

György Dupka

DO NOT JUDGE ME!

**Jewish genocide,
anti-Semitic persecution
in Transcarpathia
committed in the
name of Nazi and
Communist conceits
(1938–1991)**



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I dedicate my work to the memory of my dear teacher, Professor János Váradi-Sternberg, who passed away young, at the age of 68 only, but was a great scholar and explorer of the history of Transcarpathia. He, as a high school student, had to leave Nagyvárad (Oradea) to escape Nazi persecution and via an odyssey managed to get to the Soviet Union where he was dragged through the mire and stigmatized for being a Jew.

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A FOREWORD

(In light of my personal testimonies)

History

I am often asked by friends and acquaintances the question what I have to do with the Jews of Transcarpathia and why I am so concerned with the history of their suffering in the 20th century. My most honest answers to questions like these are the following.

At first, my father, who was a Roman Catholic Christian believer with Polish ancestry, took pride in being a Hungarian, went through the hell of the Donbass labour camp, and then languished in prison in the Murmansk forced labour camp of the GULAG¹. He told me a lot about those cooperative fellow prisoners of Jewish and other nationalities who were always solidary with each-other and could survive the hardships and inhuman conditions of the camp life due only to their mutual friendly help and support. My father was also ready to give them his friendly hand since at home in his village he had associated with many Jewish kids as a teenager and young man. This is to say, between the two world wars more than 100 Jews lived in peace, harmony, mutual support and without conflicts with the local Hungarians there. He was just seventeen when he witnessed the deportations at the end of the war, and to help them to overcome hardships he took a horse-drawn cart from my grandfather's yard and put his Jewish friends' old parents with all their bundles on it so that they did not have to walk to Halmi

¹ See the register of the Hungarian, Ukrainian/Rusyn, Jewish convicts imprisoned together with my father (György Dupka senior.) in *Kárpátaljai magyar GULAG-lexikon*. Lefezett értelmiség 1944-1959. Kárpátaljai Magyar Könyvek, 95. DUPKA GYÖRGY közreadásában. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 1999. 31.p. Further on: *Kárpátaljai magyar GULAG-lexikon*, 1999.

(now in Romania) that was nearly 20 kms from our village. For this he was even read a lesson by the gendarmes. While my father was with us, he was for me an unquestionably authoritative chronicler both of the Jewish holocaust springing from the bestial Nazi ideas, and also of the internment of the Hungarians under the dictatorial Communist regime and the persecution of people of different nationalities whose only sin was their origin.

Of the Jews of Tiszabökény only Béla Swarcz and his wife Sári survived the holocaust. I knew the family very well. Uncle Béla was respected by the whole village, and was the always helpful shopkeeper of the store named Héró by the locals. The two girls of my age in the family and their only son were raised as Hungarians. The latter died in a tragic motorcycle accident and was mourned by the village. Their daughters went to the local primary school with us. Regina was a few years older than me but we understood each other very well, we were great friends, and while I was doing my actual military service, she, as the only Jewish girl in Transcarpathia, had graduated from the National University of Ungvár (Uzhhorod), gained a diploma and a Master's degree in Hungarian language and literature and taught these subjects at the school of my native village. The younger daughter, Veronika, went to school with my sister and they were also great friends. We met almost every day, discussed and exchanged our ideas about outstanding Hungarian poets and writers, for I was a member of the Forrás (Spring) Literary Youth Studio already, and later joined the Attila József Creative Community which was a forum that united the young Hungarian authors in Transcarpathia. I remember the old summer days, the roasting of pig's fat on skewers above an open fire at the meandering banks of the Tisza River – we had serious scholarly discussions and daydreamed about our future. But this beautiful period of our life soon came to an end.

In the early 1970s, the stifling atmosphere of anti-Semitism booming in the Soviet Union became simply unbearable in Tiszabökény for the Swarcz family, too, who were also subjected to the harassment of the local communist petty kings. As their daughter, who was a teacher of Hungarian with a university degree, could not get a permanent job, the Swarcz family opted for a change and decided to leave. The

village and I myself were deeply shocked to learn that they wanted to go to Israel. I can even now see Regina's sad mournful face full of tears because she left very unwillingly but had to follow her parents. Perhaps there lived a seventh sense in her that said that she should remain here among us and serve the community as a teacher, enjoy herself and her life here where she was born. I say this because she died tragically and suddenly in Israel some years later.

