?), Szabo Ferenc



(1900), id. Szanyi P. Janos (?), ifj. Szanyi P. Janos (1923), Szanyi Km. Andras (1919), Szanyi P. Sandor (1907), Szanyi P. Ferenc (1909), Szanyi Jozsef( 1912), Szanyi Jozsef J. (1921), Szanyi Kallai Jozsef (1924), Szanyi Km. Andras (1908) Szentimrei Ferenc (?), Szanyi P. Jozsef S. (1909), Szilvasi Janos (1916), S. Szanyi Jozsef (1919), Szanyi Km, Janos (1908), Szanyi P. Sandor (1926), Szanyi Km. Gyula (?), Szanyi Dezso (?), Szanyi Gy. Ferenc (?), Sandor Jozsef Janos (1900), Suto Bertalan (1910), Toth Ferenc (1905), Sandor Jozsef (1926), Bakk Ferenc (?), Varga Kalman (1922).

### Nagygejoc

Balla Imre, Balla Vilmos, Hajdu Vince, if. Kara Sandor, Klaczik Miklos, Kovacs Imre, Kovacs Istvan, Karcinko Sandor, id. Molnar Andras, Molnar Vince, Nagy Janos, Simon Ferenc, Simon Istvan, Szokul Janos.

W.W.II losses:

Balla Miklos, Fenyves Vilmos, Gere Sandor, Gere Zoltan, Gerek Imre, Gerek Janos, id. Gerek Janos, Gerek Sandor, Gyorke Lajos, Homoky Peter, Jeney Jozsef, Kara V. Arpad, Kara Bertalan, Kara K. Balint, Kara K. Lajos, id. Kara Sandor, Klaczik Imre, Klaczik Janos, id. Molnar Andras, Molnar Lajos, Prokop Imre, Szijjarto Lajos, Varga Gyula, Vigh Istvan.

### Palagykomoroc

E. Balogh Istvan (1903), Hidi Sandor (1925), Juhasz Peter (1910), Kis P. Janos (1905), Ku Varga Istvan (1905), Mondok Istvan (1925), J. Nagy Istvan (1912), N. Pentek Lajos (1904), Szanyi Istvan 1908), P. Szanyi Istvan (1925), Szanyi Gyorgy (1905), Szanyi Janos (1914 , Urban Lajos (1903), O. Urban Lajos (1924), Gy. Urban Gyula (1925), P. Urban Gyula (1926), J. Varga Istvan (1906) S. Varga Istvan (1910).

### Pallo

Bodi Arpad, Bodi Bela; Bodi Elek, Bodi Istvan, Bodi Zoltan, Csengeri Bela, Csengeri Istvan, Csengeri Lajos, Csengeri Miklos, Ferencz Istvan, Kenyherc Istvan, Palko Miklos, Remecki Peter, Smajda Janos, Vas Istvan.

### Rat

Adam Lajos (1924), Adam Sandor (1902), Beres Janos (1910) Demes Sandor (1901), Illar Sandor (1924), Lelekacs Balazs (1903), Nagy Bela (1926), Juhasz Antal (1912), Szopo Ferenc (1913), Vetrocki Ambrus (1922), Haklik Sandor (1884?).

### Sisloc

Sak Bela

W.W.II losses:

Leco Bertalan, Pekar Peter, Rozsa Gyorgy.

### Szaloka

Antal Aron (1896), Antal Dezso (1909), Antal Gyula (1899), Antal Jozsef (1896), Antal Jozsef (1903), Antal Kalman (1897), Antal Miklos (1905), Bacskai Bela (1914), Balla Zsigmond (1923), Balog Janos (1907), Balog Peter (1896), Balogh Sandor (1899), Balogh Sandor (1912), Biri Istvan (1899), Csonka Bela (1925), Halasz Bela (1911), Huszar Andras (1910), Huszar Kalman (1898), Huszar Laszlo (1903), Karako Istvan (1924), Kelemen Jozsef (1910), Kenyherc Pal (1899), Kepics Janos (1899), Kepics Kalman (1924), Kerecsenyei Sandor (1914), Kertesz Sandor (1925), Kovacs Andras (1901), Kovacs Istvan (1924), Kovacs Jozsef (1923), Kozma Ferenc (1908), Mezo Sandor (1901) Mezo Zoltan (1896), Nagy Gyula (1903), Nagy Peter (1921), Orosz Ferenc (1909), Orosz Sandor (1896), Pohodi Andras (1898), Sanko Jozsef (1910), Soos Bela (1897) Soos Dezso (1905) Soos Erno (1906), Soos Gabor (1895), Soos Gyula (1906), Soos Jozsef (1900), Szabo Bela (1924), Szabo Dezso (1899), Szabo Janos (1908), K. Szabo Kalman (1889), Szabo Laszlo (1913), Szabo Miklos (1898), Szabo Sandor (1924), Szantai Janos (1907), Szantai Jozsef (1914), Toth Istvan (1899), Toth Janos (1925), Toth Kalman (1905), Varga Jozsef (1905).

### Szurte

Adam Jozsef (1922), Balazs Bertalan (1917), Balazs Jozsef (1908), Illes Karoly (1907), Ivan Janos (1905), Kovacs Lajos (1903), Nagy Sandor (1912), Szaniszlo Lajos (1905), Toth Andras (1920) Varga Balazs (1926).

W.W.II losses:

Bilco Bela (?), Csizmar Lajos (1892), Csizmar Jozsef (1922) Demjen Sandor (1908), Szalonta Margit (1921), Gencsi Ferenc (1927), Horbacs Janos (1907), Illar Janos (1903), Kacsi Gusztav (1916), Katko Sandor (1906), Kovacs Sandor (1922), Ko Istvan (1910), Krivjanszki Istvan (1919), Papp Istvan (1922), Rada Ferenc (1890), Szopo Lajos (1923), Sztefko Andras (1910), Toronyi Istvan (1924), Varga Istvan (1921), F. Varga Lajos (1920), L. Varga Lajos (1917), Zunko Janos (1884), Zurocsik Janos (1920).

#### Teglas (Kis-)

Foldhazi Ferenc (1917), Hajdu Janos (1925), Jozsai Istvan (1907), Kiss Janos (1925), Peti Istvan (1907).

#### Tiszaggtelek

Bado J. Jozsef (1900), Bado B. Tibor (1912), Bado D. Jozsef (1899), Bado A. Kalman (1901), Bado A. Jozsef (1902), Bado Ferenc (1899) Bado S. Geza (1922), Bado Gy. Kalman (1921), Bado S. Bela (1924), Bella Jozsef (1898), Bernath Miklos (1897), Bernath Zoltan (1921) Csoka Jozsef (1904), Csoka Geza (1925), Csoka Kalman (1915) Feka Bela (1922), Gyorke G. Gyula (1900), Gyorke Zs. Zsigmond (1898), Gyorke M. Geza (1902), Gyorke M. Jozsef (1906), Gyorke M. Bela (1913), Gyorke G. Jozsef (1913), Gyorke Sz. Sandor (1918), Hidi Kalman (1912), Hidi Jozsef (1916), Hete Kalman (1922), Hete Ferenc (1924), Hete Jozsef (1908), ifj. Jakab Odon (1918), Jakab Endre (1912), Kallai Kalman (1897), Kallai Imre (1896), Kallai Sz. Gyula (1903), Nagy Zsigmond (1905), Toth Jozsef (1986), Takacs Endre (1918), Varga Karoly (1917).

#### Tizzasvany

Bado Janos, Bado Miklos, Balogh Gyula Bodai Balint, Breza Ferenc, Csonka Ferenc, Fabian Sandor, Jakubat Kalman, Kadas Kalman, Kate Bertalan, Kate Gusztav, Kertesz Bertalan, Kertesz Janos, Kertesz Jenő, Kertesz Jozsef, F. Kertesz Sandor, Kovacs Endre Kovacs Gyula, Kovacs Istvan, Kover Lajos, Malomka Istvan, Malomka Jozsef, Malomka Sandor, Sebok Kalman, Sebok Laszlo, Toth Ferenc, Varga Bertalan, Varga Kalman, Varga Sandor.

W.W.II losses:

Cserép Istvan Fabian Laszlo, Kertesz Jozsef, Kocska Istvan, Kovacs Janos, Magyar Istvan, Moskovics Herman, Monus Bertalan, Sebok Zoltan.

## Tiszasalamon

Ballok Bertalan (1914), Bernat Karoly (1924), Berta Erno (1925), Berta Gyula (1926), Galambos Bertalan (1924), Gulyas Gyorgy (1904), Kovacs Karoly (1909), Kiss Sandor (1908), Kovacs Istvan (1902), Kosztyu Karoly (1903), Kajla Janos (1916), Kiss Istvan (1910), Magyar Jozsef (1914), Pasztor Sandor (1905), Rigasz Janos (1905), Sandor Istvan (1924), Szabo Bertalan (1909), Szabo Bertalan F. (1905), Tolvaj Bertalan (1910).

## Ungvar

Adler Janos (?), dr. Bacsinszky Odon (?), Balog Jozsef (1894), Basanyi Janos (?), Banoczky Janos (1909), Barenblat(?), Baum Bela (1904), Bende Ferenc (1914), Berta Janos (1909), Birosz Aladar(?), Blazbolg Otto (?), Borsicki (1906), Csernegi Jozsef (?), Demecs Dezso (1913), Dure Sandor (1902), Fucsko Erzsebet (?), Fucsko Laszlo (?), Fodor Istvan (1901), Foldesi Gyula (?), Ganze Janos (?), Guba Andras (?), Guba Andrasne (?), dr. Gulacsi Istvan (?) Herda Janos(?), dr. Huber Janos (?), Hulajcsik Gyula (?) Hulajcsik Janos (1886), Homoky Jozsef (1901), Horvath Lajos (1896), Horanyi Odon (1916), Hromjak Mano (?), Jakoblevis Kristof(?), Juhasz Peter (1916), Karmazin Andras (?), Kereszturi Imre (?), Kiovics Jozsef (?), Kulikovszki (?), Kutlan Andras (?), Kontros Andras (?) Kolb Bela (?), Komjathy Geza (1923), Kover Lajos (1900), Laskay Karoly (?), Laurisin Agoston (1903), Legeza Antal (1909), Lovasz (borbely ?), Magyary Balazs (1903), Molnar Karoly (1901), Nagy Istvan (1917), Ordody Istvan (1905), Papp Imre (1917), Papirnyik Jozsef(?), Rimar Tibor (1920), Serfozo Janos (?), Simonics Erzsebet (?), dr. Siska Janos (?), Sturc Emil (?), Szabo Elemer (1914), Szalay Janos (?), Szecsodi Janos (1896), Szeman Janos (?), Szennyes Andras (?), Szacska Erno (?), Szilagy Balint (1903), Ujvari Laszlo (1919), Valkoczi Bela (?), Vasko Andras (1896), Vasko Gyula (?) Vitez Lenart Matyas (1884)

# **A P P E N D I X**

## **A MEMORIAL CONFERENCE OF THE HUNGARIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF TRANSCARPATHIA (KMKSZ) TRANSCARPATHIAN VICTIMS OF STALINISM**

Beregszasz, November 18, 1989

The Hungarian cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ) has organised a scientific conference in memory of those Hungarian or German men who were carried off, without indictment or trial, beginning on November 18, 1944, from Transcarpathia and the villages of the Csonka-Bereg, Felső-Bodrogköz and Ung regions.

At the memorial meetings, survivors and witnesses, historians and writers spoke of documents that can be found, of the media reaction to the deportations, of the conditions and consequences of the internment of the male population, as well as of the activities directed towards rehabilitation undertaken by the labour committee

of the regional council of Transcarpathia. At the same time, the meetings represent the start of a series of recollections, during which memorial plaques and monuments are erected and a symbolic funeral is held in the cemetery of Beregszasz. Thus, they also mean saying good-bye to fathers, brothers, friends who lie in unmarked graves.

On November 26, at one o'clock in the afternoon the church bells rang throughout Transcarpathia, as well as in Csonka-Bereg in Hungary, where thousands of victims are mourned also. The Hungarian cultural Association of Transcarpathia asked that Hungarians all over the world join them in remembering the victims of Stalinism.

#### THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

President: Fodo Sandor.

Members: Dupka Gyorgy (managing secretary); Moricz Kalman,

Chairmen of the Memorial Conference:

Dupka Gyorgy  
Szollosi Tibor

Secretaries:

Patykone Andor Agnes  
Moricz Kalman  
Turoczy Istvan

Invited speakers and commentators:

Fodo Sandor: president of the KMKSZ (Ungvar)

Szabo Laszlo: secretary of the Hungarian World Federation Budapest

Tenke Sandor: editor of the journal "Confessio" professor of theology, Budapest

Pozsgay Imre: minister of state, Republic of Hungary; (letter)

Szollosi Tibor: member of the board of directors of the KMKSZ, Doctor of Medicine, Tecso

Dalmay Arpad: member of the board of directors of the KMKSZ, president of the Beregszasz chapter

Nagy Jeno: survivor, retired teacher, Ungvar

Zseliczky Bela: professor, Doctor of History, Moscow; he was not present but sent the text of his speech

Alekszej Korszun: colonel, deputy director of the regional department for Transcarpathia of the Committee for the National Security of the USSR, member of the regional committee for rehabilitation

Dupka Gyorgy: local historian, managing secretary of the KMKSZ Ungvar

Csatary Gyorgy: employee of the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives, Beregszasz

Barat Jozsef: employee of the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives, Mezokaszony

Dr. Gyarmathy Zsigmond: archivist, local historian, Nyiregyhaza

Kerenyi Gyula : head of the Association of Alumni of Verke-Part

Dr. Veres Lajos: jurist, Piliscsaba

Sari Jozsef: Sr. survivor, board member of the KMKSZ

Lusztig Karoly: journalist, Ungvar

Omeljan Dovhanics: historian, lecturer, Ungvar

Dr. Fazekas Arpad: local. historian, physician, Nyiregyhaza

Balla Gyula: literary historian, chief collaborator of the Institute of Hungarian Studies, Budapest

Dr. Botlik Jozsef: literary historian, Budapest

Zombory Istvan: board member of the KMKSZ, Aknaszlatina

Nagy Zoltan Mihaly, writer, Csonkapapi.

Keresztyen Balazs: local historian, Nagyszollos

Kovacs Imre Zoltan: vice-president of the Beregszasz regional chapter-of the KMKSZ, Beregszasz.

Gulacsi Geza: member of the presidium of the KMKSZ, Munkacs; (for-lack of time, his speech had to be omitted but he sent its text to the secretariat)

Fodor Ferenc: teacher, Dercen; (for lack of time, his speech had to be omitted, but he sent its text to the secretariat)

Bagu Balazs: teacher, Batyu; (for-lack of time, his commentary had to be omitted, but he sent its text to the secretariat.

\* \* \*

We give a sampling of the abridged and edited speeches and commentaries that were presented on November 18, 1989, as well as of those that were sent to us.

Editor of the texts: Buleczane Rethy Rozalia

### FODO SANDOR

Dear survivors! Dear relatives! Honoured guests from Hungary and Transcarpathia!

At this historic moment, allow me to greet you with respect and joy in the name of the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ) and to thank you for your presence among us. This event is truly historic because, just one year ago, it would have been unthinkable to organise and hold such a meeting in Transcarpathia. For 45 years, we could not speak of the tragic events of the autumn of 1944, of these who were innocently carried off. Even remembering was banned. Remembering those people who, without cause, became victims of Stalinist terror, of Stalinist concentration camps. Some of the few survivors are here among us and I hope that they will relate to us their experiences.

I was a child when these events occurred. My Own father became a victim of this terror, these kidnappings. Without a legal basis or judicial procedure, these people were herded into cattle cars and carried off for "three days" which became years. And only a fraction returned. This was a tragic loss for Hungarians in Transcarpathia because they numbered in the tens of thousands.

I ask all of you at this conference: do not let feelings of vengeance and anger fill you but the joy of being allowed to remember and the hope of Hungarian revival in Transcarpathia. And the KMKSZ may well be the guarantor and the first step towards this revival.

SZABO LASZLO



It may well be asked: - does the Hungarian World Federation have a right to be present at a meeting whose subject, in the classical sense, could be considered an internal affair? I would like to assert emphatically that yes, it has a right to be present!

People have been forcibly carried off from here; that is the business of humanity. Hungarians were carried off from here and that is Hungarian business. Therefore, I believe that; the Hungarian World Federation, whose flag displays the ideal of humanism and of Hungarians, has to be present at. this and similar events.

#### TENKE SANDOR

We are delighted by this conference. The more so because, in Hungary, it is since last year only that we can remember the victims who lost their lives in W.W.II. But we regret even more the fate of the unsung heroes, the unburied dead of the revolution of 1956.

You know our Church well. Let us thank God that 12 years ago, because of the connections of the Hungarian Reformed Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, a Protestant bishop could be consecrated here in Transcarpathia , in Beregszasz; that we can send over thousands of bibles and prayer books; and that, since last year, Transcarpathian theology students can study in Hungary. We are delighted that three years ago our periodical, "Confession" could give full coverage to the fate of Hungarians living outside its boundaries.

In this connection, we must admit that our Church did a great deal, but not everything it should have done. I would like to finish by quoting Nemeth Laszlo. Can the struggle of the Hungarian Cultural Association in Transcarpathia, of every honest Hungarian, Ukrainian, Ruthenian or other nationality be considered hopeless? Nemeth Laszlo, in a hopeless situation. said No, because at Marathon also, hopelessness won. I wish that you, this folk and all peoples emerge proud and with head held high from the hell that all suffered to a greater or lesser degree for decades.

## POZSGAI IMRE

Honoured friends! Mourners and commemorators!

The Second World War took its toll of victims from the people of this region also. But it is doubly painful to contemplate the fate of the tens of thousands who were carried off and died innocently. The belated reverence shown them is a moral and historical debt. This conference, called to pay tribute to the deported Hungarian men, will lift the weight of this debt and will help us face history and ourselves squarely. This conference is not the first step that will lead the Transcarpathian Hungarians to find themselves but it is of tremendous value in the history of the world. The possibilities opened by Gorbachev are only the means that have to be seized. But for this, the Hungarians of Transcarpathia must show the moral strength of which they already gave proof. In these days of morning, recollection and prayer, when I wish fruitful and productive work to all the participants of this memorial conference of the KMKSZ, let me quote the poet Illyes Gyula who said: "the greatest act of courage is hope." Bowing my head to the martyrs of Transcarpathia, I bring the greetings of the Republic of Hungary to all who gathered here.

\*Letter read by Fodo Sandor

## SZOLLOSI TIBOR

Kosary Domokos said: "A people cannot be offended by world history." But it is its duty to ask for an accounting! It is its duty to bury the crucified victims of a political action that has run amok, to assert its will and to reach a truth as merciful as was merciless the slaughter. Not only history demands this, but the present and future also. Is it enough to rehabilitate the Hungarian, German, Romanian, Ruthenian victims of Stalinism, to re-establish the honour and good name of the martyrs, known and unknown, to redress the wrongs done to the condemned and restore their civil rights?

You cannot rehabilitate the orphaned children, the wives reduced to begging, the "WHY" shouted into the cold night

Tamasi Aron said: "A worthless man is not fit to be Hungarian." Let us remember these words when will becomes action, when we clean fear's suffocating dirt and dust off our past, because we shall receive honour in the measure that we honour others.

Luther formulated his thoughts about the future by saying: "If you know that tomorrow you shall no longer be, plant today a walnut tree

Let us take these words to heart and let us plant trees in the earth that covers the remains of thousands end let us stand erect and proud face to face with our past.

## DALMAY ARPAD

This year will enter as an important milestone into the history of Transcarpathian Hungarians. It started with the establishment and strengthening of the KMKSZ, followed by the erection of the "kuruc" (insurrectionist) monument at Tiszaujlak, then the dedication of the Illyes-statue here in Beregszasz. And now we meet at an event that was, in earlier times, unthinkable: a unique event where we pay tribute to the more than 40 thousand Hungarians who were carried off 45 years ago simply because they were Hungarians.

Stalinist tyranny caused greater losses to the Hungarians of Transcarpathia than did W.W.II. It is a comforting and hopeful. sign that today, after four and a half decades, we can speak of these events, that we can bow our heads remembering the tens of thousands who were carried off, maimed for life in body and soul. Let the survivors, widows and orphans, the wooden memorials, the commemorative plaques and monuments erected in the name of the next generation be mementoes of this tragic past. Let them remind the living, the youth of the land never again to allow such cruel humiliations of human dignity as were the deportations of 45 years ago. We must not remain silent, we must speak of these events without embellishments or euphemisms. I quote Gyarmathy Zsigmod, who is here present among us, when he said that be will be blinded who sees in the past only the light and not the shadows. The organisation of the present conference will certainly become a part of our Cultural Association's history. And it is a great honour to us from Beregszasz that it was held here, in the geographic and - let us hope - the future cultural centre of the Hungarians of Transcarpathia.

## NAGY JENO

I was 18 when I first came face to face with Soviet reality.

After all, the soviet flyers that inundated the Hungarian villages proclaimed: "Priests and lords, run away! You, peasants, you just stay!" So the poor folk stayed. To be carried off to the various camps of the Soviet Union, where the majority of them died from famine and epidemics, humiliated, deprived of all human rights, under the most inhumane circumstances. In twenty months, I went from 82 kg to 46. Not from disease; from hunger.

When I returned, my poor mother fainted when she saw what became of her son. I was then 21 years old, right at the age when you need the most nutrition, the highest calories. The organism can never recover from this lack, or make up for it. Yet I consider myself lucky; after all, I did come home. What can those mothers, brothers and parents say whose kin never returned?

I only mentioned the outlines. I did not speak yet of the cudgels, the beatings, the submachine guns and the constant, all-intrusive searches.

It is horrible just to think of all this. And we could not speak of it. Here, in Transcarpathia, we still cannot.

For 45 years we have atoned for the sins of Horthy's Hungary for 45 years, we ate the bitter bread.

Let us examine therefore, in the spirit of objectivity, who is responsible for subjecting us to this fate. Number one should be Stalinist tyranny; but maybe it is Hitler. Number two ought to be, as many say, the politicians of the Horthy regime in Hungary. The third responsible is the Hungarian Communist Party which never protested our deportations.

I would like to tell you now, point by point, what we the survivors, demand:

1. - Give us dual citizenship
2. - That we, ex-deportees should, in our declining years, benefit from free travel., free stay in rest-homes or health spas, free medical treatment.