In Tiszaújlak, next to our home village, only one religious Jew lives with his wife. Miklós Weiss is his name. He has been my friend since childhood, with whom I often went to the village balls and we are still friends even now. In my eyes, he is one of the last "Jewish Mohicans", who, as president of the Jewish Community of Believers of Ugocsa Region, hopes to see the synagogue in Nagyszöllös, which was recently repossessed, fully restored. For the time being he set up a prayer room there to provide room for the remaining Ugocsa Jews to meet and pray. He personally oversees the Jewish cemetery, other cult objects and memorial sites of Nagyszöllös. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the commemorative events held in 2014 to mark the 70th anniversary of the deportations in Ugocsa, and actively participated in them. He was present in Tiszaölkény when on my initiative a memorial board was unveiled in memory of the seventy-two Jewish citizens deported from their home village to the Gulag, and he participated and delivered speeches at the commemorative conferences organised in Tiszaölkény, Péterfalva and Nagyszöllös.

Secondly, I proudly declare that my knowledge of Hungarian history is based on the magnanimous help of professor János Váradi-Sternberg (Nagyvárad), a university teacher of history, from 10 January 1924 to 12 February 1992 (Ungvár). When I was a Hungarian major at the Ungvár State University (USU in 1974-1979, the first Hungarian history course was introduced, and the first lecture was read by Uncle Janó (he liked to be called so). He was a professor at the university history department and was already very well known as a brilliant researcher of the Kuruc (or kurutz) period of Hungarian history; (the term refers to a group of armed anti-Habsburg insurgents in Royal Hungary between 1671 and 1711). He was the main reviewer of my thesis on the history of Hungarian literature and culture in Transcarpathia written under the

guidance of the university professor Sándor Fodó. With fatherly love and care, he inspired me to research local history, gave me topics, and due to this we published nearly twenty articles together in the *Kárpáti Igaz Szó, Kárpáti Kalendárium*. With him I compiled an anthology of authors from the period between the two world wars, which was published in the year of his death.² We were cooperating members of the Transcarpathian County Rehabilitation Committee from 1988. When I became the executive secretary of the KMKSZ (THCA – Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, *Kárpátaljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség, KMKSZ*) and a county deputy in 1989, at his suggestion we set up a working committee to research local history. He was an enthusiastic organizing chairman of this committee until his death. He considered me his gifted disciple and so I was also among those students who were invited to come to his apartment to deepen their knowledge by participating in an autodidact circle.

I have a special shelf for his collection of studies in Russian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, entitled *The Heritage of Centuries*,³ published in 1981, a copy of which he signed at the time of its publication: 'To my dear student Gyuri Dupka, with love, János V. Sternberg, Ungvár, February 1982.' Dr. Kálmán Soós, rector, dr. György Csátáry, the local historian Barna Kész and others also belong to this circle. The start of the Rákóczi and Petőfi cult, the organization of the annual thematic commemorative conferences, the Petőfi Memorial Room in Ungvár, the re-erection of the Rákóczi Memorial Column with the Turul bird in the outskirts of Tiszabökény, the Mikes Kelemen Memorial in Salánk – they all exist thanks to his work and initiative. All Hungarians of good will in Transcarpathia accepted him as a Hungarian Jew and respected him. His circle of friends consisted of Vilmos Kovács, Sándor Fodó, András S. Benedek, Béla Zseliczky, Gizella Drávai, Anna Horváth and many other prominent Hungarian intellectuals. The Communist ideologues, however,

² *Minority song on the Bereg Róna. Anthology of Transcarpathian writers (1919-1944)*. Transcarpathian Hungarian Books 4. Compiled by: JÁNOS VÁRADI-STERNBERG, GYÖRGY DUPKA. Intermix Publishing House, Ungvár - Budapest, 1992

³ JÁNOS VÁRADI-STERNBERG: *Heritage of centuries. Studies on Russian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian relations*. Gondolat Publishing House-Kárpáti Publishing House, Budapest-Uzsgorod, 1981.

frowned upon the Hungarian Jewish historian, who was the most dedicated researcher to date of the Russian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian historical relations. They launched attacks against him where they could. Perhaps this, the pressure made on his spirit and the recurring illnesses he contracted during the persecutions in the II. World War contributed to his death at the age of just sixty-eight. I will never forget his words when he openly confessed that he was a traditional Hungarian Jew. He figured that the Communist Jews, even if they spoke Hungarian but betrayed their religion and their race in the interests of concocted international globalist ideas, were no real Jews, since they did not want to and could not identify themselves with the nation. He lived apart from these people, avoided them if he could, because they made his life miserable.