3. - The Soviet Government should:

- a) apologise to the deportees and their relatives for the actions of Stalinist tyranny;
- b) acknowledge, as years of service, the time spent in heavy, health-damaging work
- c) pay compensation to each child where the bread-winner of the family lost his life as a consequence of deportation, as is done by leaders of many states;
- d) pay damages to each deportee who survived and pay proper wages for every month spent in camp, since at the time we never received a penny for our work.

ZSELICZKY BELA\*

What was the essence of Stalin's rule? What. is its heritage?

A personal, dictatorial authoritarianism came into being (called variously: "military-feudal dictatorship" "barracks socialism", "administrative totalitarianism" - this last appellation being the brainchild of Mr. Gorbachev) by which we understand a political system that is based, economically, on forced labour in its socialised industry and agriculture: ideologically, it is a system of dogmatism that will not tolerate any deviation from approved thought; and, on the judicial plane, it is a system of strict bureaucratic subordination. It was built on authoritarian tyranny and functioned until the present when they started, with great difficulties, to demolish this enormous state machinery, this gigantic bureaucracy that still hinders development and even Perestroika. This was a system which condemned masses of people to social, economic, and political passivity and taught them to tolerate every tyranny and lawlessness.

The Stalinist system underwent various phases of development and its "activities" had their own consequences:

- industrialisation, which should have modernised economic life, was not brought about by evolutionary means but was imposed by brute force to the detriment of the people and of democracy, which was more and more limited, and engendered reprisals;

- in 1930, the year of the elimination of the "kulaks" (wealthy peasants), 10 million people were arrested and sent to perform forced labour; many died;

- 1932: mass starvation followed the collectivisation (of farms) in the Ukraine, the Volga region, Kazakhstan and the Ural area. Its victims numbered over 6 million (in the Ukraine alone, more than 3 million) but, according to some calculations it reached 10 million. Yet, in 1929, Stalin himself declared: "If the collectivisation and establishment of state farms continue to progress as before, in three years our country will become the biggest grain producer of the world."

- On January 26, 1934 the XVII Party Congress met. Kirov received 3 votes more than Stalin. After the Congress, of the 1966 delegates, 1108 were arrested. Of the elected 138 members and alternates to the Central Committee, 98 were imprisoned. At the beginning of December, Kirov, himself, was assassinated in Szmolnij where he worked as first secretary of the county.

The Stalinist regime claimed more and more human victims, building up its machinery of subjugation to new heights. Statistics reveal its "achievements". Thus, if during the years of revolution and civil war (1917 - 1923) the loss of population amounted to 13 million (including the bourgeois elements, white Russians, etc. who fled abroad); then the loss of people during the peaceful years of 1929-1941 totalled 60 million, generally considered victims of Stalinism.

Facts prove that during the 30's, little by little all leaders, who could have become Stalin's rivals, disappeared from the political scene. But even the potential leaders were "neutralised", particularly the armed forces who took the brunt of Stalinism. That is to say that in 1937-1938, immediately before the outbreak of W.W.II, close to 40 thousand leaders of the armed forces, among them some of the supreme command, fell victim to Stalin's suspicious nature, his lawlessness, and tyranny. Stalin himself personally signed the 303 memoranda containing the lists of several thousand people who were to be executed.

It is a sad fact that Stalinism continued to collect its victims not only during W.W.II, but also in the years after the war.

Soviet military historians assert that Stalin himself set the soviet losses of the war at 20 million. This number is not only inexact, it is an outright fabrication. The losses were far greater than that.

During the years spanning the 30's to the 50's, a whole network of forced labour, re-education and other camps was developed and functioned under the authority of the GULAG. According to data recently come to light, on March 1, 1940 this authority supervised 53 camps (including those destined to build railways and canals, such as the BAM and the canal connecting the Volga to the Baltic Sea), 425 "correctional-educational" labour camps (which means 170 industrial, 83 agricultural, and 172 so-called "Kontragens", i.e. construction and farming colonies), as well as 50 colonies for the education of juveniles. Part of this authority was also the so-called "reform-labour bureau" which handled the overseeing of those who were judicially condemned to forced labour. These "students" were generally not kept apart from society as a whole.

In the 30's, the yearly average of the camp population hovered around half a million but reached a million and a half in 1938-1940, then decreased to 600-700 thousand during the war-years. It increased again during 1946-47, reaching 1,200,000. This was partly due to the "prophylactic" exiling of repatriated soldiers who were screened and controlled, and partly to the interned and deported inhabitants of the newly acquired territories. An important number of the camp population was sent there for "counterrevolutionary crimes" (in 1938 19%; in 1939: 34.5%; in 1940 33%; in 1941 28.7%, in 1942 29.6%; in 1943 35.6%, in 1944 40.7%, in 1945 41.2%; in 1946 59.5%; in 1947 54.3%).

Thus, the despotic regime of Stalinism kept increasing the number of its victims not only through the executions of the camp population but also through the harsh treatment, the forced labour and starvation diet which decimated it daily. Even those who survived suffered from infirmities for the rest of their lives as a result of camp life.

The Stalinist system did not remain an isolated phenomenon. With the end of the war, the surrounding countries developed their own clones, organising veritable "schools" with their own "students". One can say that it became an international system. It is well-known that one of its very best students was Rakosi Matyas - with Rakosism becoming the Stalinist prototype. It is a notorious fact that the good students not only did not hinder, but outright assisted the system, sending fresh labourers to the Stalinist camps from these countries. Much data support this assertion.

The Stalinist policy of minorities started by limiting the use of the people's national language, followed by their extermination or resettlement. By depriving them of the use of their national language in schools and offices, it also denied them any possibility of cultural development.

Stalin himself, as a "linguist", in his famous essay, "Marxism and the questions of linguistics", expounded the false premise of rapid absorption based on language and nationality. The well-known consequence of this theory was the elimination of thousands of ethnic villages, communities and territories. Ethnographers and linguists certify that in the years 1932-1933 alone, at the time of "Passportisation", the number of ethnic and linguistic communities was HALVED.

Experts show that in 1926 the total number of minorities in the USSR was 194, whereas in 1979 only 101 were officially acknowledged. This despite the territorial acquisitions that brought new ethnic groups into the Soviet orbit. Collaterally, the languages taught in minority schools also decreased. This ethnic and linguistic contraction curtailed the possibilities of the minorities and their human rights. In their essence, these policies were destined to promote the total absorption of the minorities and were its effective means.

It must be mentioned, that with the approach of war, Stalin developed his theory of "guilty nations". By now it is widely known that as a result of this theory whole nations and ethnic groups were subjected to forced resettlement and banishment from their ancestral homes: tens and hundreds of thousands of Crimean Tatars, the Caucasian Chechen-Ingos, the Turks of Meskhet, as well as the millions of Germans of the Volga region.

These mass resettlements, justified by national security considerations, did not only mean the abandonment of ancestral communities; they were also undertaken with the not so hidden purpose of isolation and absorption, as well as an act of branding whole peoples and nations as "guilty", an adjective that is now, after 40 years, still hard to obliterate. These people have become homeless paupers; most of them even forgot their mother tongue and lost their native cultural roots. The first steps in their rehabilitation and return to their homeland are just beginning to be undertaken within the possibilities opened up by glasnost.



However, these were not the only people who became the victims of Stalinist tyranny. So far, no mention was made of the resettlement of Kurds, Greeks, and Koreans whose problems were heretofore suppressed. But nowadays, those interested in the resettlement and deportations of Finns, Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, and particularly Poles (1,730,000) as well as in the fate of about 50,000 Armenians resettled in the 50's, can ask for information on them from the Supreme Council. During its present meeting, the question of the extermination of 250,000 Belorussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Letts was brought up. Beyond these, according to the experts, 120,000 Poles fell victim to Stalinism and are buried in mass graves.

As we can see, the oppressive machinery of Stalinist dictatorship was grinding away mercilessly on all the nation's minorities; none could escape it

Varga Jenő's March 28, 1938 letter to Stalin gives an excellent idea of the prison-like atmosphere of dread, of the all-pervasive fear of arrest that hung, like a sword of Damocles, over everyone's head: "As a consequence of mass arrests, the cadres living freely in the Soviet Union are completely demoralised and in an all-encompassing fear. This demoralisation penetrates every section of workers in the Comintern, including the members of the Comintern's VB Secretariat. The reason for this demoralisation is our helplessness over the fate of the arrested political emigrants. Most foreigners gather their belongings every evening in order to be prepared for an eventual arrest. This perpetual fear makes many of them half-crazy, unable to work."

It was important to speak of all this to get a better picture of Stalinism, its character and the wide circle of its victims. With all that, we have not even mentioned its perfidious, law-defying actions here in Transcarpathia. Let us hope that subsequent lectures during our Conference will fill in the gaps.

The deportation to concentration camps and subsequent extermination of the many defenceless, adult citizens is undoubtedly one of the most striking proofs of Stalinist despotism. It is a notorious fact that in 1944-1945 masses of 18 to 50-year old men who escaped the war were mobilised to perform so-called "labour of restoration", carried off to the Szolyva or Perecseny concentration camps and from there scattered among the various forced labour camps of the Soviet Union. According to approximate calculations, 40-60 thousand Hungarian men were deported from the territory of present-day Transcarpathia and the neighbouring regions of Szabolcs, Szatmar and Bereg (without even mentioning the

displacement of this area's German population). A great number perished in the camps of the Donyec-basin, in Siberia, or the Far East. The vagaries of climate, starvation, disease, cruel treatment, working beyond endurance in their weakened conditions decimated their ranks. Thus, only about a quarter of them came home a few years later.

Nobody asked, nobody could ask what; their crimes were, who condemned them to their fate, who was responsible for this trampling of their human rights, for these mass murders.

This lecture was intended to serve as a starting point for an open discussion.

#### ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN\*

The questions of rehabilitation are among the most important tasks of the National Security Commission. Its jobs are entrusted to well-educated, experienced and skilled workers who co-operate effectively in disseminating information throughout society.

At the end of October 1989, the Zakarpatszka Pravda published a list of 80 names, among them Hungarians, who had earlier been victims of repression. A second list is being readied for publication in the offices of the National Security Commission. It is sad to read these lists, but one must no longer conceal these cruel occurrences. Though it is late, we feel great satisfaction in the fact that we were able to identify some of the victims and that we can do them justice by restoring their honour. To reveal the truth is in the interest of this generation and the next. Over 2000 documents came to light at the archives of the state institutions that prove the sad, and often deadly fate of the victims. It would take too much time to read all the letters about the victims that the Commission received. However, we would like to quote one.

Toth Borbala, resident of Csap, will, we hope, forgive us for going public with her letter. She writes:

"I write to you as a widow who raised four children between the ages of 2 to 7 without a husband, The children only know their father from photographs. After the liberation of Csap, in December 1944, my husband was taken by force, supposedly for three days to help bury those who died in action - but he never

came back. In those cruel times, I wrote to the military prosecutor but I never received a reply. The men who were forcibly deported like my husband were kept under strict military guard. They told me that my husband was taken to the Szolyva concentration camp. I went to Szolyva but I could not find my husband.

Many years passed, but neither I, nor my children know anything of the fate of my husband, their father. My husband was a workmen, he never belonged to any party, he led a strictly middle-class life.

I write to you now because I read the article in the Carpathian True Word about the victims of Stalinism.

I am beginning to hope that at last now I will find out about my husband's fate, how and where he died."

This letter is painful; not only because of its contents but also because it will be difficult to reply to fellow-citizen Toth Borbala. Unfortunately, there is no information available in the regional archives about the fate or people who disappeared under similar circumstances.

Nor does the National Security Commission's main Department have any information on the men who, as witnessed by Toth Borbala and others, were, in November-December 1944, carried off and sent to the so-called labour camps under one pretence or another. There are no documents on the activities of the Szolyva concentration camp.

The 9-member working group, established parallel to the Regional Rehabilitation Commission, whose task is to study the fate of the Hungarian men deported to the labour camps in 1944 can, without a doubt, be of great help.

It cannot be allowed that people who perished in the camps should be registered as "disappeared without a trace". The lists prepared by the activists of the KMKSZ will be used in this work.

The emphasis today will, to a certain extent, be placed on the clarification and revelation of the fate of the deported Hungarian citizens. We can state categorically that these events were a manifestation of a series of horrors that was brought about by Stalin's lawlessness which picked its victims indiscriminately, namely in the course of historical changes when the deportees were not yet Soviet citizens but were treated worse by the repressive machinery than its own citizens.

This despotism revealed the essence of this repressive system.

I would like to see this work progress without enlarging or exaggerating these painful past events and without hurting the sensibilities of the Hungarians and other ethnic groups. After all, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Germans, Jews, and Romanians, all suffered the same fate. We have no right to present the bill for the past to the present generation.

\* This lecture was presented in the Russian language.

## DUPKA GYORGY

No mention has been made yet of the political circumstances and consequences of the deportation of men of Hungarian or German extraction or other nationalities. It is well-known that the Red Army reached the village of Verbjazs, the first settlement in Transcarpathia, on October 2, 1944. On October 27, the Soviet Army occupied Ungvar. On that day a solemn order was published, signed by Stalin. Among others, it mentions, from the military point of view, the "occupation of an important bridgehead". The Soviet military administration lasting over two months (from; October 1944 to January 1945), as well as the public administration of Czechoslovakia, directed from Huszt, are a separate chapter Transcarpathia's history which still awaits evaluation and analysis.

In that time period, everything that was done was undertaken with an eye to the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement of May, 8, 1944. The commander of the Soviet army acknowledges the establishment in Huszt of the Czech government-in-exile's delegation arriving from London. Huszt will be its headquarters for a while; from here it will try to organise Czechoslovakia's pre-1938 public administration and the recruitment of volunteers into Szvoboda's army. Frantisek Nemeč is the all-powerful head of the delegation. He personally does everything possible to stop Transcarpathia's annexation to the Ukraine. First, he organises national committees in the controlled settlements (from Beregszasz to Raho). Then Nemeč and his minions wanted to revive in Transcarpathia - the local organisations of the Czech agrarian, social democratic, Czech national, socialist, and communist parties. These have become reactivated in the name of civil democracy in many places, such as Beregszasz.

Transcarpathia's Hungarian population had two options: to choose between Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union. (They knew, of course, that their territory will not be rejoined to Hungary, condemned as a guilty nation). Many Ruthenians also acted in accordance with the Proclamation issued at Huszt on October 26, 1944. Nemeč set the date of November 21 for the popular meeting, so that this forum could vote on the central body that was to assume direction of a governing

administration and to have the chiefs of the settlements' local administration, swear allegiance to the laws of Czechoslovakia.

The local communist party, led by Stalinist functionaries sent from; Moscow, did not sit idly by. It wished to hold the party's reorganising conference on November 19, 1944. The pre-eminent topic of this event: - the passing of a resolution concerning Transcarpathia's annexation to the Ukraine. By that time the leaders of Transcarpathia's communist party recognised the danger: if they do not intervene effectively, Transcarpathia will remain within Czechoslovakia's sphere. With the assistance of the NKVD, they attempted to block the popular meeting called to Huszt by the government's delegation. Again with the active support of the NKVD; they, first of all, cleansed the Hungarian and mixed villages of "dangerous elements" - friends of the Czechs - who would not, according to the observations of the Stalinists, have voted for Transcarpathia's annexation to the Ukraine. This resolution was passed on November 26, 1944, by the conference of the people's committee. This forum unanimously accepted the Proclamation which states definitely "the centuries-old desire of the Carpatho-Ukrainians for the reunification and the integration with the Ukraine". The Stalinists tightly controlled the delegates who voted "yes"; only those were invited to attend whom they could trust. The Hungarians and Germans of Transcarpathia were not represented here. I wonder WHY?

The "screening" of Transcarpathia's Hungarians and Germans was ordered by the supreme command of the 4th Ukrainian Front, with Stalin's knowledge. The scenario of the deportations was entrusted to the general staff of the NKVD, who were to prepare them. As the Soviet armed forces, progressing from settlement, to settlement, chased out the enemy units from the towns end villages, the Hungarians, as well as the Ruthenians, received the troops with some confidence. But as soon as the front moved on, the sub-machine-gun-toting thugs of the NKVD and SZMERS appeared, as well as the partisans of Uszta Gyula, Priscsepa and Tkanko who, together with the local Stalinists, started to gather the Hungarian and German men as called for by the screenplay. Thus, the fabricated story of the "three days of labour" became a trap. The manhunt began on November 13, 1944; the marching columns departed towards Szolyva on November 18. Survivors tell us that those who organised and executed these interments surpassed even the fascists in brutality. From the camp of Szolyva, thousands of men who lived through the epidemics of typhoid fever were scattered to the interior of the Soviet Union. Eyewitnesses and survivors estimate that about 40,000 Hungarians and Germans were put behind barbed wire. Ninety percent of those who were marched

to their death were Hungarians with a smattering of Ruthenians, Slovaks and Romanians gathered along the way. The men, exposed to starvation and cold, were only allowed to return home after two years, their ranks decimated. The survivors; were released gradually, from 1946 on. Over 30% of the deportees perished. In every Hungarian village the return of a survivor was a great event, but their reintegration was a lengthy process. They were considered war criminals. This a mistrust of the draft-age Hungarian and German men lasted until about Stalin's death.

On the other hand, they actively recruited young Hungarian men who were pressed into service to work in the mines of the Donyec region. Those who escaped and returned on their own, having been brought to trial, were sentenced to years of even harsher forced labour. Many came back broken: they succumbed to alcoholism and their family lives were disrupted. We can say that the actions of the Stalinists toward Transcarpathia's Hungarians was outright genocide; they wanted to exterminate and physically eradicate them.

As late as 1989, the officials still deny that these horrors ever occurred. Today's official line is that the Stalinist cult of personality was responsible, not they. The deportations of the local Jews is frequently evoked by them - and rightly so! - but the unfortunate Hungarian deportees cannot mention, even in their biographies, where they spent the years immediately following the Soviet occupation. No damages have yet been paid to the relatives or the children whose fathers died innocently. No material assistance has been given to the war widows, the families left without a breadwinner, the helpless elderly. The locations of the mass graves of the internees are still not disclosed. For instance, a gas-station and paved road were built, without informing the relatives, over the tombs of the Szolyva death camp, where, according to the survivors, the bones of over 20 thousand inmates are interred. The years the survivors spent in the camps are not counted towards their retirement yet it was in those very camps that many became disabled or contracted incurable diseases. Of course, they cannot prove any of this as the archives are closed to them. The civilian internees, who never took part in any military action, are treated as POWs taken on the battlefields. The overzealous and cruel functionaries of the local administration still maintain that the punishment of the Hungarians was not only well-deserved and justified but, moreover, the years of forced labour was a mild penalty for the suffering inflicted on Transcarpathia's communists and Jews by the tyranny of the Horthy and Szalasi regimes.

It is time for the politicians condemning Stalinism to take action; after all, there are no people in this realm who were not fatally touched by the repression, by Stalinist despotism. The Supreme Council of the Ukraine should pass a law on the legal and political rehabilitation and material compensation of the internees and political prisoners, as well as these convicted by show trials. It would be appropriate to erect memorials to the victims of Stalinist tyranny in the Hungarian villages of Transcarpathia. And in Szolyva, on the site of the concentration camp, we should create a memorial park to the victims of Stalinism. It would also be an excellent idea to find out, on the basis of archival documents, the names of those who carried out the deportations. We must identify the evil-doers so that future generations should know about them. We must write up and publish, in book form, all the available material on these years of reprisals. This subject is still taboo among the historians of Transcarpathia. The official state archives, and the six-volume *Sljahom Zsovtnya (On the Road to October) 1957-1965* are rather incomplete in this respect and the compilers were particularly careful not to make public the basic documents concerning the life of the local Hungarians. We discovered one or two pieces of this material and quote, without commentary, a few lines of them:

Doc. # 1: from the order issued on November 4, 1944 by the Soviet Military Commander, Ungvar, "Of the citizens of Zakarpatszka Ukraine, only Russians or Ukrainian nationals may enlist in the Red Army".

Doc. # 125: The speech given by Ivan Turjanica, secretary of the party committee of Zakarpatszka Ukraine mentions some Hungarians who have to be "excluded from public life...".

Doc. # 147: (Excerpt from a report of the village board of Salank): "Until the men who used to be Hungarian soldiers and now work in labour camps are allowed to return there will not be enough workers in the village".

The territory's most talented writer and poet, Kovacs Vilmos, gave the best description of the internment of Transcarpathia's Hungarians in his 1965 book "Holnap is Elunk". (We shall still live tomorrow) (after it was published the Soviet authorities withdraw it from circulation): "...The menfolk, between the ages of 18 and 55, were taken away for labour. They promised to release them after three days, but five months have already gone by and none came home. What is more, there are rumours that some have died...". What increases the tragedy of the Hungarians is that some of them in their fear (of being carried off) and under the

impact of discrimination, professed to be Slovaks or Ukrainians, and registered their families as such, although they did not even speak the language.

After the passage of four decades, in the time of glasnost, the Carpathian True Word's November 15, 1980 issue, first raises this question through their readers' letters. We quote:

"N. Jenó resident of Uzsgorod, came to our offices with a petition signed by dozens. He, like countless others following the liberation, performed heavy physical work outside our territory's boundaries. It was not seemly to talk of this earlier, so N. Jenó and his companions could not receive certification for the months of "work contract". We would ask the editors for their help - they end their petition - for if these were certified, we could apply for additional retirement benefits..." (Readers are invited to question, judge, propose...) See how cautiously the writer words his article! We call this "little Perestroika".

## CSATARY GYORGY

The regional archives contain sheaves of documents on the changes of the socio-political scene of 1944 - 1945. At the end of 1944 commissariats came into being in our towns and villages that functioned as primary state authorities. As each village, town, and territory had its commissariat, the documents were grouped under the same geographical identities. The Popular Council of Carpatho-Ukraine was created; it represented our region on the territorial level and its files are also stored with us.

Our work of compiling the lists of names was facilitated by the Commissariat's circular letter which required a report on the whereabouts of the male population. The one received by Zapszony, Csonkapapi, and Haranglab reads thus:

Subject: List of names of those who are in POW camps.

"I order you to send to the commissariat of the district of Beregszasz, by messenger, in two copies and within two days, a list of those Carpatho-Ukrainian citizens who are presently in POW camps. The following information must be



added to the lists of names: place and date of birth, citizenship, and name of camp where he resides.

Beregszasz, July 2, 1945

Since all the settlements of the Beregszasz district responded to this circular and sent in their lists, it is easy to determine exactly the particulars of every deportee. However, by carefully examining these lists, we note that the name of the camp is not always indicated. We find lists completely without the names of the camps. The explanation for this is that the families still did not know where their relatives were taken.

The relatives of the deportees repeatedly asked the commissariats of their village, district or territory for their release but to no avail. It is worth mentioning that the people of Bereg attached the list of names of those in Szolyva Szambor to their petition for the internees' return.

They give six reasons for their application and I quote:

- "1.- The military units need men to rebuild the bridges near our village.
- 2.- Their labor is missing in the reconstruction of the buildings destroyed by the fascists.
- 3.- We need men for the logging of the forests near our village.
- 4.- Without them, we cannot fulfil our military work requirements; there is no one to make spare parts for the wagons.
- 5.- Within the boundaries of our village, there is a mill which serves 6 villages, but at present we have no good miller.
- 6.- There will be no one to till the soil when the time comes; We did not sow in the autumn and we cannot do so now. This is to the detriment of the state also. "

If you granted our petition, we could accomplish all the work we have listed. In support of our application we must stress that many a man was carried off, without

regard to who he is. These men were simple agricultural labourers and woodcutters.

Our village, Bereg, had its communists for a long time and we ask that they be returned to us also. They were honest and conscientious citizens of the village, even during the fascist era. They never supported the enemy and they must have been taken to the camps by chance".

The desperate families, mothers, wives, relatives begged like one the release of their kin. Time and time again, they appealed to the authorities, in person and in writing; The best illustration of the women's fight for the return of their loved ones can be found in one of tire documents at the commissariat of the Batyu district. This letter was forwarded to the commissariat in Beregszasz as the local authority could not ease the difficult times of these mutilated families.

The secretary of the commissariat writes and I quote again:

"I declare that the inhabitants belonging to the commissariat of the Batyu district constantly harass me requesting me to write applications for the release of those who were carried off to labour camps in November 1944. I inquired at the headquarters of the town that mobilised them. I was told that it is not allowed to write any petitions as these men can be released at the end of the war only. With this in mind, I dared not write any applications to the labour camps' commanders.

The sad fact is that one cannot talk to these women. They say that all the secretaries of the district already wrote petitions similar to theirs and that, as a result, several men were released. They accuse me of having no pity and not wanting the men to come home and that it is up to me only that they return.

The offices of the commissariat are filled every day with hundreds of women, relatives of the deportees, who - seeing that I don't want to write petitions - wail and cry. Please clarify this situation and let me know. Their constant presence hinders us in our work. They don't even want to leave the office, they don't understand that I cannot satisfy their requests.

February 1945, Batyu"

\*\*\*\*

"Dear Comrade Popovich:

As Golova (president) of the district, please be good enough to certify the enclosed village commissariat's petition, addressed to you, concerning the release of the 15 comrades whose names are listed therein.

Vari., November 15. 1945

Respectfully,  
Party secretary of the Vari commissariat  
Biro Bertalan

The petition they submitted reads as follows:

To the President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Commissariat Ungvar

The village commissariat of Vari request the release of its following residents who are at the No. 134 camp in Novi-Szambor.

We certify that those named were never members of any fascist organisation; they were all communists or supportive of them.

Again, we ask you to release them from camp, as they are fathers of small children and their parents are already old.

Vari, November 23, 1945  
Biro Bertalan, secretary of the communist party  
Mester Andras, president of the commissariat

Approved by the district commissariat at Beregszasz The Commissariat of Beregszasz has no objection."

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Electric power Works of Carpathia, District of Ungvar, Office of the Beregszasz Supervisor, T.C.(?) Office of the Secretary, Batyu

The undersigned, Electric Power Works of Carpathia, Ungvar, office of the Supervisor in Beregszasz, inform you that our electrician, Petroczy Sandor, formerly entrusted with the duties of district electrician in the Batyu district, is presently in the military camp in Szolyva. According to our information, the military camp commandant of Szolyva would be willing to release him if the secretary, that is, you, of his employers justifies the importance of his duties and his indispensability.

In view of the fact that the power supply to the district of Batyu has already been adversely affected by the said person's absence and emphasising the fact that our electrician's, Petroczy Sandor's prompt return to the district is above all in your best interest, we ask you, Mr. Secretary, to issue' a certificate that stresses the said person's importance and indispensability, not only for the private users but also for the military.

Please address your request to the commander of the military camp and give it to the relative who brings you this letter and who has already taken action.

Thanking you for your favour, I am

Sincerely yours,  
Berehovo, December 26, 1945

Aside from the group petitions, we find individual applications which originated in Vari, Batyu, or other villages inhabited by Hungarians. In all instances, the petitioners received evasive answers - or no answer at all.

BARAT JOZSEF

The communities of Transcarpathia prepared combined or separate lists of the male population that was sent to camps as POWs or deportees. In most cases these lists were combined; only in a few villages were there separate ones.

Of these lists, I would like to analyse one - that of Mezokaszony. We found it in file # 19 in the archives. It was compiled by the village commissariat between February 13 and December 31, 1945 and contains only the list of names of those from Mezokaszony who became POWs or deportees. It is interesting and sad that all 347 men were listed as POWs, whereas there were among them deportees, escapees, communists, and other elements. The lists show each person's name, place and date of birth, the name of the camp, his permanent domicile and the name of the country where the camp is located.

What is most important, however, is that on the basis of this list, we managed to determine that 74 men, of those who were innocently deported in the autumn of 1944, died in the labour camps and that 4 passed away here at home shortly after their return.

It is noteworthy that all the individuals figuring on the main list of Kaszony fall between the age limits, at least according to the numbers shown, whereas among the deportees from other Hungarian settlements of Transcarpathia there were numerous men who have not yet reached the age of 18.

The release of the deportees almost always ended in failure because of the lack of interest and cruelty of the foreign despotism imposed on us.

Here is, for instance, the petition dated August 7, 1945 of Vas Dezsone, resident of Beregrakos, that was approved by the local commissariat, as well as the KNT and forwarded under # 3447 - 1945 to the commander of the camp at Sztarij Szabor. In her petition, Mrs. Vas writes "In the autumn of 1944, the town crier announced that all able-bodied men must report for three days of labour; my husband promptly registered and I have not seen him since. I would urgently ask that this family man be immediately released as here at home we live in great need; I cannot provide for the family by myself and miss the father greatly."

First, I would like to analyse the petition submitted by the local commissariat, the communist party organisation, as well as the general population of Nagyberég (I sincerely doubt the last). This petition is dated February 2, 1945 and was forwarded, with the approval of the Commissariat of Transcarpathia (the KNT hereafter), to Colonel Tyulpanov, the assigned delegate to the KNT and the commander of the 4th Ukrainian Front. Its further fate is unknown. In this application, they beg the Commissariat to intervene for the release of the Hungarian communists from Nagyberég who languish in the camps of Szolyva and

Szambor. According to the list they submit, they ask the release of 44 communists of Nagyberg from Szolyva, as well as of 36 men from Szambor, a total of 80 men.

The Bereg Commissariat and Party summarised their request in six points, the gist of which was the following: as the adult males were all carried off, the village has no able men to do the work; there is no one to provide for their families; agriculture and the exploitation of the forests around Bereg have come to a standstill. The 5th item points out the lack of a good miller to work the mill grinding the wheat of five villages.

The petition also points out that Nagyberg is a predominantly Protestant Hungarian village, which explains why so many men were innocently carried off, regardless of whether they were communists or not.

The application of the Vari local Commissariat, dated January 27, 1945 is a typical case. It requests the release from the labour camp of Sztarij Szambor of Vari's one-time notary, Kerekes Dezso, who was born in Kiralyhelmece on October 27, 1900. The petition points out that the said person always acted in the best interests of the village's population and served justice; that he was never involved in politics or was ever member of any party; furthermore, he never spoke out against the Soviet Union or the Red Army and never stirred up any bad feelings against them. The petition ends by mentioning that Kerekes Dezso left behind his seriously ill wife who cannot do without her husband's everyday assistance. This fact is supported by a medical certificate which was joined to the petition.

Here is another request, # 86/1945, dated February 17, 1945 from the Commissariat of Csap. According to this, at the meeting of February 10, the local commissariat resolved to ask for the release and returned home of all (mostly Hungarian) residents and railway workers from the Szolyva, Perecseny, Sztarij and Novi-Szambor and other forced labour camps. Csap supported this request with the following reasons: the Soviet occupation troops carried off to the camps, without investigation or questioning, the adult male population thus creating famine; there is no labour force to run the railroad, for local industry, to carry out the reconstruction of the ruined town.

Finally, I would like to bring up the petition dated March 5, 1945 of the "Mundusz" wood products industry's workers' committee. In this, they request the liberation of Valc Jenő plant engineer, head of the technological section, from the

Szolyva forced labour camp where he was carried off by the Soviet occupation forces. In the application they point out that Valc Jenó's release would be most important because without his leadership production has stopped with the direct consequence that the workers do not receive their pay and their families go hungry.

### Dr. GYARMATHY ZSIGMOND

My research is connected to the events that occurred in Bereg at the end of 1944. It is not directed towards individual fates but their general socio-historical consequences. In Hungary, their researcher is dr. Kun József, erstwhile head of the military archives, now retired, who was, by the way, born in Lonya. My other colleague in this research is Filep János, pensioner, who heads the Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg county's party archives; he is also from Lonya. Both survived the deportations.

Joined by them, I searched for archival material. I did not participate in the deportations, nor did I suffer from them. As a historian, I have to direct my studies towards finding the truth and the motives for these events.

In Vasárosnemeny, we already published two volumes, entitled "Meeting with Bereg", "Meetings in Berg". I would like to assure the present audience that we do deal with these events, that we do not and shall not allow them to be forgotten. We already published documents and lists of names in the "Szabolcs-Szatmari Szemle" (Review of Szabolcs-Szatmar)

While listening to my colleagues, I was wondering if they ever found a document which answers the petitioners. I found only one in the county archives of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg. This reply came from the head of the temporary control commission in Debrecen. Puskin, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary announces that the Soviet Union has no desire to keep the deported men; they will be returned eventually to their relatives. Thus, we have no firm answer to why this whole thing was started. Only by stringing together the facts of these historical events can we proceed to conclusions.

The deportees from Bereg outnumbered those from other villages. Their numbers reached 80-100-120, at least those that are known, whereas in other villages of neighbouring Szatmar only 8-10-14 men became victims of these events. As a historian, I would like to point out that these events occurred very rapidly. These villages were liberated at the end of October and the first announcements by the town criers had already been made by November 20th, that is, within a month.

This way of proceeding with the deportations was used not only in Bereg; it also spread to Nyiregyhaza and, what is more, to the Transdanubian region. Here I would like to put in an aside: the local women reacted to the rumour that all the men will be released if they became members of the Beregszasz communist party. The relatives tried to manage this by writing to the People's Council of Carpatho-Ukraine in Ungvar.

The facts indicate though that the post offices, wireless stations and village halls of Vasarosnameny, Tizzaszalka, Lonya, on the right bank of the Tisza, were occupied on August 26, 1945, by the Ukrainian military forces. Here, everyone was allowed to leave if he/she so desired, but no one was allowed IN. The Yalta agreement, reinstating the December 1937 borders, annulled this quasi-governmental regulation.

There was much anxiety in those times among the population of Csonka-Bereg (Rump-Bereg), on the other side of the border. Not so long ago, Sara Sandor, film director, produced a film entitled "Csonka-Bereg". This film started to open up that shell of fear that silenced the people for over four decades. I, in the name of the historians, maintain that you do not teach history through films; rather have the historians unveil the truth.

He who looks at the light but does not see the shadows will be blinded.

KERENYI GYULA

I was not among the deportees, had I been, I probably could not be speaking now. I was humbled differently. Many perished among my relatives, friends, classmates. Those who, came home told us about their struggle against inhuman conditions. Their memory is evoked by the memorial tablet that has been set up



and wretched in the hall of our meeting place. Schuber Gyula had it sent, from Budapest, in the name of the Alumni Association of Verke-Part (shores of the Verke creek) . Many of them died.

Of all the similar cases, I would like to mention that of Barta Gabor, who considered himself a good Hungarian. He stood proudly in the 4th row, ready to contribute his work to the reconstruction of all the damages. He was a cobbler, the father of two children; unfortunately one of his legs was shorter than the other; yet he undertook the march to Szolyva. He wanted to be no less than the other Hungarians. Another man had to leave too. He had buried his young wife in 1942, and was father of 4 children. All this is fairly clear to us.

Balazsi Laszlo, who compiled the lists, told us many details. He personally witnessed many an ordeal.

Birta Barna, one of our town's famous soccer players, marched to Szolyva, ill with tuberculosis. His health deteriorated within two weeks. Three days after he came home to Beregszasz he found eternal rest.

Forgon Gusztav, a hairdresser, had access to the barracks and saw with horror how they threw still living Hungarians on a pile and took them to the deep pit. He tried to remove one of his comrade's leggings and saw with revulsion the teeming maggots on the lately still living flesh.

The grief of the Imre family is heartbreaking. Among the siblings, the youngest, barely 20 years old, died first. When his older brother saw this, he followed him into death within ten days. The third brother tells us this.

The daughter of Ujvari Jozsef relates in harrowing details how her father came home:

"He died in the camp in Szolyva. My mother went to visit him; there she was told of her husband's, death. They took her down to the basement where she found her husband among the many dead. She received permission to bring his body home. They left at noon on December 24th and arrived at night, in 20 degree cold. He had died of typhoid fever so we could not bring him into the house. That was the end of three days of forced labour: we buried a strong, healthy, 40-year old man. He was the only dead from Beregszasz who came home like this."

A survivor friend of mine, whose name I am not allowed to mention because he is still afraid, writes the following:

"...On November 18, 1944, we were herded into the building of the local financial administration in Beregszasz. The next day we were marched to various camps. After eight days I arrived at a camp in the Volga region. Alas, from here only two or three men out of ten came home. The young men who left with me, Deak Gyorgy, Deak Gyorgy jr., Kari Bela, Kovacs Pal, Marosi Miklos, Regos Istvan, Sarkozi Jozsef, Szabo Sandor and Szendrei Jozsef, ...all perished. The teacher, Szabo Sandor, was with us too. Once he showed the Soviet commander his communist party card, as well as his stamped ID card, made out in Hungarian and Russian, proving that he was lieutenant in the Red Army. They tore up his cards right in front of his eyes, gave him a beating and sent him back into line. Thus, Szabo Sandor died in camp too..."

I was deeply disappointed in the population of Beregszasz when the question arose of compiling names and erecting a memorial tablet. So very many still dare not make a statement.

Dr. VERES LAJOS

Until the W.W.II, the rules of peace and war were regulated by international law. Clearly defining the two concepts, they started to codify the unwritten laws that governed warfare. The signing of the 1907 law of The Hague gives this convincing proof. This law was accepted and signed by, among others, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as well as tsarist Russia. In the case of Russia, it is interesting to note, that the Hague agreement was applicable to the Soviet Union also after its creation.

This code of laws may be used for regulating society but it can be abused; the enforcement of the law always depends on major political considerations.

For instance, The Hague agreement duly regulated the behaviour of the warring nations toward civilian populations. According to the rules of the agreement, the belligerents have to respect the civilian inhabitants to the utmost; their human rights, as well as their ethnic, religious, or political convictions cannot be violated. The Hague agreement protected those civilians who, through armed conflict or

foreign occupation, come into the power of a state of which they are not citizens. These protected individuals cannot be exposed to the armed conflict and under no circumstances can there be any regulation or political decision that might curtail this protection. The occupying powers must maintain public security, if at all possible, on the basis of existing laws. The occupying powers may make use of the inhabitants for public works, but only in a given place, for short duration and only for military purposes. Therefore, the inhabitants may under no circumstances be deported, that is removed from their homes and put to work. The occupying power that takes these actions as was done in Transcarpathia by the soviet Stalinist powers commits a war crime. I would like to note, by the way, that women should be especially protected. In the given case, that is in Transcarpathia in 1944, the most they should have endeavoured was to have the population give material help to the occupying forces. The deportation of a great part of its population was an outrage to the concept of international law.

At the beginning of the XX. century, two legal principles were clarified: that of the use of force and the question of the right to declare war. I do not wish to go into details; the main point is that both legal principles became fundamental. That is to say that without infringement of the norms of law, it would have become impossible to declare war and to apply brute force to the population of the occupied territories. This is an interesting point because such infringement of the norms of law was the main crime of the war criminals. The fascist German soldiers, mostly higher ranking officers, were condemned for just such infringement of the legal principles.

What is striking though in connection with the deportations of 1944 is that the Stalinist war machinery which committed the same military crimes went unpunished. It is the spirit of The Hague agreement that it is not the soldiers who commit the crimes that, are held responsible for them, but the state's government or the head of state who is behind them. From this point of view, this was then Stalin's unambiguous responsibility. Naturally, the immediate question that comes to mind is: - why were Stalin and his minions not punished or held responsible for the same crimes for which Germans and other nationals were condemned?

The answer, of course, is obvious: - the Germans lost and the soviets won the war, leaving Stalin in a position of power. In relation to Hungary, this manifested itself by the Temporary Government declaring, in December 1944, that Hungary's administration must withdraw behind the borders fixed by Trianon. Thus, the Temporary Government not only anticipated but surpassed the soviet expectations;

it took the position that it does not wish to deal with the Hungarians or territories beyond its borders.

In my opinion, this was a schizophrenic attitude. As unjust were the decisions in Trianon, so justifiable were Hungary's various endeavours for territorial revisions. When, after W.W.II, these territorial revisions went up in smoke, the Temporary Government and subsequent ones did not dare associate themselves to the actions; of the previous government, as well as with public opinion. Thus they never claimed legal continuity for them. This was why the Temporary Government never protested the deportations. The then Foreign Minister did show some interest in the question, but no substantial measures were taken when the Soviets took someone from the left or the right side of the border

The question of state succession is also a concept of international law. We speak of state succession when; a state or part of its territory comes under the suzerainty of another state. There are various forms to state succession. In the case of cession, two states agree that one will cede, voluntarily and with no strings attached, a certain territory. It must be known that cession can only take place when neither of the two states is threatened. Joining Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union appears to be, in its form, a cession. However, as a losing state (Hungary), is at the mercy of a victorious one (the Soviet Union), cession becomes rightfully questionable. In the case of Transcarpathia's forceful annexation, we should speak of state succession in its aggressive form. It is a moot point that this aggressive endeavour carried the hall-mark of cession in order to deceive international law. That is why after the dissolution of the Czech public administration, Transcarpathia became an independent territory which later "voluntarily" joined the Soviet Union. This mock-cession continued until the annexation was completed

The peculiarities that one can discover in Stalin's logic are really quite interesting. From the legal point of view, I can see two. In Stalin's thought processes two ancient legal concepts dominate, and not only where the Transcarpathian deportations are concerned but also in connection with his actions in the Soviet Union.

One is the concept of "an eye for an eye"; that is, there is no mercy for anyone who offends me. The other is the concept of collective guilt which is the viewpoint of primitive societies but came to flower, interestingly, in the XX. century when the fascist and communist, or anti-fascist, powers applied this concept. On the basis of collective guilt, the individual was punished because he belonged to such a

race, religion or ethnic group that turned against us; punishment was meted out without regard to the individual's attitude towards the occupiers. Here I would like to refer to one of the sayings attributed to Stalin, when he said that the Hungarian question is only a question of "boxcars". But I also have to mention that the post-war fate of Transcarpathia was under discussion on between the Soviet Union and the exiled government of Czechoslovakia since 1943.

I must stress that in his application of the concept of collective guilt, Stalin was no different from Hitler; yet Stalin was never punished. In this connection, I must point out that the system of international law that developed until the middle of the XX. century, failed completely. The confederation of states was ruined, the concepts of international law became hollow. The old legal system needed revision, which the UN, established after W.W.II, accomplished. In this respect, the most sensitive point is what the law has to say about the above-mentioned violations of human rights. Here, in my opinion, we must proceed by analogy: in criminal-law procedures the concept is applied that anyone who is unjustly condemned and that comes to light, then that innocently punished or deported individual is entitled to compensation and rehabilitation. Based on legal logic, this precept can be applied to the Hungarians, Germans, and others, who were deported in the autumn of 1944. In Hungary, the rehabilitation of political victims has already begun; it could serve as precedent for other countries. In all instances, however, one must emphasise that political rehabilitation must precede the legal one. This rehabilitative action must be divided into those who live in Hungary and those living in Transcarpathia. At the same time, under no circumstances should the Transcarpathians be separated in the rehabilitative process from Stalin's other victims.

SARI JOZSEF, Sr.

I would have liked to list all the victims of the towns and villages of the Upper Tisza region but, as the Hungarian population is so widely scattered, we could not yet reach an exact number. Therefore, we can rely only on the data of a few villages and towns: from Visk 94 men perished; from Tecso, 89; from Szlatina, 144. These are the numbers we have in our possession. Leaving out the details. I

would just say that I, too, went through hell but I am here. I do not want to give an account of what I went through; I approach things differently.

We must try to come to terms with and, with time, alleviate the unspeakable wrong that we suffered. One cannot build a viable future on resentment. After all, the future does interest us greatly and we believe that democracy, the tolerance we show one another, are the best safeguards against the horrors of the past. If we do not adopt these principles, our future as well as our very existence as individuals and as a community, become uncertain, doubtful and can lead to the unleashing of hell and destruction of humanity.

I, myself, can see the sign of survival not only for our minority community but also for the whole of mankind in a true democracy that originates in a clean spirit and in the patience we show one another. Let us, therefore, live according to these principles and let the mementos of the monstrous horrors of the past be way-stations on our paths through life. Let us take great care that through our attitude, undisciplined ways, and irresponsibility we do not create fertile ground for despotism, terror and dictatorships that are alienated from the people and from life itself.

#### LUSZTIG KAROLY

I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that the period between the end of 1945 and 1953 was characterised by the sign of Stalinist Anti-Semitism.

I do not think it necessary to enumerate all the campaigns that took place in those years. From the Western oriented, servile, antisocial cosmopolitans to the scientists of various rank and expertise, from the geneticists to the men of letters, all were persecuted. These campaigns quite often took on a hysterical note, claiming many Jewish victims particularly among the intelligentsia, throughout the country, as well as in Transcarpathia. Before the war, numerous Jews and many left-wing elements emigrated to England where they found refuge. After their return, all of these people showed signs of suffering from the forced emigration; they may have become targets in the xenophobic atmosphere there. Although no mass arrests took place, they were planned and were being prepared.