Thirdly, when we founded the Community of Hungarian Intellectuals of Transcarpathia (CHIT), several Hungarian Jews became its members and supporters. **Béla Huber** from Aknaslatina was the economic administrator of our organization for years. The members of the families also became good friends. Then, at my suggestion, we founded the **Association of Hungarian Jews of Transcarpathia (AHJT)** to unite the Hungarian Jews who still remained in our region so that we could represent their interests by organising joint programmes for preparing a register of Jewish memorial sites, buildings, cemeteries, synagogues, prayer houses, and other buildings; and by continuing holocaust commemorations, research, etc. The two organisations (CHIT and AHJT) have worked together for 15 years, carrying out numerous joint programmes. Mostly the latest events, publications and joint actions were part and parcel of our long-term action programmes.

Fourthly, I started to study the history, heritage and present situation of the Jews of Transcarpathia at the urging of my good friend Béla Huber, the president of the AHJT⁴ who selflessly and

⁴ See Transcarpathian materials with the title *Zsidók in: DUPKA GYÖRGY: Fogó, gyarapodó nemzetiségek, érdekképviselések Kárpátalján.* (Hatásvizsgálatok a regionális történelmi folyamatok és szociológiai, demográfiai adatok, nemzetiségi politika tükrében.), Kárpátaljai Magyar Könyvek, 208. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2011. 84-90.p., See also: DUPKA GYÖRGY-ZUBÁNICS LÁSZLÓ: *A zsidóság múltja és jelene Kárpátalján.* (Emlékezés a holocaust áldozataira.) In: Együtt, 2012. 3 sz. 52-64. p.
Stored version: http://epa.oszk.hu/00500/00595/00043/pdf/EPA00595_Egyutt_2012_3_052-064.pdf

magnanimously provided me with information. We organised several memorial conferences and commemorations in Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász and Péterfalva with the help of this association, inviting survivors, Transcarpathian researchers and local historians⁵. We looked through the existing literature, and found that there was very little material in Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian/Russian and Slovakian, but that there was something, though again very little, in English and Hebrew on the Jewish history of Transcarpathia. The majority of the available works were memories, memoirs, essays, mostly written by survivors, based on recollections and focusing on the holocaust. There were also dozens of fictional works on the same subject written in our region by local authors.

What has not been sufficiently researched and presented yet?

The most comprehensive monograph on the region's Jewish culture and history so far is the work with the title *Zsidók Kárpátalján (Jews in Subcarpathia)* ⁶ published in 2013, by Mentor: Yitzhak Livnat (Sándor Weiss), a native of Nagyszöllös (Vinohradovo). This scholarly volume of more than 450 pages was written by 25 authors, all of whom are renowned experts: military historians, archivists, genealogists, Hebraists, minorities researchers, cultural historians and ethnomusicologists, cultural anthropologists, Holocaust researchers, social historians, men of letters, and scholars, authors, architectural historians, Yiddish historians, cartographers,

⁵ *Zsidósors Kárpátalján. A deportálástól az internálásig.* Magyar holokauszt emlékévk 2011 Kárpátalján. A kárpátaljai zsidóság gettóba zárásának és deportálásának 70. évfordulója kapcsán tartott beregszászi emlékkonferencia anyagai (2014. április 24.) Edited: DUPKA GYÖRGY, PhD, ZUBÁNICS LÁSZLÓ. Kárpátaljai Magyar Könyvek, 239. Magyar Értelmisségiek Kárpátaljai Közössége, Kárpátaljai Magyar Művelődési Intézet megbízásából kiadta az Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2014, 45-52.p. Further on: *Zsidósors Kárpátalján*, 2014.