I have many friends among those who were rehabilitated. Some facts show how absurdly the deportations and imprisonment's were carried out. At the time, it came as a great surprise to all of us that Mermelstein Erno was arrested (those from Beregszasz surely remember him well) as he did not hide his activities in the Komszomol. His rehabilitation paper reads: he was arrested for his anti-Soviet propaganda and activities. We only learned then that he had been sentenced to 20 years. When I met him after his return in 1955, he told me the real reason for his arrest: - at a get-together with four friends, he told a joke. One of the four was an informer who reported the incident. The consequence was 20 years.

There was another case also. Among those who were rehabilitated, there were three members of a family: Jutkovics Maria, Mor, and Sandor. The last, born in 1926, was a good friend of mine: I knew him well. In this case the reason for arrest was that he was an antisocial element. The background to this is as follows: Sandor's younger brother was in active military service in East Germany whence he escaped. Here too, as in many other cases, the principle of collective guilt was applied against the whole family. During the mass destruction of Jews, this family managed to hide; they escaped Hitler's camps, but not Stalin's.

The anti-Semitic hysteria reached its peak at the end of 1953 and early 1953, when several doctors were arrested in Moscow. Essentially, they were all eminent physicians, professors. They were accused of deliberately misdiagnosing and actively killing several well-known leaders and representatives of the soviet state. This accusation was so absurd that no one, expert or lay person, quite believed it.

Everything pointed to the preparations of even greater and more serious reprisals. Throughout the state, an unbridled anti-Semitic campaign was launched. Had Stalin not died in the meanwhile, the population of the Gulag archipelago would have increased by at least two million soviet Jews.

Due to an official report, I have to return to the original theme of my speech. This report was presented at the meeting called in Ungvar to celebrate the "45th anniversary of Transcarpathia's jointing the Soviet Ukraine". The speaker stated, among others: "The six-year reign of the Hungarian fascists was a dark period in our territory's history. They incarcerated or sent to concentration camps over 183,000 people; of whom some 115,000 were destroyed."

Just like that, without a word that the great majority of the deceased were Transcarpathian Jews. Don't these deserve separate mention? Is this subject still considered taboo, as it was throughout 45 years?

But this is only one aspect of the question. This is not the place or time for me to go into details on to analyse the circumstances of the deportations that occurred in the spring of 1944. It is well known that despite the ever-increasing pressure exerted by the Nazis, the Hungarian regime refused to adopt the Hitlerian "final solution" until March 1944, when the Germans occupied Hungary and the country lost its independence. To tell the truth, the Hungarian extreme rightist elements participated in the execution of this vile genocide (a fact that was never nor is now denied). But when in a speech, a number is summarily advanced that is out of proportion to the general population (and exaggerated, in my opinion), it gives the false image of the "Hungarian fascist regime" taking so many Ukrainian victims. And this can provoke passions to flare or, at the least, an unhealthy atmosphere. What is the explanation for this? That the experts do not know the facts? Or are they skewed? But the truth must be told sometime!

#### OMELJAN DOVHANICS\*

The Transcarpathian Ukrainians who illegally crossed the border between 1939 and 1941 were the first to suffer soviet reprisals. For a long time, no reports appeared about this anywhere.

There is argument to this day about the number of Transcarpathians who crossed the soviet borders illegally before and during W.W.II. What is at issue is that very different numbers came to light in historical and other publications. The Hungarian documents acknowledge a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 3 thousand people; The Czechoslovakian archives mention 4 thousand and the soviets speak of from 5 to 50 thousand (on the territorial level). The house-to-house inquiry, that took place in 1962-1964 and was initiated by the district and village councils, came up with the number 3534. This is not an exact number though, since the lists were compiled some twenty years after the fact.



I received invaluable help in my studies of this problem from the Office of National Security of the Transcarpathian Territorial Committee. They put at my disposal the records of the gendarmerie on the Transcarpathian escapees, as well as numerous other archival documents. My studies and analysis of Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Soviet sources lead me to conclude that about 5,000 Ukrainians from Transcarpathia resettled in the Soviet Union.

The soviet legal system applied to these people the law concerning illegal border crossings. That is to say that those who escaped across the frontier, fell under the penal code and they received no less than three years in forced labour camps. Thus, several thousand Transcarpathian peasants, labourers, intelligentsia or students ended up in the camps of Stalin and Beria.

In my opinion this had two reasons: first, they considered all Transcarpathian inhabitants as faithful servants of Horthyist Hungary which was allied to the Germany that unleashed war. The second was the exaggerated suspicion with which, during Stalin's personality cult, they regarded all foreigners who fled to the Soviet Union. The Home Affairs organisation regarded these people as a sure base for a spy network.

As M. G. Gerics, war veteran from Huszt, remembers the events: "I met many people in Sztaniszlav, women, children, old and young soldiers who deserted from the Hungarian army. We were lined up, facing the wall, guarded by a military patrol with dogs. Among them; was a forester, I don't remember his name not from which village he came, he was there with his wife and six children. He yelled in desperation when they started to separate the women and children from the fathers. I was incarcerated, in cell #31, where I spent three months. Every evening we were interrogated. After three months we were taken to Gomel in Belorussia, from there to Orsa and then Minsk. All the jails were chock-full. Many men died of starvation. Those who survived were transferred to the prison in Rovno. There an officer called us in one by one, put a report in front of me telling me to sign it: three years of forced labour camp for illegal border crossing.

That's when it started. We were transported in cold boxcars. We were starving and did not even have water. From time to time, our guard gave us a bucketful, without a mug, so each one of us had no more than a mouthful. we reached the Komi ASSK. At the station, we were put into cars and travelled for two days and then continued on foot. Tormented by hunger and cold, many men died already during the march. They took us to a forest where there was not a single building.

Our guards put signs on the trees to mark off the zone we could not leave. They gave us saws and axes to build barracks with the felled trees. As soon as we finished, we received new orders: to go farther into the forest, as horses were to be stabled in the barracks

And so we continued to build until spring. Whoever did not reach his prescribed norm did not receive his ration: 400 grams of frozen black bread, 1 litre of balanda. Three thousand men in three sections worked day and night. From one morning to the next, 5-6 people died. The bodies were just thrown onto the snow, beyond the limit. Those who died weakened by starvation and hard work rest in the grounds of the Pecsora camp and various others.

We still do not know the names of all, but the research continues. It is our duty to wipe the slate clean for those who crossed the border illegally from 1939 to 1941 into the Soviet Union. No name can be omitted from the list. We must do everything in our power to restore to history the names of all these unjustly forgotten people.

\* This speech was in the Ukrainian language.

#### Dr. FAZEKAS ARPAD

From the point of view of our overall theme, it is essential to know that November 2nd (not an error!), 1944 was a day of mourning in Nyiregyhaza. Over 2000 civilian men were collected and carried off by the soviet soldiers for work of reparations. We must mention that Nyiregyhaza was liberated twice. First, on October 21, 1944 when the soviet army only stayed five days before the Germans reoccupied the town. Then, on October 31, 1944 it was finally liberated. On the same day, posters appeared throughout the town calling the inhabitants to perform works of reconstruction. By that time, only 15,000 residents remained in the town out of 40,000. We are in possession of all relevant material; we knew that 1,620 wives and 3,886 children were dependent on, the 2,000 deportees. Therefore, the total number of those who were victimised amounts to 7,506, that is half of the remaining population. Who were deported? For All Souls' Day, the newspaper

"Határszel" (Borderline) published its Commemorative Book with 80 pages devoted to listing the names of the deportees, as gleaned from archival documents.

The people of the town's authorities did all in their power to find any applicable law to obtain the return of the men.

Tompa Endre, lieutenant-governor of the county (alispan) addressed the following letter to the Minister of public Welfare on June 23, 1945: "Early in November of last year, the occupying soviet troops illegally deported, for unknown reasons and purposes, numerous citizens of our jurisdiction. From the town of Nyiregyhaza, over 2,000 men suffered this fate I must state that no distinction was made among the deportees for political or other reasons. We lost numerous men of tried and true left-wing convictions just at the time of the start of reconstruction." I have to say that there were 50 Social-Democratic leaders among the deportees.

In 1989, the W.W.II Memorial Committee was formed in Nyiregyhaza; I was honoured to be chosen its president. We would like to erect a memorial to all- the victims. The sad fact is that the Hungarian authorities remained silent about these events and names. On the other hand, we managed to bring all this to light from the archives within a month.

## BALLA GYULA

I would like to speak of the echo's of the deportations because many of my friends here, but also abroad, think of me as suffering from "Nagydobrony-mania". There is no end in the Western press to the "tragedy of Nagydobrony" that never took place. But in this auditorium too there might be people who never heard this story, at least not the way I shall present it. It concerns the horror story of how the invading Soviet troops razed the village of Nagydohrony of Transcarpathia, deporting all of its people.

In the West, Sulyok Dezso, noted Hungarian politician living in America, dedicated his first book to the victims of Nagydobrony. Since Transcarpathia was also locked in behind the iron curtain, no one had the means to deny or prove the truth of the legend that spread far and wide. The gross exaggeration of this

folklore horror story gave birth to about a hundred newspaper articles; even in 1989 in Hungary's periodical called "Datum" it was presented as a sensation. It is, of course, true that Stalinists committed many crimes in the occupied territory, but in Nagydobrony no special atrocities took place. They did take men from 18 to 50 for three days of labour but that happened elsewhere also.

I know that you follow the Hungarian press and read the books published there. Lately, we can see the start of a political cleansing process of events that were and are still being kept quiet. It has become clear from the speeches that this was a widespread process, not limited to a narrow territory.

The deportations and the "tragedy of Nagydobrony" are weirdly connected in that the Western press never mentions what really happened but exaggerates what did not. As soon as we have finally managed to deny this story, the Hungarian press picked it up and an article was published in a paper in Szekszard.

It is obvious that the story of the "tragedy" is the result of well-planned political manipulations.

That these articles could be published at all, is a consequence of Transcarpathia's isolation from the world. Had the reporters been able to come here and see with their own eyes that the village does exist, this story would never have taken off.

Dr. BOTLIK JOZSEF

I believe it will be of interest to recapitulate the trials of the Hungarian nation at the turn of the years 1944-1945. Let us start in the north in the Highlands (Felvidek). A few months after the deportations of Hungarians from Transcarpathia, that is on April 4, 1945, Czechoslovakia's president, Eduard Benes, issued a proclamation. The so-called Government Program of Kassa, which served as the legal basis for these events, deprived 800-900 thousand Hungarians of Czechoslovakia of their citizenship and of their homeland. It also condemned them to eighteen months of forced labour for the purpose of the so-called "pridelovaci vymer" or relocation order.

The government in Prague had several aims in view with the execution of this plan. The most important one was the creation of a homogeneous, that is minority-free, country. That is why they resettled over 3 million Germans from the Sudetenland but there were several hundreds of thousands of Hungarians left. They could not compel Hungary to accept this mass of people; therefore they tried to break up the Hungarian-inhabited territories, from Galanta to Toketerebes. The deportations of the Hungarians lasted from November 1946 to February of 1947. We still do not have the exact numbers but they affected about a hundred thousand Hungarian families that were resettled on Czech lands. Soldiers encircled the Hungarian villages. With their few belongings gathered in haste, the people were packed into freight cars and transported to Czech stations, where they were kept waiting for days or weeks in 20-30 degree cold.

The majority of the deported Hungarians were lowly peasants. The more wealthy ones, the so-called "feherlevelesek" ("white-tagged") were assigned to resettlement in Hungary. The Hungarian government was practically powerless to stop the deportations and was obliged to negotiate the exchange of minority inhabitants. In February 1947, the Czechoslovak government ceased the deportations but those who were already deported could not return to their homes. They could send their children to Czech schools but those who fled home were transported back and forced into concentration camps. They settled Slovaks from the northern part of the Highlands into the former homes of Hungarians.

By the second half of 1947, it was in the Soviet Union's interest to temper the differences between the small nations of Central Europe as these would have threatened their own sphere of influence. This resulted in the solution to the Czech-Hungarian antagonisms. The exchange of Czech-Hungarian inhabitants, which proceeded very fast, had stopped by the spring of 1947. In the spirit of reciprocity, some 80,000 Hungarians from Czechoslovakia were resettled in Hungary and a similar number of Slovaks in Czechoslovakia. Then the number of deported Hungarians who fled Czechoslovakia for home became a flood. Officially, their return home was only sanctioned from 1948 on. About 80 to 85% of the over hundred thousand deportees opted to return to their homeland; only about 15 to 20% chose to remain in the industrial region.

But Czech nationalism did not surpass that of the Romanians, with regard to the Hungarians of Transylvania. A year before the end of the W.W.II, when Romania withdrew from the war, they started the reprisals against the Hungarians. The complaints of the inhabitants of Kolozsvár and the surrounding villages against the

ravages of the Romanian gendarmerie and the grey-clad armed groups became everyday occurrences. They looted and pillaged, then cruelly beat and carried off the Hungarians. Officially, the armed groups were called "Voluntari Pentru Ardeal" or "Volunteers for Transylvania" or Maniu-guards; also called Maniu-gendarmes. These collaborated with the gendarmerie.

That is when they created in Foldvar, near Brasso, the forced labour camp where tens of thousands of Hungarians were taken. They said that the Hungarians served the Horthyists, did not accept the Romania regime and would not give up their revisionist dreams. The Romanian authorities fired hundreds of Hungarian employees. Upon instructions from the Russian military command, they said, they closed the Hungarian language elementary and secondary schools, forbade the use of the Hungarian language, and reintroduced Romanian as the official language of the administration. The carnage that the Maniu-guards inflicted almost provoked a civil war. Because of the Romanian government's vacillations, they did not fulfil the conditions of the armistice, they did not call the war criminals to account, they did not return the stolen soviet goods but sabotaged the cultivation of agricultural produce behind the lines. Again upon instructions from the Soviet military command they reinstated Hungarian public administration in northern Transylvania in November 1944. They introduced a new order which lasted until the beginning of 1945. This was the only measure taken by the authorities of soviet military forces occupying Transylvania that helped protect the interests of the Hungarians and other nationalities

What exactly happened in Bacska during the war years, between 1941 and 1945? How many people are buried in the mass grave in Temerin and who were they? On every All Soul's Day, the local inhabitants cover the grave of the unknown dead with fresh flowers. It was prohibited until now to mention that in the autumn of 1944, in Zenta, a large group of Hungarians was gathered and summarily executed. We still do not know how many fell victim to this event. From an article published in the newspaper "Ujvideki Magyar Szo" written by Dr. Juhasz Geza, retired teacher, we learn that in the autumn of 1944, a Serbian delegation from Zsablya and Csurog called on Marshall Tito in Belgrade. They asked for permission to take revenge on the Hungarians for the massacres committed in January 1942, during the interregnum between the Hungarian administration and the partisan groups. Permission for reprisals was granted to the two villages.

In the autumn of 1944, genocide took place in Bezdan too; here over 100 Hungarians were murdered. In Adorjan, near Nagykanizsa, victims numbered more than 50. Proportionately to the total population every 30th village inhabitant became a victim. Hundreds of people were killed in Szabadka, and Ujvidek. For these too, the inhabitants take flowers by guesswork. Here are some relevant numbers: - in Csurog, the majority of the population is Serbian. In 1910, there were 2730 Hungarians here; in 1948, at the time of the first census after the war, there were altogether 139. In Zsablya, instead of the 1722 Hungarians there are only 100 at this time. In the summer of 1945, when the concentration camps were dissolved, the Hungarians were prohibited from returning to their native villages. They were deprived of all their worldly goods.

According to some estimates, Tito's partisans are responsible for the death of 30 thousand Hungarians. For decades, Kadar Janos and Marshall Tito kept silent about these reprisals.

## ZOMBORY ISTVAN

How did they carry off the men from Aknaszlatina too?

Most of them realised that the damages caused by war had to be repaired, and that they will "only" go to the vicinity of Raho for three days of work fixing up collapsed tunnels. Several groups assembled, the younger ones marched towards Raho, singing along the way.

Most of the male population was at home, exempt from the draft, as the saltmines were considered a war industry. Yet it happened that over a thousand men were deported. More than 150 of them are buried in unknown places. Many came home already from Szolyva - fatally ill; they died at home and are buried here. We still do not know the fate of many others.

I don't want to list the names of all the martyrs, only mention some of those who were carried off and never came back. Most of them are Hungarians: Benedek Marton, Borody Janos, Kemeny Istvan, Kozma Zsiga, Paladi Bela, Zborivszki Karoly as well as many, many others.

After 1944, numerous people were carried off for various crimes". For instance, the teacher, Soos Istvan, was jailed for producing in Szlatina the play "Janos Vitez".

My father's uncle, for example, made the remark in a train that he is Hungarian and professes to be one. For this slip of the tongue, he never saw Szlatina again, nor did we see him. He was called Zadranszky Jozsef.

From 1947 on, they started to assemble the young people under the pretext that they will be taken to a trade school for the manufacturing industry (FEZEO). Those who could not stand the brutal work escaped; they received four years and then were transported to the Kolima region in north-eastern Siberia.

#### NAGY ZOLTAN MIHALY

The organising committee of our Association asked me to make a short study, based on letters of the camp and prayers which have come to my knowledge.

Some of these camp writings have come down to us in several variation. I mention one only the "1944 PRAYER OF A THOUSAND PRISONERS" of which I have four variants. I have no doubt that some other variations will show up in my collection during my research. Here then is the first stanza which is identical in all variation:

A thousand prisoners send their prayers to the skies  
Hear us, oh Lord, and listen finally to our sighs  
Help us home, we implore you, we beg you on our knees  
We are suffering for our sins, we poor deportees.  
Our Father, Lord God who are in the skies  
Hear us, oh Lord, and listen to our sighs.

On December 27, 1944, a man called Ferenc wrote the following letter in verse to his relative Boris from Szolyva concentration camp. The identity of the person is so far unknown. I quote a few lines:



My Lord, my God. I beg you, let me no longer grieve  
For I have been blown about like fallen leaves  
We are suffering all, in horrible captivity.  
The soldier, at least, know he may die  
But I, I just don't know why.

It is obvious that the quoted verse-prayer and letter have no great poetic value. However, we must not approach them as literature, but as authentic documents of an era; as such they are invaluable.

I must mention separately and in detail the poems of Balog Sandor, Protestant choir-master of Szernye, that show a well-developed aptitude for writing and noteworthy poetic standards. I speak of the Balog Sandor who had organised at the time and was conductor of "Gyongykalaris" (a glee club) of Szernye, the Transcarpathian version of the by now sadly forgotten "Gyongyosbokreta" movement.

In 1944 came the horrible realisation: - it is not good to be Hungarian in Transcarpathia. Balog Sandor was carried off also.

It is understandable and natural that this steadfast man, who passionately loved his country and glorified its beauty in song, would continue to put the trials of camp life into poems, yet he could not write them down. As illustrated by the next few lines, he wrote his poems in his mind and kept them in his memory until he could put them to after his return.

I still write in my thoughts  
With perils this is fraught.  
I will keep in my memory  
The verses of my poetry.

In his poem "IN ANOTHER CAMP", Balog Sandor describes the conditions of camp life, as well as the sufferings of the prisoners with bitter irony and shattering dramatic flair.

I quote in full:

we are moving to another camp  
We can't believe this big event.  
We were half eaten by lice here,  
There, instead, we shall have fleas.

Bedbugs too? My Lord, my God,  
You'd think on trees they grow  
But bread and food for life  
Are always in short supply.

I tread the road to Golgotha  
On this horrifying agora  
Oh, my Lord, what shall I become?  
The "ferry" is waiting, here I come!

I cannot continue to elaborate on Balog Sandor's poetry, although it is most likely that he left us the greatest number of camp-poems of the highest standards.

It is sad but interesting that one of the survivors, Kodobocz Endre of Beregsom, has literally just now, there days ago written his poem "RECOLLECTION" in which he remembers his return home from captivity.

I would like to quote his closing lines:

I roamed around in many a place as a youngster  
But never have I seen such a horrifying monster  
But the Lord was good to me  
And allowed me to return to thee.  
Accept me again as your beloved son  
Give food and drink to this starving one.

To finish I would like to ask all of you: please help preserve all the writings from camps and let us spread the word throughout Transcarpathia so as to safeguard these documents so very special to an era.

KERESZTYEN BALAZS

When I talked to the elderly men who went through the hell of Stalinist forced labour camps, but returned to their families. I became acquainted with people whose fate was sad and tragic. For years, they kept silent, they had to keep immediate families: their wives, their brothers and sisters. And how many did not come back - young ones, 18-year olds! Some collapsed already during the march and were left by the roadside, unburied. The stronger ones marched on; then they were transported, packed into freight cars.

What was his crime, that father of nine children from Nagyszolos, whom as breadwinner, was mobilised by neither the Czech nor the Hungarian army? He could stay home. But now he had to leave for "three days of work". He appealed in vain, referring to his children. He never returned. Until now, who could raise their voices in protest, for him and the other victims? Not even the bells could toll. In our region, it is a centuries-old custom to accompany the dead to their graves by the ringing of bells. I feel that all the people mentioned during this meeting are our own unburied dead.

We take on a difficult, almost impossible task when we try to remember, after all these years, those who were carried off for three days of labour in 1944. Aren't we opening up old, long-healed wounds? Nowadays, there are daily revelations of history's so-called blank spaces, which were mostly "dark", and we cannot keep silent about them any more. There are some people who do not know the past and think that it was as they are told.

I was shocked to read in the October 10, 1989 issue of the district newspaper of Nagyszolos, the "Kommunizmus Zaszlaja"(banner of Communism), the declaration of Klavgyija Zabroda. According to this vice-president of the district council of the veterans of war labour "...there are people who spread slanderous rumours saying that in 1944, men of Hungarian nationality were deported. Such alarming tales only serve to incite hostility; what is more, hostility based on nationality."

The hundreds of victims who died innocently - only in the district of Nagyszolos - and their families are witnesses to the fact that this was the shattering reality and not only "alarming tales". To this day, there are some who know nothing about these events, or just do not want to know about them.

The decree aiming expressly at Hungarians is an indisputable fact. What is more, the Protestants and Roman Catholics were specially targeted. From Tekehaza, for instance, no one was taken who professed to be of the Uniate faith.

As soon as the soviet troops entered Nagyszolos, numerous inhabitants participated in repairing the bridge across the Tisza that had been destroyed. They had been working there for several days when, in the middle of November, the order came for "three days of labour". The men were gathered in the county hall and were marched out from there in groups of a hundred to Tiszaujlak. The people from the neighbouring villages were also collected there. Sentries guarded the hall and no one was allowed to leave unless ordered out with his group. Already in Ujlak, many had their more valuable possessions taken from them, then marched on to Szolyva. From there they were transported to various points of the country to camps they shared with Hungarian, Romanian, and German POWs. Their treatment varied from camp; to camp. One survivor, Bak Endre, remembers being among the lucky ones.

He was in the medical corps of the Hungarian army, driving a horse-drawn ambulance. During retreat, his unit happened to cross Nagyszolos. He asked for leave to visit his family. When he was ready to rejoin his unit, it had already left town. Since he was left behind, he did not follow the army but stayed home with his family. For a week he went to work on the bridge over the Tisza. One evening armed civilians came to take him to the county hall. From Ujlak he got to Szolyva where he spent a month and a half logging in the forest. As the barracks were so crowded that all you could do was sit, many people fell ill already here. Some of the feeble and elderly were let go. His group was lined up and marched to Szabor. They marched during the day; at night, they halted at the edge of a village to rest a little, standing in the snow leaning against one another. Those who passed out were left by the roadside. They only received a bit of dry bread to take them to Szabor. It was mostly the young who dropped out of line. Thus, from Nagyszolos, died at 18 Komaromi Istvan, Konya Istvan, Mezei Zoltan, Madi Zsigmond.

They spent three weeks in Szabor where they even got warm food; then they were taken to Donbasz, Makijevka. They selected the strongest for work, the feeble ones were kept in the camp. Many of them died, such as Kovacs Imre, Vince Endre, Nagy Janos, all of them residents of Nagyszolos. Bak Endre spent seven months in the camp. One day he ate a raw cabbage leaf that had fallen off a wagon and he became ill. A German doctor, who was a prisoner himself, cured

him more or less. They started to release the ill and weak ones, so he got into a "transport". Accompanied by an officer, they were brought home through Raho and Szlatina. They received dried fish, bread, and a barrel of water for the trip.

Unfortunately, we still cannot give an exact accounting of all the deceased from Nagyszolos.

Kocsi Mihaly, resident of Tekehaza was taken to Szolyva too. They were taken by train to Boriszov where he spent three years and 34 days in camp. They were to move 8 cubic meters of earth daily, two men to a wheelbarrow. One was the "horse" that pulled, the other the "donkey" that pushed, remembers Kocsi Mihaly with a bitter smile. He returned in 1947. He says that many men from Verboc were incarcerated in camps in the Caucasus.

Many people still keep asking themselves why they had to suffer so much, since they did not look upon the soviet army as the enemy, they did not flee before it, as many of the wealthy folk did. After all, they were told that the working people have nothing to fear...

I think that there is no rational explanation for Stalinist despotism - for any despotism. But we must speak of it so that these things should never happen again.

#### KOVACS IMRE ZOLTAN\*

The Stalinist terror did not pick its victims in forced labour camps only. Those injured in the show-trials and the deportations of the kulaks are also attributable to the despotism of this era.

My uncle, Bodnar Tibor, does not know to this day why he had to spend ten years in prison. He was assistant hairdresser and had never been a soldier in his life. A man called Mandi Jozsef denounced him to the Ukrainian military tribunal. Accusing him of supporting the old regime.

I quote from the letter Majoros Jozsef sent me;"...At my workplace I was told that everybody had to attend a meeting. So they gave me a piece of paper that I was to

take to the offices of the local winery. There was a captain there and as soon as I entered he started raining blows on me. He wanted me to confess something that I never did. Finally several people were beating me; they pulled out 90% of my hair. They wanted me to admit that the twenty people whom conspiracy..."

Mate Jolan described how she, like Majoros was denounced by K. Gyorgy resident of Vari. At that time, the whole village feared him. With her 70-year old grandmother and her 9-month old sibling, she was put into a room and the door was nailed shut so that they starved. The then 13-year old Mate Jolan escaped through the window.

We feel it necessary and important that all this material be worked up so that the guilty parties can be brought o account.

\*he died with tragic suddenness on October 24, 1990.

## GULACSI GEZA

From November 1, 1944, the agents of the NKVD recruited men, mostly from Palanka, Varalja, Posahaza, Ujfalu and Munkacs, to repair the Munkacs airport. Those working there were mainly Hungarians and Germans.

In early November, a proclamation appeared ordering all men between the ages of 18 and 50 to report to the Rakoczi-Manor for three days of public works. Masses of unsuspecting people assembled, taking the proclamation literally. A big crowd gathered in front of the manor as relatives and friends accompanied their loved ones. The number of people kept growing. On that day, they separated the Hungarians and the Germans from the other nationalities and drove them to the manor; there were about thirty men. Many received summonses by name for November 18; others were carried off from their workplace, others during the night.

On Saturday, November 18. The men gathered at the manor where they were listed. Those who claimed to be Ruthenian or Slovak were sent home. No one else

was allowed to leave the manor; they spent the night in the cellar. There was no medical check-up.

In the morning of the 19th: line up; they departed in a long column marching along the right bank of the Latorca, then along the creek Viznice. Those who fell behind were urged on with kicks and those who had no strength left to continue marching or stepped out of line were shot on the spot. They drank from the Latorca, later from puddles. They spent the night of November 19-20 in the big Szolyva concentration camp, whence they directed people to various locations. They had one option: those who wanted to join the Czech legion could do so, but they had to give proof of a minimal knowledge of the Czech language: recitation of the Czech national anthem or some prayers was the standard. For one group, the first station after Szolyva was Grabovnica where they spent the night in a meadow. On the night of November 20-21, they had already reached Veverszallas ; again they slept in the fields. Sleet was falling, everything got soaked through, the clothes froze on them by morning. Those who had some tried to make shelter out of blankets. The campground was surrounded by soldiers. Many people escaped during the March. To replace them and to make up the complement, they just caught anyone they met on the road. The soldiers seized all good clothing and boots. The next stops: Tukolyka (sawmill), Turka (ruined houses) Szt. Szambor (stables), Novi Szambor (camp). The March took eight days. Those who were ill, stayed there, the rest were loaded into freight cars. They crowded as many as a hundred men in one car. They were travelling for seven days, arriving in Orsa (Belorussia, district of Vityebszk) on December 10th.

On December 13, 1944, started the ordeal of the residents of Posahaza. Their registration point was the courtyard of the corner building next to the church. Long lines of men started out from Posahaza, Varalja and Palanka toward the Rakoczi manor. But they were not listed here, only in Szolyva. They took 23 men from Posahaza at that time. Those that were ill stayed there, but the healthy ones were taken farther, through Szanok. They left by train for S. Szambor on February 16, arriving on the 21st, then continued on foot to N. Szambor. From there, they travelled 13 days by train, through the Perm to Krasznokamszk in the Urals, in the region named after Molotov. Here they worked with POWs in a paper mill.

At the end of December 1944, they started taking women from 25 to 27. They had to report to the village hall. Afterwards they were allowed to go home but were told to come back on the 29th, ready to travel. They were also told that should they want to hide, their parents would be deported.

On December 30th, they slept in the Rakoczi-Manor; others in the former teachers' college and still others spent the night in the Kohner manor. On January 1, 1945, they were walked through town to the station. They were herded into open freight cars, in groups of 200-250. About 40-50 of these women came from Posahaza, Palanka or Nagyret. They were all young - between 18 and 30. Only those were spared who had babies under one year. "Children over one can already be brought up by grandmothers" - they said. The case of the two militiamen is noteworthy: they had to take their own wife and sisters to the collection point. The women were taken to Volov where the concentration camp for Transcarpathian women was located. Some were housed in an unheated, windowless school others were to clean up wagons used to transport horses but there, at least, they were enclosed and could heat. They tarried here for a week. They were not given any food nor water. Later, they travelled for two weeks. In Sztrij, they received some rice and bread. They stopped in Lemberg where they were given inedible bread. Some threw it out but later regretted this rash gesture. They moved mostly at night, attached to various trains. In Dnyepetrovsk they were disinfected and even received some hot soup. They continued on to Stalino and arrived at their final destination - Gorlovka - at the end of January.

Later, they took whole families. A case in point: one evening they went to a family's home accusing them of being kulaks. They were all deported: a young women, her husband, two children, the mother and sister-in-law. They departed in March 1946, arriving at a settlement 150 km. from Tyumeny in April. They continued on foot through a swamp; whoever fell in had to march on wet until the clothes dried. They were housed in barracks in Szidnaj, 14-20 families per barrack. There were Swabians there, also Moldavians, Germans from the Volga region. Some Russians too, but they were kept apart. There was great hunger. Some died of starvation, some went insane. People ate rats.

In the Ungvar prison after November 1944, many people were innocently convicted. They even brought some prisoners had already signed were doctored with enough damning evidence to justify the death penalty. Several prisoners, had already signed were doctored with enough damning evidence to justify the death penalty. Several prisoners, shortly before their jail terms expired, were reassigned to forced labour camps in the various regions of the Soviet Union. In vain did their punishment come to an end, they did not receive the necessary papers to return home. One prisoner, for instance, 2 months before the expiration of his sentence, was sent to Norilsk where he spent five more years in exile.



These are just a few examples of the fatal ordeal of Transcarpathians whose only crime was to have been born Hungarian or German. I did not mean to go into details about these horrors.

### FODOR FERENC

It is no accident that the deportations of Hungarians coincided with the timing of Transcarpathia's annexation (joining? or, as it is officially called "reunification"?) to the Ukraine. Can we speak of the manifestation of public will just when the Hungarian-speaking population was so crassly deprived of expressing its views through the deportations?

I have not only statistical data from every village in my district, but also written testimonials and tape recorded recollections.

It concerns seven villages: Dercen, Fornos, Izsnyete, Barkaszo, Szernye, Csongor and Beregrakos. Izsnyete and Rakos have inhabitants of mixed origins, Barkaszo partly also; but Dercen, Fornos, Szernye and Csongor are pure Hungarian villages. These are all situated on the ethnic border. I must say that the inhabitants of the lathers were treated with more cruelty than was normal. Later, also, the population was under greater pressure. Lack of time compels couple of cases from Dercen which I, myself, have experienced.

Men were deported up to age 50 in other villages; from Dercen it was up to 55 and from Csongor up to 60. What is more, from Dercen they took 19 innocent men as political prisoners without judicial inquiry or a trial. Among them were a 67-year old man, a 50-year old mother and six 16-year old boys. They returned after two, two-and-a-half and tree years-whoever did come back. These people were taken on January 27, 1945, not in November.

I believe that few among us have never heard of Uszta Gyula. He used to live in Dercen; now he lives in retirement, in Hungary. On that day, fateful for so many Hungarians, when the drums called the population to a village meeting, there appeared Uszta Gyula, one of the leaders of the partisan groups, on a white horse like Horthy and gave a fulminating speech. He spoke of the long-awaited liberation, of the coming life of freedom, of our happy future. He ended his speech with the, by now well-known lie, of exhorting the population to join the "three

days of labour" to repair the damages caused by the savage fascists. (He may not have known then that he was lying). Everybody knows how it all ended. What few people know, however, is that after his speech, he got back on his horse and didn't stop until Budapest. There, he was promoted to major, then brigadier-general and finally deputy secretary of defence. I am sure that he had no time to think of his village.

To finish, a shameful personal fact. By accident, my brother had his high school diploma with him; he had no way of leaving it at home. When they were searched, the guard found it and ripping it to pieces, he threw it into the mud in full view of my father and all the other prisoners. While I am at it, let me tell you that, of my family, my father and two brothers were among the deported. My father was 51 years old, one of my brothers 23 and the other 16.

Is it any wonder then that even after 45 years our hearts are still bleeding?

## BAGU BALAZS

The Lonyay-manor in Batyu was the collecting centre for the deportations. My informants: Bence Bela, Jedliszki Ferenc, Nyeste Ferenc, Suto Bela.

The first group started out from the Lonyay-manor on November 18, 1944. The 80-year old Bence Bela remembers it thus:

There were about 2000 men here from the villages of Szernye, Batyu, Botrany, Bakos, Ujbatyu, Szaloka, Lonya. They all gathered the day before in the Lonyay manor. All these people volunteered for three days of labour. Not knowing what to do, some went home for the night." Markus Ilonka remembers that someone came from Ungvar and spoke from the manor's balcony asking for help in reconstructing the tunnel. This was announced a few days earlier, by the town crier. The men reported for work, saying that life must begin anew. The men thought, three days is nothing, they could stand even three weeks. There were five communists in the departing group; they wanted to set a good example and even took their party cards with them. When they found out that they were tricked, they tried to show their cards but no one was listening. Mothers, wives, girl-friends

accompanied the men across the Eger fields as far as the railroad tracks. They were all sobbing, as if they knew that some of the men will never return.

Here is a letter that Szabo Andras wrote to his parents, still from Barkaszo:

" I am trying to send my letter from Barkaszo, so as to reassure you. Don't worry; already the first transport started out well. At registration they tried to keep me apart; I think I'll be a scribe wherever we go. Our next destination is Munkacs. I won't do anything foolish. Father must not worry, it is bad for his health. I wish him a quick recovery. As soon as it becomes possible, he must take Menyus to the hospital in Munkacs. And Menyus must not go to camp, he should go to school. All the men from Batyu are here in Barkaszo. I hope my letter finds you all in good health. And give thanks to the person who takes it and gives it to you. I send lots of kisses to father, mother, Emi, my brother Menyus and everybody.

With love, Bandi

Barkaszo, November 18, 1944.

Szabo Andras is still full of confidence. The legend of the three days of labour still endures. After all, only two mounted soldiers are guarding them. In Szolyva, they are housed in the barracks of the border guards. In this group, 49 men from Batyu are marching towards the death-camp. Here they find barbed wire and young thugs, armed with sticks, are guarding the buildings. During the night, they hear machine-gun fire; rumours are going around that anybody who tries to escape will be shot. Here, it finally dawns on them that they were duped.

Nyeste Ferenc, who was prisoner in the Sverdlovsk region, also remembers November 1944:

They were working on the railroad. Some 3 to 4 thousand men were incarcerated there. Then they were taken farther; there, they encountered some 500 Hungarian Jews. They released the Romanians from this camp. Conditions were a little better in this camp; there were fewer deaths. Their main job was logging. Some lucky ones got to the kolhoz to work, but the local population looked at them askance. Since there was no blacksmith in the village, Nyeste Ferenc volunteered to do the job. Two of them worked here. They fixed a few things for the people and received food in exchange.

In the summer of 1946, they were allowed to write to their relatives or families. Nights Ferenc was sorry he never wrote a letter. All of a sudden, they started to distribute clothing in the camp; it was not new but at least it was not torn. The men received down jackets, padded pants and boots and were told that they are going home. They filled out the necessary paperwork for them; they were given food to last them 10 days: salt fish, bread and two tins. That was all. Accompanied by one officer, they were walked to the station, then put on a train in Sverdlovsk they were given regular train tickets. They got as far as Lemberg where, for the first time, they had a warm meal. But how to continue? As far as they knew, Transcarpathia belonged to Czechoslovakia. Someone told them, when asked, that the border was at Csap. Nights Ferenc reached home on October 6, 1946. That is when he found out that Transcarpathia was annexed to the Ukraine.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE:

The participants of this Memorial Conference issue a call to all Hungarians and non-Hungarians alike to keep in memory the innocent victims of Stalinism. Let them do all in their power that the past should not be repeated, that the spread of democracy should banish forever all thoughts of reprisals and of fear.

1.-Let us urge the leaders of this territory to serve justice to the deportees. By collective rehabilitation and by denouncing the perpetrators by name, let them erect a suitable memorial to those who perished far from home and to the survivors who returned, maimed in body and soul.

2.-The local chapters of the KMKSZ (Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia), together with the village and district authorities, should prepare the list of all those deported in the autumn of 1944 for "three days of labour". When completed, they should give them, for appropriate action, to the Rehabilitation Committee of the District Council.

3.-The KMKSZ should gather the survivors into groups or circles so that the members of these can, with their recollections, effectively assist the Rehabilitation Committee in its work and in the redressing of historic justice.

4.-From November 18 to the 26, 1989, let us hold a week of mourning, in the course of which let us erect memorial tombstones and tablets, hold meetings of

sorrow for the victims, meetings of recollections. Let all the bells toll at 13 o'clock on November 26. At 18 o'clock, let us place lighted candles in the windows in memory of the victims of Stalinist despotism. We appeal to the Hungarians of the world to join us in quiet meetings of recollection.

5.-The KMKSZ should publish, in book form, the material of this conference.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS:

Documents, facts, events of the deportations of 1944

1965-1992

1965

. Publication of Kovacs Vilmos's novel "Holnap is elunk" (Tomorrow we shall still be alive) where mention of the deportation of men for "three days of labour" first saw print.

1972, spring.

Transcarpathia's human rights activists send a petition to the Political Committee of the SKP CC and the President of the Supreme Council of the SSKS detailing the Hungarians' complaints:

"Our concerns and complaints have their roots in the past. Mostly, they are the direct result of the openly anti-Hungarian resolution brought on November 26, 1944 by the I. Congress of Peoples' Commissariats of the Ukraine proper. These resolutions declare us, Hungarians, to be hereditary enemies of the Ukrainian people. What is more alarming, however, that these chauvinistic documents have surfaced again and are spread about by our district and village party leaders, as if proving by their anti-Hungarian attitude that nothing had changed in the quarter century. (Sljahom Zsovtnya, VI. Uzshorod, 1965. Documenti N.51, 52,53, sztr. 78, 81, 82). To this infamous resolution can be ascribed the 1944 deportations of our territory's male population (from 18 to 50 years), regardless of party affiliation or previous attitude. Even the old communists, the veterans of the Hungarian Soviet

Republic, were carried off, as well as those who actively or passively resisted Fascism."

1988.

The "Evgyuruk" 88 (Rings of Years '88) publishes Dupka Gyorgy's essay "The first reassuring document' in the life of the local Hungarian population'. In this he writes, among others: "...It is attributable to the Stalinist personal cult, that from November 1944, the Hungarian men from 18 to 50 were deported to and incarcerated as POWs in Ukrainian and Belorussian forced labour camps. The survivors were released gradually from 1946 on."

December 31.

Through an article by Moricz Kalman published in this day's issue of Karpati Igaz Szo, the local Hungarian press airs, for the first time, statements like "...many of the men became victims of Stalinist reprisals and never returned from the camps."

By the end of the year, survivor Nagy Jenó's memoirs will be finished. In them, based on his personal experiences, he describes the ordeal of those deported for "malenykij robot"(a little work). The material was transcribed from tape-recording by Dupka Gyorgy. Several excerpts from them appeared in the Transcarpathia and Hungarian papers, as well as Hungarian publications in the USA.

1989, beginning.

The 3rd issue of the "Miskolc Forum" publishes an article by Dupka Gyorgy-Nagy Jenó, entitled "Their only crime was being born Hungarians". In it, they analyse the conditions of, and circumstances surrounding, the interments of November 1944.

January 7.

A "Karpati Igaz Szo" (True Word of the Carpathians) prints an article by Szabo Arpad, a communist, where he expounds on the fact that "...many communists also ended up in the camps, yet; before the war, they had risked their lives in extolling communism and glorifying the Soviet Union, Lenin and Stalin."

February 9.

Excerpts from an article by Csamadi Gyorgy that appeared in the "Voros Zaszlo" (Red Flag ) ( today Bereg Hirlap=Journal of Bereg): "They had to report with three days worth of food at the collection point, whence we were marched, accompanied by armed guards, to the concentration camp set up in Szolyva.

There, they were kept in inhuman camp set up in Szolyva. There, they were kept in inhuman conditions, sleeping in unheated barracks, on concrete floors. Many of them fell ill and perished already there. After weeks, sometimes months, the men were transported farther, to forced labour camps within the Soviet Union. Many lost their lives; others disappeared - their children and grandchildren still do not know their fate."

February 19.

In the Karpati Igaz Szo appeared Fuzesi Magda's poem, "The Ballad of Kosa Anna" in which she dramatically describes the mother crazed by grief, whose son was taken away for "three days of labour" and never returned.

January-February.

During these months, letters appeared from readers of the Karpati Igaz Szo and the Voros Zaszlo (Red Flag) of Beregszasz searching for the reasons of the deportations of Hungarian and German men.

End of May.

In Ungvar at their 10 session of meetings, representatives of the territory's Councils formed a 19-member commission entrusted with the restoration of the rights and promotion of the interests of victims of the repression of the 30s, 40s, and early 50s, since rehabilitated. Functioning under the leadership of Mikola Kacalap, retired representative, the Commission's main tasks are: help; the rehabilitated victims in their quest to obtain compensation for the material damages they suffered; assist them in solving their problems with retirement and housing; and, if they think it necessary, erect a monument to the memory to the victims of repression.

With the participation of Jurij Vorobec, secretary of the executive committee, this commission held its first meeting. They listened to the report of the public prosecutor, the judiciary, and the representative of National Security as to what they have been and are doing to restore the rights and promote the interests of victims of the repression's of the 30s, 40s, and early 50s. From the information they heard, they found that these people's research concerned mainly the fate of those who, in the years 1939-1941 upon instructions from the CSKP emigrated from Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union. There, under special decrees, they were convicted from 5 to 7 years of incarceration for illegal border crossing. As of now, they already rehabilitated 107 such people. As their secondary task, they examined

the cases, going back from 1954, of those who became victims of repression. So far, they have dealt with over 300 such cases, which touches 490 people.

They send the certificate of rehabilitation to the person in question or his relatives. This document serves as a clearing for working conditions, determination of retirement pay, etc. The problems of finding the rehabilitated person came up at the meeting, as many do not live, in the territory any more, several having died and the relatives to whom the certificate could be sent are unknown.

The commission will deal later, after completion of a public survey, with the proposal to erect monuments to the memory of the victims of repression.

It is to be noted that the commission considers the Hungarian and German-born men of November 1944, a sensitive issue. Therefore, it refuses to take a stand now.

July 16.

On the pages of the Karpati Igaz Szo appeared the following letter from Bodnar Tibor, reader from Ungvar:

"Dear Editor:

Allow me to ask you, for the sake of democracy and open public discussion, to find out somehow what happened in our region after the war. I am, of course, thinking of the reprisals ordered for the autumn of 1944 which were aimed principally at the Hungarian population.

What crimes did these people commit? And what became of them? How could all this happen? And upon whose orders?

We hope to receive answers to these questions."

July.