⁶ *Zsidók Kárpátalján. Történelem és örökség.* A dualizmus korától napjainkig. Hungaria Judaica, 30. Series editor: KOMORÓCZY GÉZA. Edited by: BÁNYAI VIKTÓRIA, FEDINEC CSILLA, KOMORÓCZY SZONJA RÁHEL. Aposztróf Kiadó, Budapest, 2003. Further on: *Zsidók Kárpátalján*, 2013.

museologists, journalists, and prominent researchers of Hungary, Israel, Ukraine and Romania. This representative work analyses and presents the past and culture of the local Jews from the mid-19th century to the present day who, according to some, were all Galician refugees, Jews “in kaftans and with sideburns” living in fervent religiousness and poverty, in diaspora communities, isolated from secular culture⁷. The first chapter deals with the period of dualism, the second with the Czechoslovak era between the two world wars, the third with the events of the holocaust period, and the fourth with the Soviet era after the Second World War and the Ukrainian decades. The fifth and the last chapter present the culture, material, spiritual and built heritage of the Jewish people, and give a snapshot of life in the Jewish world today. The work is rich in supplementary material, with archival images presented as illustrations. I myself have drawn a lot from the multi-layered material and database of the monograph, because it has significantly broadened my knowledge of local Jewry. On behalf of myself and my fellow researchers from Transcarpathia I would like to express my gratitude to all the authors for the sound and thematically comprehensive studies.

With regard to the third and fourth chapters it can be stated with great certainty that the authors of the summary studies only touched on, but did not examine in depth, for example, the fate of the Jews, mostly from Transcarpathia, who escaped Nazism between 1938 and 1941 to the Soviet Union where they were later sentenced and imprisoned in forced-labour camps and forced to work as slaves, about which little is still known. I consider the investigation of the Jewish genocide and anti-Semitic persecution carried out in the name of Nazi and Communist ideologies in Transcarpathia to be only partially explored. Little is known about the Jewish victims, the survivors who returned home from the German labour camps and death camps, but, in November 1944, were indiscriminately deported together with the Hungarians by the special units of the NKVD.

There are still lots of archival materials that remain undiscovered. I first became convinced of this when I was the chairman of the

⁷ Look for more details in: VÁKIV MARIETTA: *A galíciai zsidók szerepe a magyarországi antiszemitizmusban*. In: Zsidósors Kárpátalján, 2014. pp. 45-52.

rehabilitation working committee of the THCA (KMKSZ) in 1989-1992⁸, and as a member of the county rehabilitation committee, 1988-1994⁹. In this position I dealt in depth with the case of hundreds of Ukrainian/Russian, Hungarian and German victims of the Nazi and Communist dictatorship, and also with the Jewish victims, who were proposed for rehabilitation. I participated in a joint research programme with such renowned Ukrainian historians as Alexei Korsun, Omelyan Dovhanich, Boris Gvardyionov, Vasil Hriha, and Mihajlo Delehan; they were also members of the regional editorial board of the Book of Memory of Ukraine. To date, numerous studies, collections of archival documents, WW II death certificates, interviews with survivors, letters, memos, recollections, etc. have been published in Ukrainian and Russian. These publications also include the history of Jewish suffering, materials connected with their death toll, the extermination of innocent people and the anti-Semitic persecution in general. In part I have used some of the reliable factual data in my manuscript, too.

Elaborating the archives of the Russian State Military Historical Archives (Русский Государственный Архив Военной Истории - РГАВИ), the Russian State Military Archives (Русский Государственный Военный Архив - РГВА), the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (Центральный Архив Министерства Обороны Русской Федерации - ЦАМО РФ), which were difficult to access even for the experts, Russian-language documents were found that shed light on war crimes committed by the 4th Ukrainian Front, the NKVD, SZMERS and other internal affair units and senior officers against the local population, including the Jews, in Transcarpathia. Dozens of Jews accused of being anti-Soviet and suspected of being German or Hungarian spies, allegedly, were judged in show-trials organized in Transcarpathia.

This book is about their fate. With the help of documents, I will show the mass escapes from Nazi persecution to the Soviet Union.

⁸ See: BOTLIK JÓZSEF-DUPKA GYÖRGY: *Ez hát a hon... Tények, adatok, dokumentumok a kárpátaljai magyarság életéből 1918-1991*. Mandátum-Universum, 1991. 226. p. Further on: BOTLIK JÓZSEF-DUPKA GYÖRGY, 1991.