Report of the Karpati Igaz Szo. The ice has finally broken! Under pressure from the public, even the authorities can no longer remain silent about what, so far, could not be mentioned:

**A WORKING GROUP IS FORMED**  
to study the fate of those who were taken to forced labor  
camps in the autumn of 1944.



Collaterally to the Council of Peoples' Representatives, a commission was formed for the purpose of assisting in the restoration of the rights and in the promotion of the interests of the victims of the reprisals of the 30s and 40s, as well as the early 50s, and to erect monuments to their memory.

Many people addressed their request to this commission, as well as to other official and social state agencies to clarify the fate of the Hungarian men who were deported from Transcarpathia in 1944 to forced labor camps.

To research this question thoroughly, the Territorial Council has established a working group whose members are:

Antonik Tibor .....vice-president of the Lenin Kolhoz of Beregszasz  
(Beregovo) district

Gerzanic Maria.....Peoples' Representative of the Soviet Union,  
physician,. Chief of department of the Central District Hospital of  
Nagyszolos (Vinogradov)

Dupka Gyorgy.....Editor, Karpat Publishing Co.

Gajdos Bela.....Master of a Construction Co. Beregszasz

Dadai Arpad.....Chief Investigator of the Department of the Interior  
of Beregszasz district

Daskevics Jurij .....Scientific collaborator of the scientific research  
laboratory of the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR TA (?)

Szabo Bela.....Assistant editor, Karpati Igaz Szo

Orosz Jozsef.....Chief investigator of the district attorney's office of  
Ungvar

Varadi-Sternberg Janos.....Professor, chief collaborator of the Hungarian  
Studies Center

The commission appeals to those who have documentary material concerning this question, to send it to the following address: Uzsgorod, Lenin Square 4, Executive Committee of the District. (Commission to assist with the

rehabilitation of the victims of reprisals during the 30s, 40s, and early 50s)  
Telephone: 3-44-13.

August..

The trial issue of "Hatodik Sip" (The Sixth Reed - the literary publication of Transcarpathia) prints a collection entitled "The deportations of 1944" containing the following introduction: "Our compilation does not wish to stray onto the territory of the experts, knowledgeable historians of official investigators; nor do we wish to appear as meting out justice. Our publication is meant as a contribution, a unique approach to, or a basis of discussion of this question. What we bring you are excerpts from a novel (in the column of Szep Szo /or literary column), a poem, and a sampling of documents, as well as some pages from a book."

September 6.

At a board meeting of the KMKSZ, it was decided to start an action with the purpose of memorializing the deportations of the Hungarian male population that occurred in the autumn of 1944, shortly after the fighting subsided. The decision also aims at the rehabilitation of those who died in the forced labor camps and of the survivors who came back broken in body and spirit. It approved the Circular Letter drafted by Dupka Gyorgy and placed it on the agenda of the forthcoming general meeting.

## CIRCULAR LETTER

### AN APPEAL FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE KMKSZ TO THE LOCAL CHAPTERS

### MEMORIAL MONUMENTS TO THE HUNGARIAN VICTIMS OF STALINISM!

The Sixth Paragraph of our By-laws prescribes our Association's bringing to light and the truthful presentation of our historical past, and the elimination of "blank pages" from it. With this in mind, the Presidency requests the Territorial Commission for Rehabilitation formed in May 1989, and the cooperation of the press to acknowledge publicly the innocence of the many thousands of members of the Hungarian and German male population, as well as men of other nationalities, who were deported in November 1944, forced into labor camps where multitudes died of cold and hunger, deadly epidemics, and as a consequence of the inhumane

treatment. We do not ask for individual, but for collective rehabilitation. Furthermore, we ask that it be allowed to place a memorial table on the wall of the gas-station that was built on top of the mass graves of the Szolyva concentration camp, thus openly marking the graveside, so far secret, of the Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism.

The Presidency of the KMKSZ appeals to its local chapters, and to the population as a whole of the territory of Transcarpathia to cooperate and act as one TO ERECT SUITABLE MEMORIALS TO THE TRANSCARPATHIAN VICTIMS OF STALINISM, the civilian dead of the deportations of men of Hungarian or German origin and other nationals.

The Memorial monument, pillar, or tablet, as well as the wooden memorial, should be placed at the entrance to the public cemetery, or in the yards of the various churches. The aim is for us to inter, if symbolically, our unburied dead, to pay them silent homage on All Souls' Day, to light a candle, or place a wreath on the ground where our ancestors rest.

Our local chapters should give the impetus to and play a leading role in the compilation of the victims' names. They should immortalize in a book the names of the dead of a given settlement, as well as its survivors, their recollections and the circumstances surrounding their deportations, thus indelibly documenting these tragic events.

The Hungarian Cultural Association (KMKSZ) is organizing in Beregszasz for November of this year a memorial conference of "The Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism". We expect and accept suggestions in this connection.

The year is 1989! Hungarians and non-Hungarians! People! Survivors! Let the bells toll at 1 o'clock on November 26! With bowed heads and in dignity, let us remember together the victims of Stalinist reprisals, the maimed, the humiliated, our beloved dead who rest in unmarked graves. Let us form a bond together, so that such tragic events should never happen to us again.

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September 10.

At Munkacs, the board meeting of the KMKSZ adopted the text of the President's circular letter.

September.

The second half of the month sees the start, in a tense political atmosphere, of the compilation of names and the rehabilitation process urged by the KMKSZ. The territory's leadership does not wish to immortalize on special memorial monuments of tables the names of the Hungarian victims of the internment following the war.

October 10.

In connection with the internment of the Hungarians, the "Kommunizmus Zaszlaja" (Flag of Communism), the district newspaper of Nagyszolos, interviews Klavgyija Zabroda, vice-president of laborers' and veterans' district organization. He had this to say: "...A few months after the Soviet Union came to power, Lenin's principles on the resolution of the nationality question started to prevail. The proof is in the forming and training in the district of Nagyszolos of special national economic and cultural cadres, among them Hungarian also. They still watch with heightened interest the development of the links between nationalities. The local chapter of the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ) was established. The trouble is, there are people who spread about slander, saying that in 1944 every Hungarian man was deported. These and similar horror stories only serve to incite hostility on a national basis."

October

The argument between the KMKSZ and the district officials has not abated, but a consensus is reached about the lists of names and the erection of memorials. In Hungarian-inhabited regions, the activists of the KMKSZ obtain, but with difficulty, the necessary permits for these memorials. Juhasz Bela of Nagypalad, a board member of the KMKSZ, sternly refutes the mendacious statements of the Kommunizmus Zaszlaja: "I find it very odd that Klavgyija Zabroda bluntly denies everything that happened in 1944, when every healthy man was collected for three days of labor and deported under inhuman conditions into the interior of the country. They were not given water; they had to eat snow in the cars. These men were not given the opportunity to take care of themselves. They were dirty, unshaven, for about six months. Can you imagine what they looked like? To Klavgyija Zabroda this is all fiction and slander. From my village alone, they took over 100 men; 51 of them never returned. The survivors tell us that the dead were piled like logs on the wagon and were bulldozed into the snowy ground."

Barat Endre, also from Nagypalad, gives the executives of the KMKSZ a detailed account of the horrors of camp life and sends his recollections to the editors of the Karpati Igaz Szo:

"the camp where I was taken, was in an old military stables. The wooden cots were carefully allocated: 5 men sat on each cot; and so we spent the nights for several weeks. But the misery of these weeks bore fruit. After two months there was more room as only about 1/3 of our unit was left. Some were in the hospital, but most were buried in a mass grave.

When we arrived on New Year's Day, the courtyard was covered with snow. We ate it all up within an hour, we were so feverish. Already that night several men died. Then they took us out to work. It was bitter cold and we only had light clothing.

I was taken to the hospital; or so we called it as only the very ill got taken there. It was outside the barbed wire enclosure; it was unheated and unfurnished. We were lying on concrete floors, in our tattered clothing. Our mug served as pillow.

For six months I had the same shirt on that I wore when I left my mother's loving arms. We were full of lice, even our beards. With matches and strips of paper, I tried to burn them out of the seams of my underwear, so as to be able to sleep a few minutes at a time."

October 27.

When the district council leaders still opposed recollection meetings and the erection of memorials, the people of Nagypalad - listening to their hearts and the appeals of KMKSZ - were the first to erect a memorial monument in their cemetery along the highway.

October 28.

At the expanded board meeting of the KMKSZ, held in Ungvar, the first item on the agenda was a report by Dupka Gyorgy executive secretary. He outlined the plans for the Recollection Meeting in memory of the Stalinist victims from Transcarpathia to be held in Beregszasz in November. He also spoke of the obstacles to the compiling of the victims names and the erection of memorial monuments. Among these, he mentioned in the first place the lack of information given to the local leaders.

Szabo Bela, head of the working group that functions collaterally with the district council and which was entrusted with the investigation into the autumn 1944 deportations of Hungarian men, stated at the beginning of his report that the KMKSZ deserves great credit for filling in the "blank pages" of our history and in initiating and executing the work.

At the same time, he considers it important to enlist the cooperation of the local councils, thus lowering the risk of eventual errors. Nagy Jenő, retiree from Ungvár and himself a survivor of the labor camps, asked in the name of the deportees that the victims' collective rehabilitation take place, aside from the individual rehabilitation's, that their innocence be publicly be acknowledged and the culprits named. The Board resolved to hold the Recollection Meeting on November 18-19 and set the date of November 26 for memorial meetings and the erection of monuments.

October 31.

The "Karpati Igaz Szó" reports:

#### A MEETING WAS HELD

by the Commission established by, and functioning collaterally to, the Territorial Council of Representatives. It is entrusted with assisting the victims of the reprisals of the 30s, 40s, and early 50s with the defense of their rights and interests. As mentioned earlier, this Commission created a working group to unearth all material relevant to the 1944 deportations of Hungarian men to forced labor camps. Members of this group were also invited to this meeting so as to discuss the most urgent things to be done.

The Commission is taking into account the fact that as per the resolution adopted at the Board Meeting of the KMKSZ in September, its local chapters have already started to compile the lists of deportees, as well as to organize memorial meetings. In some places, they have already decided to erect a monument or place a plaque in memory of those who died in the camps. It would, therefore be expedient for the working group to make use of the assistance of the KMKSZ. Members of the Commission propose to enlist the active cooperation and aid of the settlements' executive councils to obtain a clear picture of those who were carried off to camp in 1944 and who never returned. This would help the Commission in its search for archival and other documents and in the restoration of the victims' rights and interests. This activity, as well as the erection of plaques and

monuments, must be undertaken circumspectly and with due knowledge of, and respect for, relevant laws.

There was also talk at the meeting that the Commission ought to immortalize the memory of those who resisted fascism.

The Commission will submit its proposals to the local Councils.

November 18.

The "Karpati Igaz Szo" brings out a new column entitled "May We Help? And publishes a letter by Hanics Ilona from Ungvar: "Surely you could give great pleasure to many of your readers if you helped to locate some long-lost friend, acquaintance or relative. The pleasure may be tinged with bitterness: it might be too late as those they wish to find may no longer be alive. I too, would like to ask the editors for such a favor.

I would like to find one of my dear old friends - Kubasko Tivadarne. Her husband, Kubasko Tivadar, used to be principal of the Beregszasz comprehensive school in the 30s. I found out in the 50s that, as Hungarians, both he and his son were deported to a concentration camp. Since then, I heard nothing from them. I would like to know where they now live and if they are still alive. I would really like to know what happened to this family."

November 18.

Henrih Bandrovskij, first secretary of the Territorial Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, gave an interview to the territorial newspapers, among them "Karpati Igaz Szo", on the occasion of the plenary session of the Territorial Party Committee's meeting.

"It is well-known that in 1944 part of the Hungarian population was carried off to forced labor camps. The Hungarian Cultural Association of Beyond the Carpathians would like to erect a monument to these people. It is right to do so. It would be correct, however, to look at the question from a point of view different from the remaining population's, and examine it very carefully. That is, to consider every victim from beyond the Carpathians. We must not forget that during the Fascist occupation 183,395 people were incarcerated or deported; of these, 115,000 were tortured to death, hanged, or shot. During the liberation of this Territory, 10,066 soldiers of the Red Army died. The Stalinist reprisals took their victims from many different nationalities also.

The newspapers are starting to print the list of names of those who are rehabilitated. It would be good if these questions could be discussed in the local Party and Council meetings, since these reprisals extended to every inhabitant, to

all the settlements in all the districts, and to all the settlements in all the districts, and to all nationalities."

November 18.

The KMKSZ organized its memorial conference in Beregszasz. There, aside from recollections, there were speeches about the political background of the deportations and of the historical necessity to rehabilitate. Transcarpathian and Hungarian historians and researchers attended the conference. The conference also passed a resolution which came out strongly for re-establishing the truth. At the end of the conference, the survivors formed the Circle of Comradeship for the purpose of assisting the Rehabilitation Commission in its work with the members' recollections. They elected Sari Jozsef, Sr. As its president and Nagy Jenő as vice-president. Among others, Paldi András, Consul General of the Hungarian Republic in Kiev, also participated at the conference. From the authorities of the Beregszasz territorial or district councils no one attended. (The material of this conference is contained, in abbreviated form, in this volume).

November 16.

Rumours are circulating in Transcarpathia that its administration will not allow the Memorial Conference to take place. In this connection, the following interview appeared in the "Karpati Igaz Szó":

#### LET US REMEMBER THE VICTIMS OF STALINISM

As mentioned previously, the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia proposes to hold a Memorial Conference for the "Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism". At its territorial board meeting, the date was advanced to November 18-19, but news has been spreading that puts in doubt the location of this event. Therefore, we asked Dupka György, the KMKSZ's executive secretary, for information.

"We did, in fact, have difficulties. Since no such conference was ever held on our territory and because of its political implications, we had to count with disagreements. In the last few days we worked hard at bridging these divergent viewpoints. The leaders of the Beregszasz District Council did not see clearly the purpose of the Conference and some organizational mistakes surfaced also. Together with Zinaida Szuhan, vice-president of the VB of the district, we managed to eliminate the obstacles that endangered the conference's taking place. Therefore, the conference will open as scheduled.



That is to say, on November 18-19 in the Beregszasz district's cultural center?

Yes, it will open on Saturday, at nine in the morning Central-European time. There will be speeches, and some of the survivors of the autumn 1944 deportations will be allowed to speak also. Among others, Alekszej Korszun, vice-president of the Commission for Rehabilitation, as well as Zseliczky Bela, professor of history in Moscow, and Dr. Gyarmathy Zsigmond, head of the county archives of Nyiregyhaza, will also be heard.

From among the local people, who do you think will attend?

This Conference will not be a purely Hungarian matter. It will concern itself as well with German, Romanian, Jewish or Carpatho-Ukrainian victims of the deportations. By the way, the local organizations of the KMKSZ will be represented by a five-man group, but any interested person is welcome provided there is room.

In truth, what do you hope to achieve with this conference?

The by-laws of our Association require us to fill in the "blank pages" of history. Such events may clarify our vision and help open up subjects that were taboo until now. We would like to offer concrete assistance to the Commission of Rehabilitation so that they can truthfully expose the circumstances and consequences of what happened in the autumn of 1944. We also owe it to the Hungarian population to clear the names of those who suffered innocently in the camps and to obtain their collective rehabilitation. Part of this work, which has already begun, are the compilation of lists of the deportees names, their immortalization on monuments and the publication, in book form, of documents, recollections and the speeches heard at the conference.

To conclude, I would like to tell you that at the conference we shall proclaim a week of mourning during which memorials will be erected on many sites, and that on November 26th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, all the territory's bells will toll in memory of the victims."

November 26.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the bells tolled throughout Transcarpathia. The population of Hungarian villages remembered the deportees in churches and

graveyards. In Beregszasz, thousands took part in the symbolic burial of the victims. In Ungvar Csap, Visk, Szaloka and many dozens of locations, hundreds surrounded the wooden monuments, memorials and plaques immortalizing the dead of the camps, of the cornerstone of the monument to be erected in their honor.

At six in the evening, the regions inhabitants placed a lighted candle in the windows in memory of the victims of Stalinist tyranny.

December 10. At the Board Meeting of the KMKSZ, our Association also adopted its election platform. In the chapter on ethnic rights, it demands:

public rehabilitation (on collective, not personal, basis) of the many thousand Hungarian men, as well as residents of German and other ethnic groups, who were deported in the autumn of 1944 and made to work from November 1944 to May 1947 in forced labor camps;

political rehabilitation of all those who were unlawfully convicted at show trials held in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

In December. Hungarian TV's program "Panorama" screened the symbolic burial held in the Szaloka graveyard, which was attended by some survivors and the relatives of the deceased. The short documentary was made by Mankovits Tamas. This was the first public airing on Hungarian TV of the events of November 1944.

There was also a report on the Transcarpathian Hungarian deportees on Hungarian Radio's feature "Sunday Paper". Thanks to dr. Botlik Jozsef, among the Hungarian newspapers, The "Magyar Nemzet" (Hungarian Nation) published several articles on this question.

February 4, 1990.

At the Budapest Congress Center, the two-part sociological film "Malenykij Robot" (A little work) was shown. It covers recollections of Siberian camps, from the Urals to Kolima. The producers are Gulyas Gyula, and Gulyas Janos. They also included some material on Transcarpathia.

March 27.

On this day, an extraordinary meeting took place in Ungvar, in the building of the Regional Offices of the Committee for National Security of the Ukraine beyond the

Carpathians. Those invited to attend included representatives of the KMKSZ, as well as the German, Romanian and Ruthenian Cultural Associations, who could view the material pertaining to the show trials. It was officially pronounced that the Ministry of the Interior continues to examine the cases of the internees and political prisoners and to prepare their rehabilitation. Since 1989, 3,112 Transcarpathian cases have been examined and the people's honor restored.

July 15.

Beginning with the 5th issue of "Karpatalja" (Transcarpathia) will start publishing, under Dupka Gyorgy's name, the list of those who were deported by the Stalinists in 1944 from the Hungarian settlements and who met a senseless death in the camps.

In May

The Rehabilitation Commission working alongside the Territorial Council, has been reorganized after the election of the people's representatives. The new Commission's president is Molnar Bertalan, president of the territorial VB; his deputy: Alekszej Korszun, assistant head of the territorial KGB. Executive secretaries are: Andrij Seketa, Dupkane Kovy Edit. The remaining Hungarian members after the Commission's reorganization are Dupka Gyorgy and Szabo Bela. With this in mind, Moricz Kalman appraises the Commission's work in the paper "Karpatalja":

POSITION TO BE TAKEN IN SEPTEMBER:  
THERE WAS NO SENTENCE, ONLY PUNISHMENT

Over a year ago, last May, was organized, collaterally to the territorial council, the Working Commission that was entrusted with the rehabilitation of the people who fell victim to the Stalinist reprisals of the 30s' 40s' and 50s. or rather, this Commission should prepare and organize such a rehabilitation. In practice this means that they look into the circumstances surrounding the infringement of human rights, examine the archival documents and, if so indicated, they recommend rehabilitation to the public prosecutor's office and the judiciary. Among the Hungarian population, the Commission's work aroused much interest - to no effect so far, unfortunately. The newspaper, "Zakarpatszka Pravda" started last year to print the list of the names of the rehabilitated, but it contained only a few Hungarian names. That is to say, the Commission gave priority to the examination of those trial records that dealt with the arrest and conviction of people who illegally fled to the Soviet Union in the 30s. When the question came

up of rehabilitating the Hungarian deportees of autumn 1944, some Commission members shook their heads incredulously: they were surprised by what happened here half a century ago, after the front moved through.

Therefore, the Commission formed a sub-group that was meant to appraise those events. Time passed, but the victims' rehabilitation made no progress at all. The group did not produce valuable work; its task was effectively taken over by the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia.

We agreed to begin with the collection of the deportees' and victim' names, then make up the lists to be authenticated by the Office of National Security, the KGB - explains Dupka Gyorgy, who initiated the whole movement and is member of the Hungarian group. The next step would have been for the judiciary to declare the victims' innocence and to publish these findings in the newspapers. Later the situation changed: the authorities claimed that since, at that time, there were no convictions, the judiciary cannot get involved now. The KMKSZ was simply to collect the names and publish the lists in the papers.

What kind of help did you receive for this work from the official administrative organizations?

The KGB gave us their support, but not every local administration. Still, we managed to organize the Memorial Conference in Beregszasz to honor the deportees, and the monuments are ready and in place on many sites. At the same time, we are still waiting to clarify the over-all historical background of this question. At first, the KGB denied having any documents relating to these events, but then it turned out that there are written traces of the deportations. Some relevant documents came to light in a secret Moscow archive but it is difficult to get one's hands on them. Fortunately, we managed to find some incontrovertible proof in the depths of the district archives so we do not have to rely on oral tradition or human memory only.

What kind of material are you talking about?

After the 1944 deportation, the villages were left without manpower to produce the goods required by the authorities. This gave rise to the mid-1945 circular letter in which the local councils were requested to furnish exact lists of all the able-bodied men who were absent from their villages. We just came across

the lists for 30 villages of the Beregszasz district containing the names of 13,600 men. Of these, we can prove that 4,150 were taken to Szolyva.

To what extent do these figures conform to the records prepared by the KMKSZ?

The variations are minimal which only goes to show that our activists were doing a wonderful job. The main trouble is that the preparation of the lists drags out so. From the district of Ungvar, we received so far lists from only 15 villages; from the Beregszasz district 17 villages sent in their lists; from that of Nagyszolos, 18. If this continues, we will hardly be able to publish our Book of Recollection in the autumn.

During the latest session of the Territorial Council, the working group of the Commission for Rehabilitation was reorganized. As its new president, they elected Molnar Bertalan, the first vice-president of the council. Therefore, I ask HIM:

When will the deportees' rehabilitation finally come to an end?

We do not know yet when rehabilitation will occur and what form it will take. In the autumn of 1944, there were no judicial decrees, no one was convicted; therefore, there can be no legal rehabilitation's. One way of serving justice would be to erect monuments and plaques to honor the deportees and to publish a book, as the KMKSZ has already decided to do. Also, steps are being taken to find the exact spot of the mass grave of the Szolyva concentration camp and to place a monument there. The Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ) gives us a great deal of help with this work and we hope to continue this cooperation in the future.

You said earlier that legal rehabilitation will not be necessary as there were no convictions. At the same time, the survivors suffered not only moral and political damages, but material ones too. For instance, the years they spent in the camps are not taken into account when determining their pensions; and neither those who were disabled there nor their relatives are entitled to welfare. Are you doing anything to change this situation?

To tell you the truth, I do not yet see clearly this aspect of the situation. I have been head of the working group for barely two months and this question did not come up yet.

Did you make any progress in clarifying the historical background of these events? Did you discover upon whose instructions and for what purpose the deportations of the Hungarian men were undertaken?

As far as I know, nobody gave instructions to historians to this effect. The KGB is unwilling and we have few Hungarian historians.

What does the Hungarian group of the Rehabilitation Commission do anyway?

Their work was quite disorganized until now; they did not even keep minutes of their meetings. Now we practically have to start all over again. By September, we would like to summarize our findings so that we can take a position and publish it in the paper. In my opinion, just to admit the deportations is already a big thing.

For forty-five years we kept silent, we had to keep silent, about what happened in the autumn of 1944. Now we can mention it, we can speak the truth. Is that enough? For us, maybe it is. But we must give proof to the next generation so that they, too, can see clearly this tragic phase of our history. The collective rehabilitation of the deportees is an absolute necessity! It is not the KMKSZ that should clear the name and honor of the deportees but the power that committed this outrageous lawlessness.

July 27.

A series of articles in the "Komszomolszkaja Pravda" brings into the open the role that SZMERS played in the execution of Stalin's orders. The name of this military counter-intelligence organization is an acronym for "Death to the Spies!" This organization also played a part, along with the NKVD, in the action of November 1944 when the Hungarians and Germans were forced into labor camps. One of its leaders was Ivan Alekszandrovics Szerov, who later became Minister of National Security and who also had a role in the events of the 1950s in Hungary. In the Ukraine, it was Szerov who carried out Krushchev's instructions for mass repression.

August 11.

The first official "rehabilitation evening" was held in Badalo. Organized by the Territorial Commission for Rehabilitation. The Hungarian and Ukrainian press was also invited. Col. Alekszej Korszun, deputy head of the territorial office of the Soviet Union's Committee for National Security, reviewed the case of 23 men, out of the 83 from Badalo, who were taken to labor camps. These 23 died in Boriszov in the Minsk region, also in the region of Donyeck and Jarkov, of fatal weakness, according to their hospital records. In the Badalo graveyard, Forgon Pal, Bishop of the Reformed Church of Transcarpathia, with the collaboration of the Rev. Komlos Attila and the executive secretary of the Hungarian World Federation, held a service in memory of the innocently deceased.

August 26.

Chaired by Molnar Bertalan, the Commission to rehabilitate the victims of the reprisals held a meeting. It delegated Col. Alekszej Korszun to go to the Special Archives in Moscow and gather all documents that would shed light on the political background of the November 1944 deportations. He was also to find out if the authenticated camp lists are kept there. Dupka Gyorgy was asked to search for similar documents in the State Archives in Beregszasz.

September 1.

Within the framework of the International Human Rights Conference, the cornerstone of a monument to the memory of the victims of political persecution from the 30s-50s was installed in Revolution Square in Leningrad.

October 7.

The meeting of the Transcarpathian territorial organization RUH was dedicated to the victims of Stalinist party dictatorship. One of their speakers, Mihajlo Banik declared: "Since the 1944 liberation of Transcarpathia, this region has lost more men than in the previous 1000 years".

October 6.

Upon the initiative of the Transcarpathian territorial organization RUH, the Society Memorial was formed in Ungvar to advance the cause of the rehabilitation of the politically persecuted and the restoration of their human rights. Dupka Gyorgy became a board member representing the KMKSZ.

October 14.

At Tiszapeterfalva, the Board of the KMKSZ adopted two important resolutions proposed by Dupka Gyorgy. The first:

## PROCLAMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF TRANSCARPATHIA

Re: The Deportations of November 1944

In Beregszasz on November 18 1989, the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ) organized a Memorial Conference with the participation of Transcarpathian and Hungarian historians and researchers. This conference, entitled "The Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism" was also underwritten by the Territorial Commission of Rehabilitation. As per the 2nd minutes (of September 22, 1990) of the Working Group and the proclamation here adopted, the KMKSZ:

1.- addresses the following demands to M. S. Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union

- The Presidency of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union
- The Supreme Council of the Soviet Union
- The Supreme Council of the SSR the Ukraine

to apologize to those Hungarians and Germans whose relatives between the ages of 18 and 50 were deported to Stalinist labor camps purely on the basis of their ethnicity.

2.- They should serve justice by the collective political and moral rehabilitation of the deportees. By holding the perpetrators publicly accountable they would place a suitable memorial to the thousands who died senselessly and those who returned maimed in body and soul.

3.- Acting in the name of the deportees, the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia expects - because of the inhuman conditions in the camps: - that for every surviving inmate's 1 year in camp 3 should be counted. As they did heavy physical work as civilians, without judicial proceedings, without pay or compensation or moral rehabilitation, they should be paid 300 rubles' wages for every month.

4.- The Association expects the present Administration to do all in its power to avoid repeating the past; that the spread of democracy will stop once and for all reprisals against people, ethnic groups and persons, and to banish fear from



people's lives. With this, we can jointly place a suitable memorial to the victims of Stalinism.

Accepted an appeal for financing the creation of a Memorial Park on the site of the Szolyva camp:

APPEAL:

### HUNGARIANS AND NON-HUNGARIANS

The Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia appeals to the leaders of Hungarian and non-Hungarian undertakings, factories, agricultural enterprises and other establishments, as well as of social organizations, to help financially within their means to create a Memorial Park on the site of the Szolyva concentration camp and to place there a monument to the victims of Stalinism.

It is well known that this concentration or rather, deathcamp was functioning from November 1944 until early 1945 receiving the innocently deported able-bodied men, the sole purpose being their removal from the general population. Their only crime was their nationality, yet they were forced to labor like slaves, their ranks decimated, in complete disregard of international human rights. At that time, they buried thousands of people who died as a consequence of epidemics, hunger and cold in an unmarked mass-grave located outside of the camp.

To save and restore this graveside, which once covered 1 hectare but is much smaller now, and to create a Memorial Park there is of primary interest not only to Hungarians and Transcarpathia, but to all eastern Central Europe since the debilitated POWs were gathered here too. For many, it became their final resting place.

Those wishing to help are requested to pay the offered sum to the "Transcarpathia fund" created by the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia (KMKSZ), to the accounts maintained at the following banks, or more precisely at the operative division of the district savings banks:

In Ungvar,	account #1174
In Munkacs,	" #710
In Beregszasz,	" #359
In Nagyszolos,	" #295
In Huszt,	" # 1

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October 16.

The JUSTITIA HUMANA HUNGARIAE was founded in Budapest. Dupka Gyorgy and Milovan Sandor, representing the KMKSZ, as well as Mankovits Tamas, editor-in-chief of "Karpatalja" (Transcarpathia) were present at this event. The representatives of the Hungarian political prisoners living beyond the borders, as well as leaders and members of the Committee to Serve historical Justice called the meeting mainly to discuss the grave sins committed against humanity by the communist dictatorship about which, for four decades, everybody lied or kept silent. Aside from these discussion, they also tried to formulate common positions on moral reparations and material compensation. The host of the meeting, Molnar Imre, chief counselor to the government, asked the Secretariat of the Hungarians Living beyond the Borders to propose three subjects for open discussion. He asked those present to evaluate the waves of persecutions in the last 45 years; to determine which layers of the population were mostly affected; and finally, but not least, not to forget the rehabilitation's that might have taken place already or are being contemplated. In their countries, did the governments take active steps in this direction and, if not, how do they plan the execution of such projects?

The importance of this meeting was heightened and its standard raised by the appearance at the consultations by Entz Geza, Deputy Secretary of Political Affairs, who said in his opening speech: "...there can be no reconciliation without justice". He added that the past political regime debased the whole community with the outrage committed upon the men of different nations. We must work together to discover all the past sins so that justice can be served.

At the end of the meeting the JUSTITIA HUMANA HUNGARIAE (the Advisory Committee for the Hungarian political Prisoners and Persecuted) was formed. It set itself a 7-point working program for the future.

October 17.

On this day, the Commission of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union entrusted with deliberating the question of the relationship among national groups and ethnic politics held a meeting. During this meeting they discussed the repeal of, or amendment to, certain laws adopted by the State Defense Commission of the Soviet Union or other administrative organizations. This question arose in

connection with parliament's stated intentions to declare as illegal the reprisals against the forcibly resettled peoples and to restore their human rights. They intend to pass laws requiring the rehabilitation of people who suffered reprisals during the years of personal cult.

October 29. Upon written request of the KMKSZ, the Executive Committee of the City Council of Szolyva gave its permission to establish a memorial park on the site of the camp cemetery, which used to cover more than 1 hectare, but most of it is built over now. The coordination of the planning and execution of this work will be undertaken for the KMKSZ, by Toth Mihaly, vice-president, Dupka Gyorgy, executive secretary and Kiszely Tihamer, board member; for the Territorial Rehabilitation Committee, Molnar Bertalan, vice-president of the territorial Council.

November 24.

Upon the initiative of the local KMKSZ, the memorial monument to the Hungarian victims of Stalinist terror is unveiled in the Roman Catholic cemetery of Beregszasz. The monument, depicting a grieving woman, was created by the artist, Horvath Anna, and executed by Kerenyi Gyula, architect.

November 24.

On the camp graveyard in Szolyva, where a Memorial Park is being organized by the leadership of the KMKSZ, the ground-breaking ceremony is taking place. From all over Transcarpathia, the victim's relatives, survivors, and representatives of the KMKSZ attended.

Present were also the representatives of the parliamentary parties of the Hungarian Republic, Ministry of Defense of the Hungarian Republic, the Prime Minister's office of the Republic, the World Federation of Hungarians, the Association of Reck, and the Association of Political Prisoners, as well as delegations of the RMDSZ and youth organizations from Transylvania. At the ecumenical service the Reformed Church, Roman Catholic, Uniate and Lutheran pastors participated. The speakers stressed the fact that the secrecy has been lifted; we can all openly honor our dead. At the ceremony, it was said in Ukrainian: "We swear to do all we can so that such evil acts should not be repeated again!"

November 29.

In Moscow, the KGB, according to present instructions, unearthed some previously classified documents on, for instance, persons who were victims of

Stalinist reprisals. So far, not even in the Soviet Union have laws been passed to de-classify such documents. In Transcarpathia, Col. Alekszej Korszun was the first to publish documents concerning the reprisals suffered by Transcarpathian Hungarians. The still-living veteran Stalinists and communists place bigger and bigger obstacles in the way of the reform communists so that the illegalities of the past should not be brought to light.

During November.

The KMKSZ continues to make up the lists and put up a series of monuments to the memory of the dead in the cemeteries, churchyards, and public squares of Transcarpathian villages. With memorial meetings and ecumenical services, they remember the Stalinists victims among the Hungarian men deported as civilians in the autumn of 1944.

December 2.

In response to the appeal of the KMKSZ, the agricultural collective of Tiszapeterfalva, in the Nagyszolos district, adopted the resolution to donate 50 thousand rubles to the construction of the Szolyva Memorial Park and to participate in the graveside's restoration.

December 13.

In Miskolc, in the former Party headquarters, Mankovits Tamas, editor-in-chief of "Karpatalja", organized an international forum the theme of which was the search for and rehabilitation of the Hungarian men, victims of Stalinism, who were deported in the autumn of 1944. Toth Mihaly, vice-president of the KMKSZ, Col. Alekszej Korszun, assistant head of the committee of Transcarpathia's State Security, and Dupka Gyorgy, member of the Transcarpathian Rehabilitation Commission, gave speeches. Present were at this event: the Justitia Humana Hungarian, the Commission for Historical Justice, the Historical Justice, the Historical Institute, the Institute for Hungarian Research, the Union of Philosophers of Miskolc, as well as reporters from several Hungarian newspapers.

January 16, 1991.

As previously reported, on October 14, 1990, the KMKSZ presented an appeal to the Head of State of the Soviet Union and to the Ukrainian Parliament concerning the deportations of Transcarpathia's Hungarian men. In response, Ivan Poljuk, member of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union in charge of ethnic groups, came to Ungvar and met with Col. Alekszej Korszun and Dupka Gyorgy, members

of the Territorial Commission for Rehabilitation, and with Toth Mihaly, vice-president of the KMKSZ. The members of the Commission handed him some documents to facilitate the rehabilitation of the people concerned.

April 17. The Ukrainian SSR's law on the rehabilitation of the victims of Ukrainian political reprisals is published. It aims at the compensation only of those who were convicted by tribunal. Adoption of the law concerning the compensation of and damages to people interned as civilians and taken to "malenykij robot" is being delayed as these victims were not convicted to forced labor camps by any court of law. In the last few days, in accordance with instructions from the executive committee of the Council of people's representatives, throughout Transcarpathia's towns and district, working groups were formed to look into the question of restoring the human rights of those who had been rehabilitated.

July 12.

In the "Karpati Igaz Szo" appears the column entitled, "For Whom the Bells did not Toll" by Dupka Gyorgy, member of the Ungvar town and district council. In his columns, he publishes material concerning the deportations of Transcarpathia's Hungarians.

August 11.

Upon the initiative of the Makkosjanosi KMKSZ, a monument is erected to the memory of the victims of W.W.II and Stalinist terror. At its dedication, Jeszenszky Geza, Foreign Minister of the Hungarian Republic, also made a speech.. Previously, he visited the monument on the Pass of Uzsok where the remains of the First World War's Hungarian and non Hungarian soldiers are buried and placed a wreath there.

September 20.

The editors of the "Karpati Igaz Szo" organized a meeting with the experts in the field of rehabilitation. These declared to those present that they will press for complete material rehabilitation of the Hungarian and German internees at the highest forum. This document was prepared after the meeting. Thus, the head of the territorial council appeals in writing to the Supreme Council of the Ukraine to add to the rehabilitation law an amendment that would assure material compensation also - aside from the moral and political rehabilitation - to the former deportees.

During September.

The town council of Ungvar asked Mihajlo Beleny, sculptor of Ungvar, to prepare the model of the monument to be erected in memory of the victims of political reprisals. As proposed by several representatives, this memorial to be placed as a memento on the square where the offices of the State Committee for the National security are located.

After crushing of the August putsch, it came to light that in those extraordinary days the hard-line communist functionaries decided, among other things, to reorganize the composition of the Rehabilitation Commission, suspending the membership of Col. Alekszej Korszun and Dupka Gyorgy. They also wanted to stop all research at the State Archives for documents concerning the November 1994 internment of Hungarian men.

Initiated by Toth Mihaly and Dupka Gyorgy, the Hungarian representatives of the District Council submitted a petition to Leonid Kravcsuk, President of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR. In it they urge the material rehabilitation of the draft-age men who were carried off from their homes and interned by the KGB troops, in accordance with Resolution #36 of November 13, 1944 of the military council of the 4th Ukrainian Front.

Asztalos Eva, architect with the planning office of a house renovation and restoration institute, was entrusted by the leaders of the KMKSZ with the planning of the construction of the Szolyva Memorial Park.. So far, a total of 39,000 rubles were invested in this construction. Toth Mihaly, vice-president of the KMKSZ, took charge of all matters concerning this Memorial Park.

November 15.

## R E S O L U T I O N

OF THE PEOPLES' REPRESENTATIVES  
OF TRANSCARPATHIA'S TERRITORIAL COUNCIL'S  
WORKING GROUP.

FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE RIGHTS OF  
THE REHABILITATED CITIZENS OF  
HUNGARIAN, GERMAN AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS  
OF TRANSCARPATHIA,  
WHO WERE INTERNED IN NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1994  
AND JANUARY 1995.

1. - Resulting from the thousands of letters received from Hungarian and German nationals, and members of other ethnic groups asking for rehabilitation, I. J. Bihunec, Dupka Gyorgy, A.M. Korszum, members of the working group, and V.I. Ivanenko for the UKGB, have studied this question. It has been determined that, in accordance with the orders of the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front, men between the ages of 18 and 50 of Hungarian, German or other ethnic groups have, in fact, been interned in November-December 1944 and January 1945 and were ordered to be taken to forced labour camps beyond the borders of Carpatho-Ukraine. The leaders of the Territorial Council of Peoples' Representatives familiarized themselves with these documents.

2. - It must be stated that the leaders of the Territorial Council of the Peoples Representatives petitioned the Supreme Council of the Ukraine to discuss the rehabilitation of the citizens of Hungarian, German and other ethnic groups who were interned between November 1944 and January 1945 and take to forced labour camps. It was also asked to determine the amount of their financial compensation, the return of their assets and the restoration of their valuable possessions. The time these citizens spent in the camps must be added to their current work-record, as ordered by the Ukrainian SSR's law "The Rehabilitation of Ukrainian citizens, victims of Political reprisals".

3. - Representatives elected from the Transcarpathia to the Ukrainian Supreme Council must be urged to press for placing the question of the internee's compensation on the agenda.

Molnar Bertalan  
President of the Working Commission

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November 17.

In Odessa, the all Ukrainian Nationalities Congress was held where Kover Gyorgy represented the KMKSZ. In his speech, he illustrated the Stalinist reprisals that the Hungarians of Transcarpathia suffered in November 1944.

On this day, in front of the Rakoczi-manor in Munkacs, Transcarpathia's first public monument commemorating the Hungarian and German victims of Stalinism was dedicated. Its creator is Matl Peter, sculptor from Munkacs.

November 24.

The KMKSZ is organizing a quiet wreath-laying ceremony in Szolyva, on the old site of the camp graveyard, where a Memorial Park to the victims of Stalinism is being constructed.

All the paperwork ordered by the KMKSZ and necessary to the construction of the Memorial Park in Szolyva is now ready. Construction has started.

December 10.

Csulak Laszlo, the KMKSZ's legal expert, has produced a new and important document concerning the internment of Hungarian men in November 1944.

TO:  
LEONID KRAVCSUK  
PRESIDENT OF THE UKRAINE  
K I E V

ON THE OFFICIAL ANALYSIS  
OF THE LAW PASSED ON THE REHABILITATION  
OF THE VICTIMS OF POLITICAL REPRISALS

According to the declaration of sovereignty of the SSR of the Ukraine and taking into consideration that some of the victims of the persecutions of the 30s, 40s and early'50s are being rehabilitated, the third session of 12th meeting of the Supreme Council adopted the law of the SSR of the Ukraine of the rehabilitation of the victims of political reprisals. The proposals and suggestions made by the representatives, legal experts, and the Ministry of Finance of the SSR of the Ukraine during the discussions following the first reading of the proposed law were taken into consideration.

The law is reform-minded and well thought out. It is this kind of law that gives the newly-reborn state its character. From the point of view of the Ukraine's Hungarian, German or Gypsy populations, it would seem that the mountains laboured and gave birth to a mouse....

The non-Slav population of Transcarpathia had hoped that the laws passed will apply to them also. They have long awaited passage of legislation that will make them all equal. But not so this law or the Soviet-era laws which were written for the world at large. Let the whole world see that everything is in order here, that all our citizens are equal, that we broke with the past! Yet the truth is....



The truth is that this law does not apply to the 35 or 40 thousand Hungarians, Germans or Gypsies, fewer and fewer of whom are still alive.

To the innumerable petitions and interventions of the victims, the Justice Department of Transcarpathia replied that the recently adopted law does not apply to the Hungarians, Germans, and Gypsies who were tricked into reporting for three days of labour and then interned; that these people were "morally" rehabilitated only and are not eligible to receive the financial compensations prescribed by the law.

It was only after 1985 that one could mention the fact, that in the autumn of 1944 the Hungarian, German, and Gypsy men between the ages of 18 and 50 were obliged to report to collection points for three days of public labour. These "three days" will be remembered by every family. The men were herded behind barbed wire with guns. Because of the inhumane treatment, total lack of sanitation, from hunger and cold, most of these men died either already on their way or in the camps. Those that came back returned disabled; many died later from diseases contracted at the camps and never lived to see passage of this law.

Please allow me not to digress on the motives of the internment at the end of 1944 of the non-Slav civilian population. These are well-known. It is also well-known (as reported at the conference of historians) that the commander of the IVth Ukrainian Front, who reported the internment of the civilian population as capture of enemy soldiers, received a high state decoration for this falsehood.

The men who were tricked into internment spent, on the average, three years in prison, but many were confined behind barbed wire for 7 to 9 years.

The fact that these men were not persecuted by court order only enhances the criminality of the actions of Stalin's penal organizations. The appearance of legality was maintained, at least on paper or by show trials, by Judicial proceedings.

After thorough study of the whole law, its preface and paragraphs 1 and 3, there can be no doubt in our minds that it must apply to the non-Slav victims interned at the end of 1944. If, in practice, this law is applied arbitrarily, or interpreted discriminatory, it will represent a cynical injustice for the many of Transcarpathia's inhabitants, affront the memory of the victims as well as outrage those who

witnessed the reprisals. Under such circumstances, public homage to the memory of those who died in concentration camps should be prohibited. Or that monuments should be dedicated to them, which is happening in every ethnic settlement. At every service held at these monuments, the population condemns these Stalinist reprisals. The local papers all published translations of the law as a fact of state justice, ethnic equality and harmony. Yet the administrators (as well as one of the authors) of the law will tell you: "This does not apply to you; you will be rehabilitated morally only".

Will the law be so blatantly ignored in the Ukraine also?

Will one thing be written on paper and something else done?

The administrators of the law do not want to acknowledge the victims of the reprisals; they rather believe the reports of Stalin that these men were POWs.

We are outraged by the local administrators' discriminating interpretation of this law and we appeal to the Supreme Council to interpret officially the paragraphs 1 and 2. Should you have any doubts, we ask that the issues be clarified by your establishing a committee composed of historians, archivists, and scientists who would question the local population and the families of the victims.

Should the tendentiously discriminating interpretation against the rehabilitation of the victims of the political reprisals be continued. We shall have to appeal to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

Fodo Sandor  
President of the Hungarian Cultural Association  
of Transcarpathia

Forgon Pal  
Bishop  
Reformed Church of Transcarpathia

April, 1992

Saw the publication of the volume entitled "Istenhez fohaszkodva" ("Beseeching God"), a collection of camp poems and prayers, edited by Dupka Gyorgy and printed by Intermix Publishing.

At the beginning of the year, the registered Transcarpathia Foundation held its first meeting where it was decided that the Foundation will underwrite the development of the Szolyva Memorial Park. The KMKSZ's appeal for subscribers was not very successful. The preliminary budget for carrying out this project is finished: it would require 1,200,000 rubles on the free market to create a worthy monument to Transcarpathia's Hungarian dead. The curators ask everyone to contribute as much as they are able to the creation of this Memorial Park. Donations are to be sent to: Transcarpathia Foundations, Ungvar, Ukrszocbank 700 162.