⁹ See: BOTLIK JÓZSEF-DUPKA GYÖRGY, 1991: pp. 232-233.

I became more closely acquainted with this problem when, as a Hungarian representative of the Transcarpathian County Council, I took part in the work of the county rehabilitation committee from 1991, and there we found Soviet military documents from 1939–1949, which related to the fate of the so-called “*zakarpatski vtikachi*” (Transcarpathian border crossers, fugitives, invaders). In another publication we discovered lots of people of Jewish nationality in the list of names of those who perished in the Stalinist death camps. Now we publish all this here in Hungarian, and in English translation.

Following the logical sequence of events I will show my readers the period between 1939 and 1941 when, mainly to escape communist propaganda and the incipient persecution of Jews, hundreds of young Jewish men crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border illegally and were among the first to fall victim to Soviet terror. They were subjected to the Soviet law on border crossers. In many cases, those who were falsely accused of being Hungarian and German spies were sentenced to three, five or ten, or even 15 years of forced labour and were taken to the harshest Siberian GULAG camps. The persecution of the Jews continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to their mass emigration, but also to the liquidation of the Jewish population in many settlements.

The list of names found in the archives is followed by documents. They are also food for thought: the Nazi and Stalinist dictatorships deprived us of how many blessed workers, intellectuals, creative artists and scientists.

My aim was to draw the attention of the Hungarian public to the historical events relating to the Jewish victims of Nazism and the Communist dictatorship and the ordeal of the Jews of Transcarpathia, which is absent from Hungarian historiography even now.

IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, CONCEPTS

AP RF/АП РФ - Archives of the President of the Russian Federation

Apr - April

Aug. - August

SDC/GKO/ГКО - State Defence Committee, Государственный
Комитет Обороны.

BIR/БІТР – Bureau of Reformative Labour, Бюро исправительно-
трудовых работ.

RB - Republic of Belarus

Bp. - Budapest

CACHD/ЦАКИД - Central Archives of the Collection of Historical
Documents, (Moscow).

CAMO RF - Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Rus-
sian Federation, (Moscow).

c. - title

DAZO/ДАЗО – Transcarpathian Regional State Archives (TRSA),
Державний Архів Закарпатської Області (Ungvár, Bereg-
szász).

Dalstroy - Economic unit established for the conquest of the north-
eastern, Arctic region of Siberia under the authority of the
OGPU-NKVD-MVD.

dec - December

y. - year

febr. - February

FPPL/ФППЛ - front-line reception and transfer camps, фронтовая
приёмно-пересильный лагерь . The camp system of the 4th
Ukrainian Front included the notorious camp of Sambor in
Galicia, which also included the collection camp of Solyva.

Fr - France

GARF/ТАРФ - State Archives of the Russian Federation.

GULAG – The Main Directorate of Camps) (Lagers). Главное
Управление Лагере́й-NKVD-MDB-MVD USSR (1934-1964).

GUPVI/ГУПВИ - General Directorate of Prisoners of War and In-
ternees. Главное управление по делам военнопленных и

интернированных. See also: (UPVI, SZU NKVD GUPVI, in 1951-1953 SZU MVD UPVI) the General Command for Prisoner of War and Internment Affairs was part of the SZU NKVD People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

Hu - Hungary

ITL/ИТЛ – reformatory labour camps. исправительно-трудовой лагерь. It belonged to the camp system of the GULAG.

j./d. - district

jan. - January

june - June

Jul - July

may - May

march - March

nov - November

NKTRJVVFM - Working Committee on the Restoration of the Rights of the Rehabilitated (1990-1994).

No - Germany

KGB/КГБ - State Defence Committee, Committee of State Security

KMMI - Hungarian Cultural Institute of Transcarpathia

KMKSZ - Carpatho Hungarian Cultural Association

KMZSE - Association of Hungarian Jews of Transcarpathia

k.t. - concentration camp

MÉKK - Association of Hungarian Intellectuals in Transcarpathia

MVD/МВД - Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR.

MGB/МГБ - Ministry of State Security.

MID/МИД СССР - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

NKO – People's Defence Commissariat. Народный комиссариат обороны.