May 23.

Baksa Lujza, reporter of the "Karpati Igaz Szo", interviewed Ivan Bihunec, deputy head of the Regional Rehabilitation Commission, on the status of the rehabilitation of the interned Hungarian and German men.

Excerpts from this interview:

"As for the Hungarians and Germans interned in the former Soviet Union, the Supreme Council's leaders have already brought this question to the attention of the legislators. After weighing it at length, the responsible parliamentary commission decided that according to the Geneva convention, the belligerent party has, indeed, the right to mobilize the enemy population for public works. At same time, they admitted that in the course of such mobilization they infringed on human rights. Nothing more happened.

Unfortunately, we have no lists of names of those who were taken away from their homes as they did not voluntarily report at the collection points. They were considered POWs on the documents we have found so far, and those are not rehabilitated. We can only hope that those who were in camps had their own personal files which will show whether they were interned or became POWs. But it requires a lot of research to obtain these documents. The same goes for the compiling of lists of those who were considered "kulaks."

May, second half.

Toth Mihaly, the delegate from, the District of Beregszasz to the Transcarpathia Foundation, publicly accepted the leadership in moving along the Szolyva Memorial Park as the presidency of the KMKSZ cannot finance the construction costs. In the on-side evaluation of the most urgent activities, the mayor of Szolyva, planner Asztalos Eva, the Transcarpathian Nationalities, as well as representatives of Intermix, a mixed corporation, collaborated with Toth Mihaly.

May 14.

saw the production of Nagy Zoltan Mihaly's novella, "Satan Fattya" (Satan's Bastard) by the Folk Theater Company of Beregszasz. The play, produced by Schober Otto and shown in Budapest also, is a faithful illustration of Stalin's tyranny.

June 14.

Together with a Reformed Church service, the dedication ceremony of a monument to the memory of the victims of W.W.II and forced labour camps took place in Mezovari.

August.

The Hungarian Ministry of Culture supports the publication of the Book of Recollections of the victims of Stalinist camps.

September.

The Executive Secretary of the KMKSZ appeals to the local chapters to compile the lists of the survivors, of the forced labour camps, to enable the needy to share in the financial assistance to be received in the near future.

October 17.

Dr. Sepsey Tamas, Deputy Minister and Head of the State Commission of Reparations and Compensations, visited Transcarpathia. In Beregszasz and Ungvar, he held a lecture and met with survivors and the widows of those who died in the camps.

The Presidency of the KMKSZ instructs the presidents of the local chapters to make up the list of those claiming compensation, and bring it to the offices of the KMKSZ for authentication.. The compensation envelopes may be bought at the Hungarian Consulate in Ungvar.

After W.W.II, for political reasons, many citizens of Transcarpathia suffered infringements of their rights, for which compensation will be partially taken over by the Hungarian State. To avoid misunderstandings arising from the peculiar circumstances of the Transcarpathians, this question has been explained at length by the Karpati Igaz Szo and among the Ukrainian papers, the Novini Zakarpattya. As a result, "compensation fever" broke out among the Transcarpathians and for weeks the Hungarian Consulate in Ungvar and the offices of the KMKSZ were under siege by the crowds.

October 20. The Karpati Igaz Szo publishes the full text of the XXXII Hungarian law of 1992, dealing with the compensation of those were illegally and for political reasons deprived of their life and liberty. Among Transcarpathians, the law applies to those who were Hungarian citizens at that time (for instance those who were carried for labour by the Soviet authorities, or were victims of show trials). If the victim is no longer alive, half of the compensation may be claimed by his surviving widow. Hungarian citizenship is counted until the day of the Paris peace treaty. As far as the POWs are concerned, entitled are those who were kept in camps after August 1945. The compensation extends also to the Jews deported from the territory and to members of the Ruthenian work brigades. Those who infringed the basic rights, as described in the Document of Agreement on the Political and Civilian Rights, (i. e. member of the secret police, agent, communist functionary, or those who helped put down the 1956 revolution) will be denied compensation. Nor will children or relatives receive compensation.

November 2.

The time limit for presenting compensation claims has been reached. According to Perduk Janos, office manager of the KMKSZ, this organization made the optimal use of the available time. It took over the securing and completing of the compensation papers. Most of the office of the local chapters did well also. At the central office, they admitted and accepted the claims of Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, or Germans also; after all, they were Hungarian citizens too at that time. At the first transport, the office holders of the KMKSZ handed over 2,000 claims to the Hungarian functionaries. Since the time limit has been reached, the KMKSZ will no longer complete the required forms, but this does not mean that the KMKSZ considers the action closed. It will keep in contact with the Hungarian State Commission for Reparations and Compensations, will arrange to ship the supplementary documents, will act as intermediary between the members of the KMKSZ and the commission, and will help check out for the interned.

November 26.

A day of mourning for the interned.

December 1.

The proposal of a Resolution of the Allowances due to the Interned Citizens is brought before the Territorial Council.

## RESOLUTION

### OF THE TERRITORIAL COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES REPRESENTATIVES OF TRANSCARPATHIA

#### ON THE ALLOWANCES DUE TO THE INTERNED CITIZENS

In the years of Stalinist reprisals and upon the illegal order of Soviet state organizations, as well as that of the military commander of the 4th Ukrainian Front, many people who had no connections to Hungarian military units or the German army were interned to regions of the Carpathio-Ukraine without reasons other than their ethnic background.

Thus, according to the October 18, 1944 Resolution of the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front, 8500 Hungarian, German, Ruthenian Ukrainian and other men between the ages of 18 and 50 were groundlessly detained and forcibly interned in military camps between October 18 and December 16, 1944. The majority of the survivors were released between 1946 and 1949 only.

The Territorial Council condemns these illegal acts of the commander of the 4th Ukrainian Front considering such actions unacceptable in a civilized country; Expresses its condolences to the victims of these groundless reprisals, as well as to their relatives and kin; and will do everything in its power to ensure that the victims receive adequate compensation for the wrongs inflicted by these lawless reprisals.

Therefore, the Territorial Council of the Workers' Representatives resolved;

1. - The decision of the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front concerning the internment Hungarian and German men and members of other ethnic groups is to be considered illegal.

2. - A single, lump-sum assistance is to be given to those people who can prove their internment. This assistance is payable out of the local budget.
3. - The time spent in the camps must be counted in the internees' work record, on a one-to-one basis.
4. - They have to be made eligible for out-of-turn medical care and must benefit from a 50% discount on all prescribed medications.
5. - The welfare office of the state territorial administration should provide a sample of an ID card to be approved by the Territorial deputy of the President of the Ukraine.
6. - The representatives of the district and local councils will be entrusted with issuing these ID cards on the basis of archival documents.

December, end of.

The representatives of the KMKSZ through lack of support, did not manage to put this proposal on the agenda of the December 23, 1992 session of the Territorial Council.

According to an end of December broadcast by the Kossuth Radio, the State Commission for Reparations and Compensations received 30,000 compensation requests from Transcarpathia.

## EPILOGUE

"In Transylvania, Transcarpathia, and Voyvodina tens of thousands of innocent men became victims of murderous violence; in Slovakia hundreds of thousands became persecuted simply because they were Hungarians'. So reads the proclamation issued in December 1990 by the Justitia Humana Hungariae to the world's Hungarians. On the wounds inflicted on the nation, the proclamation further emphasizes: "By bloody pogroms, death-camps, internment, and deportations the invading armies, the terrorist groups unleashed on an unarmed population, the re-established public administration of the successor states tried to

take revenge on the innocent inhabitants or to alter radically the ethnic compositions of the occupied territories.

If we respond to our moral duty to determine and proclaim the truth, we must remember the victims of these mass murders, keep in mind the murdered, the interned, the persecuted and acknowledge those who survived the persecution.

We wish to heal the wounds, not to inflict new ones. For the crimes committed against Hungarians we blame the governments and the state authorities of that time, not the people.

We must uncover the wounds of the population living in Transcarpathia by feeling responsible for each other and by cooperating with the Hungarian social organizations, churches and scientific institutions living in Hungary, Transylvania, Transcarpathia , as well as in the northern and southern regions".

It was in this spirit that we started assembling our Book of Recollections. The bulk of this contains the lists of losses of the various settlements inhabited by Hungarians in Transcarpathia. We hope that in the near future the lists of the losses of the whole Carpathian basin, that is the regions cut off from the mother country, will also be finished. In this respect, several noteworthy research works have already been published, such as Stark Tamas's book entitled "The Human Losses of Hungary in W.W.II". Before 1989, the archivists of the eastern-Hungary region started the collection of material concerning the internment of Hungarians. In particular, the historian, Dr. Gyarmathy Zsigmond processed the material on the deported victims of the regions of Csonka-Bereg and Szatmar. According to his reckoning, the soldiers of the NVKD carried off to Szolyva about 1200 men from this region. Dr. Fazekas Arpad of Nyiregyhaza, published his book of recollections entitled "The Deported, Nyiregyhaza, 1944-1989" in the newspaper "Hatar-Szel" (Borderline). His data shows that more than 2000 men were taken to the Soviet GULAGs; they met their fate on November 2, 1944. Producer Sara Sandor's film, "Csonka-Bereg", on the fearful days of deportations of that November, was shown in the autumn of 1988. The film gives voice to many survivors of a corner of the Tisza region who speak of their deportations for the first time. Aside from the Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg district, many men and women were taken to reconstruction work from other parts of Hungary also, particularly women with German-sounding names.



In neighbouring Slovakia - estimates Molnar Imre and Janics Kalman - on the basis of the government program of Kassa over 100 thousand families were affected by the deportations, the humiliations inflicted by the Czech-Slovak nationalists. All this is buttressed by facts as presented at the Meeting of those injured by government action of Kassa that the Rakoczi Association organized in Budapest on February 29,1992. The troops of the NKVD took their share in decimating the number of local Hungarian men of draft age. We learn of this from Dobos Ferenc's essay, "Magyarok a tortenelem senkifoldjen" ("Hungarians on History's no-man's-land") where he proves with facts how the men collected in Bodrogkoz, and the region of Ung in eastern Slovakia, were sent to "malenykij robot". The material he collected encompasses 51 settlements in the vicinity of Nagykapos, in the Ung region. He shows that between December 1 and 23, 1944, 2,444 men were deported to the interior of the Soviet Union: of these, 876 perished there.

These are not the final numbers; the research continues.

Csatari Daniel, in his book "Forgoszelben Magyar-Roman viszony 1940-1945" (In the Whirlwind: Hungarian Romanian relations 1940-1945") (1968), illustrates the slaughter of Hungarians in Romania. In some northern Transylvanian settlements, the Romanian right-wing volunteer units, thirsting for vengeance, massacred thousands on the spot or deported masses of them to internment camps.

It is striking that in the regions mentioned, the collecting activity of the NKVD and SZMERS troops took place more or less at the same time. Only minor differences in the manner and intensity are noticeable in these actions when compared to those occurring in Hungarian settlements in Transcarpathia and other neighbouring territories. The people on the lists were herded at gun-point into the Szolyva, Perecseny or other concentration camps, whence they were marched or transported by cattle-cars to other GULAG camps of the Soviet Union. The losses of the Hungarian-inhabited villages were roughly the same: Every second or third man fell victim to hunger or cold. Studying the question of the Hungarian and German deportations, historians nowadays are wondering whether a border adjustment to the Tisza or beyond, or the annexation to Karpatszka Ukraine of the Slovakian region of Nagykapos, the Bodrogkoz and the Halmi district of Romania were considered by the administration. It is a fact that in September 1945 all the villages in Bereg County located on the right bank of the Tisza were occupied for two weeks by the Ukrainian troops. Dr. Gyarmathy Zsigmond writes: "During

those two weeks, they occupied 21 villages' postal and administrative offices, the equipment and buildings of the border guards of the frontiers as drawn by the Trianon peace-treaty, and disarmed the police."

There is only one answer to the above question. The troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front occupying Transcarpathia did, indeed, want to expand the Soviet empire. Did they do this on the suggestion of Stalin and his military leaders? After all, the annexation of Transcarpathia already gave them an important bridgehead towards Western Europe. We also know that in 1944-45, some overzealous communist functionaries redrew Transcarpathia's map. Some variations of these can be found in the archives of the NKVD. One of the motives of the internment's was their fear of a general Hungarian uprising in the back country. The NKVD's actions to acquire new territory were brought to a halt by some high government-level instructions which validated the 1937 frontiers set by the Yalta agreement.

Opening up the historical wounds of the Hungarians, brings to light the differences in the fate of the deported of the mother country, Transcarpathia, and Slovakia, from those who were persecuted and tortured to death in Romania, as well as those who were slaughtered in Vojvodina. In these regions the victors enacted a peculiar scenario for decimating the Hungarians. This is supported by Matuska Marton's book, "A megorlas napjai. Ahogy az Emlekezet megorizte" ("Days of Reprisals: As they live in Memory") in which he commemorates the over 40 thousand Hungarians of Vojvodina killed by Tito's partisans.

None of the books and essays published since 1989 on this recording of our dead is motivated by feelings of revenge but of respect. It is important to speak out these cruel historical truths because it serves the common cleansing process for the peoples of eastern and central Europe. Thus, every book of recollections, from whatever side, may become, in the near future, the basis of mutual reconciliation.

Our book of recollections contains the truths, unspoken so far, the collapse of taboos. We do not wish to detail the circumstances of the internment's of 1944, as these can be found in the published documents, speeches, recollections and archival material.

Until 1990, we could find no documents which would have given a clear picture of the life of those deported to the camps or could have supported the eye-witness accounts of the surviving ex-prisoners. At first, oral recollections were

rare too. We received negative or no replies to our requests sent to the various archives in the country. Still, we were confident of our success to bring out the truth, at least partially.

Of course, we still cannot obtain those secret documents that would unequivocally prove the crimes committed against Transcarpathia's Hungarian and German nationals.

Col. Alekszej Korszun, member of the Territorial Rehabilitation Commission and former territorial deputy of the KGB, managed to secure the first lists of names from the highly confidential Moscow archives. This enabled us to piece together the mosaic of the deportations, its antecedents and its consequences.

As is well known on November 13, 1944 the first military order was issued for the cleansing of the back-country and for the deportations of the soldiers who deserted the Hungarian army, as well as of the draft-age men. Many people asked: who is personally responsible for the deportation of several tens of thousands of men?

Among the documents found so far is the Resolution #0036 of the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front which ordered the collection and internment of Hungarian and German men. The commander of the front was General Petrov, who presumably did not act on his own initiative, but on instructions from Stalin and Beria. Sooner or later the relevant documents will also appear. The highest levels of political and military leadership also played a role on the execution of this cruel action: N. Khrushchov, General Szerov, commander of the SZMERS among others.

It is to be noted that the internment's were fully approved by the local communist party leaders and functionaries (Turjanica, Andrasko, stb.)

Col. Korszun managed to obtain the photocopy of the order signed on December 17, 1944 by Brigadier-General Fagyejev, commander of the 4th Ukrainian Front's NKVD troops detailed to secure this territory. This document summarizes the results of the first month's "cleansing": "They collected 154 enemy officers (of which 132 were Hungarians), 7,729 soldiers (7,669 Hungarians), 7,093 draft-age men (7,025 Hungarians). Besides those that are listed, they also arrested 6,319 soldiers and officers, 1,179 draft-age civilian men, as well as 9 gendarmes and policemen." The result of the first month's cleansing:

from Transcarpathia's territory, a total of 22,951 men were interned in concentration camps. The report closes with the following sentence: "The cleansing continues". The civilians, who were not arrested as military, were recorded as "internees".

From another report we learn that the NKVD troops under the leadership of Fagyejev, started a secondary action: - with the help of the local commissars and partisans, of rounding up the German men between the ages of 18 and 50, as well as later women also, from the districts of Szolyva, Munkacs, Ilosva, Nagyszolos, Raho and Huszt. As a result, 292 people were interned and taken to POW camps. According to the reports that were obtained, the number of internees from Transcarpathia can be estimated at between 25 and 30 thousand. The reports of later dates are still being searched for; perhaps we shall have a clearer picture of the results of the internment's of January-February 1945.

As our book of recollections contains many more details, we do not wish to talk further about the concentration camp in Szolyva, erected on the site of a former Hungarian military barracks. However, we find it necessary to mention that the Szolyva concentration camp, together with six others, was a part of the Sztarij Szambor system. The official name of the camp at Szolyva was SZPV-2, or concentration point #2 for POWs (in Russian: Szbornij Punkt Vojennoplennih). Its first commander is assumed to have been Col. Jermilov. About 12 thousand prisoners were incarcerated in his barracks at the same time. From there, they were sent in large groups to the various GULAGs of the Soviet Union.

The material found in the archives proves that most of the prisoners perished in Szolyva. Due to an epidemic of typhoid fever that broke out in December, hundreds of men died daily. The process was accelerated by the fact that in the middle of winter the prisoners were kept in unheated barracks, without shoes or warm clothing, thus condemned to death by cold and hunger also. From this death camp, even the sickest prisoners were sent without food for days on end, hastening the demise of the weakened prisoners. Similar inhumane conditions were found in other camps too.

Until January 30, 1945, thousands of the internees' relatives were besieging the local administrative leadership and the military commanders. They were all demanding the release of the men.

In a report in the Moscow archives, we find that Colonel-general Menlisz, Stalin's well-known accomplice and member of the 4th Ukrainian Front's military council, was the first to question the causes of the mass deaths among the internees. As a result of his inquiry, Mehlisz signed a resolution which made the release of the very ill possible. Thus, between January 20 and 30 several hundred weak or ill prisoners were transported back home. We do not know of any further acts of such mercy. In the Beregszasz archives, there are over 100 documents which list by name those internees that the local administration tried to save, underscoring their communist past. We can create a fairly accurate picture of the fate of the internees in POW camps or residing in "unknown places" from the lists which were sent in by each village upon the request circulated by the Social Department of the Peoples Council of Transcarpathia. The leaders of the villages, the party secretaries were the compilers and signers of these reports coming from the villages inhabited by Hungarians, between July 1 and 7, 1945 about 30 thousand draft-age men were held in unknown places. The lists prepared by the NKVD are kept in the Moscow archives.

We can draw the conclusion from the material available so far that the majority of the internees did not return home: they could not survive the inhumane treatment. The material in the Moscow archives gives us a glimpse into the hospital records of other camps too. So far, only the files of the men from Badalo were found. It was thanks to Col. Korszun that we received proof of the death of 23 men from Badalo all come from the camp hospitals of Boriszov, Territory of Minsk, or the Doneck and Harkov regions. These records show the death and burial of the individual. Thus, Biro Albert died at the age of 30, Biro Bela at the age of 40, as a consequence of the ordeals they suffered.

To cite some concrete examples: Biro Elek, born in 1917, camp number 401, hospital number 1673, Boriszovo. He became ill on July 5, 1945. Entered the hospital on July 27. He died at 7 A.M. on August 2nd. Diagnosis: Intestinal infection and hemorrhage. He was buried in the cemetery of the prison hospital #1673. Similar data emerge from the hospital record of Nagy Elek who died of dystrophy of the third degree and fatal weakness. His death certificate shows that he was buried in the 12th plot, 20th parcel of the 3rd Boriszovo cemetery.

We find these cold-blooded entries on every hospital record, hiding the tragic fate of a man whose only sin was to have been born Hungarian.

In our Book of Recollection, we published the lists of losses of 115 settlements inhabited by Hungarians. Of these 37 are in the District of Beregszasz, 27 in the District of Nagyszollos, 20 in that of Ungvar, 8 in Munkacs, as well as 13 located in the Upper Tisza Region.

We do not claim a complete record; we chose those villages where the KMKS~ had established a chapter facilitating the compilation of data and where the survivors and the relatives came forward in response to our request. We did not endeavour to analyze all the settlements of Transcarpathia as, in the past decades, many Hungarian families moved away from their villages or became assimilated. This is particularly true for those who felt the weight of the stalinist reprisals but now live scattered about, in a diaspora. Nor are the lists of the losses of the villages that are included complete, as few of the internees are still alive or they do not have relatives.

According to our data, the total number of those who were carried away varies from village to village. For example, from Aknaszlatina 690, from Dercen 402, from Mezovari 340, from Eszeny 313, from Csongor 300, from Visk 286, and from Batyu 270 civilian men were interned. The number of deaths in camps is astoundingly high. For instance, from Aknaszlatina 172, from Mezovari 169, from Muzsaly 129, from Csongor 101, from Eszeny 91, from Visk 95, and from Barkaszd 86 able-bodied men perished. Fewer than that died in both World Wars from the villages listed. As S. Benedek Andras puts it: "At the end of the war, so many Hungarian and German men and women were carried off to POW camps that elsewhere it would have wiped out communities with demographic decline as its consequence. But here, we see a strengthening, an increase in the population. The Hungarians are a strong and viable race here in Transcarpathia."

After three years of research work, we come to the conclusion that we shall not be able to come up with a complete list in the near future. But as the compilation of the camp lists continues, we get a clearer picture thanks to the activists of the local chapters of the KMKSZ. This was also helped along by the fact that Hungary extended the right to compensation to territories beyond its borders. Unfortunately, nobody cares to count up the victims in those villages where no chapter of the KMKSZ was established. It must be said though that in some the number of Hungarians is negligible. However, we also know of some settlements, such as Galocs, where, for some reason, no Hungarian men were deported.

We finished the manuscript of this collection at the end of December 1992. In collecting its material and compiling the camp lists, of greatest help to us were the presidents and activists of the oft-mentioned KMKSZ; some leaders of the village councils; as well as the survivors and relatives of the victims. We thank them all.

Our special thanks go to Foltin Dezso, deputy director of the State Archives of the District of Beregszasz, and to his colleagues who put the archival material at our disposal.

For their zeal in this noble cause, we owe a debt of gratitude to Alekszej Korszun, retired colonel, Molnar Bertalan, president of the Territorial Rehabilitation Commission, and to all those to whom we can no longer express our personal gratitude for their invaluable contribution, who can no longer gaze upon this Book of Recollections: Varadi-Sternberg Janos, Fedak Laszlo, Bendasz Istvan, Kovacs Imre Zoltan.

We also thank the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education for making the publication of this Book of Recollections possible.

We still accept with thanks any remarks, new additions to our Book of Recollections or any verification of its contents.

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Dupka Gyorgy.