NKVD, KGB (SZSZKSZ NKVD): NKVD, NKVD of the USSR - Belügyi Népbiztonság, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NRZU/HP3V – People's Council of Zakarpatska Ukraine. Народна Рада Закар-патської України.

OF/RF - Russian Federation (OF – Orosz Föderáció (Russian Federation).

Oct. - October

ORB – Separate Labour Battalion. Отдельный рабочий батальон. Composition: civilian internees, Germans mobilized for reparation work, etc.

Ua - Ukraine
ua – ibid /same
ún. - so-called
uo. - same place
uõ – same
UMDSZ (HDSU) - Hungarian Democratic Society of Ukraine
USZSZR/UCCP - Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Українська
 Сове́тська Соціалісти́ческа́я Респу́бліка
le - Poland
PPV/ПІВ - reception point for prisoners of war.
ro - Romania
RGAVI/RГAВИ - Russian State Military Historical Archives (Mos-
 cow).
RGVA/РГВА - Russian State Military Archives (Moscow).
RGSZPIA/RGASZPI/РГСПИA/ РГАСПИ - Russian State Social-Po-
 litical Historical Archives (Moscow).
RF/PФ - Russian Federation, Росси́йская Федера́ция
Extraordinary Court - established on 18 December 1944 by the Peo-
 ple's Council of Zakarpatska Ukraine to crack down on the
 “enemies of the people”, the anti-Soviet elements, under the
 supervision of the NKVD. Its decision was unappealable.
Directorate of Repatriation - a government body responsible for re-
 patriating POWs, it was established by a decree of the Council
 of People's Commissars of 23 October 1944.
SZEPB - Szolyva Memorial Park Committee.
SZSZKSZ, SZU / CCCP/USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Repub-
 lics, Soviet Union. Сою́з Сове́тских Социалисти́ческих
 Респу́блик
sept. - September
sl - Slovakia
SU - Soviet Union

Other abbreviations related to archival sources:

Арк. - arkus/page,
4th Укр.ф. - 4th Ukainian Front
ф. - фонд/fond,

г., гг. – god / year/s,
Д. - gyelo/file, paper,
Ед.хр. хран. - guarding unit,
Л. - flour/page,
оп. - opis�/list,
п. - papka/file,
Р. - rik/year
szpr. - szprava/case
стр. стор. - sztranyica/page,
т. - tom/book, volume

KU/КУ – Карпатська Україна. Документи і матеріали. Том I. Упорядкування: ДОВГАНІЧ, О. Д. , КОРСУН, О. М. Видавництво Закарпаття, Ужгород, 2009., Карпатська Україна. Документи і матеріали. Том II. Упорядкування: ФЕДАКА, С. Д. Видавництво Закарпаття, Ужгород, 2010. (A továbbiakban: KU)

TSU/ТШУ – Ternisztsicnij sljah do Ukrajini (collection of archival materials)

KPU ZO – Книга пам'яті України. Закарпатська область. I-IX. т. (KPU ZO)

RIZO – Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга перша. – ВАТ Видавництво Закарпаття. Ужгород, 2003 – 700 p. (RIZO)

TSU – Тернистий шлях до України. Збірник архівних документів і матеріалів „Закарпаття в європейській політиці 1918–1919, 1938–1939, 1944–1946 рр. XX століття”. Упорядник: ДОВГАНІЧ, О. Д. Видавництво Закарпаття, Ужгород, 2007. (TSU)

ZUN – “Закарпатські угорці і німці: інтернування та депортаційні процеси. 1944-1945 рр.” Архівні документи і матеріали. Упорядник: О. М. КОРСУН. Редакційна колегія: З.М. КІЗМАН, Ю.Ю. ДУПКО, А.М. ФУКС. Видавництво Закарпаття, Ужгород, 2012. – 780 p. (ZUN)

I. THE FIRST “ACT” OF THE JEWISH GENOCIDE

The history of the Jews who crossed the border on the Hungarian–Soviet border in 1938–1941

The suffering-story of the Jewish refugees who had crossed the Hungarian–Soviet border in 1938–1941 and then had been imprisoned in the GULAG camps¹⁰ is still a missing link in the special literature on the Jews of Transcarpathia. This also proves that similarly to the Nazis the Communists latched on to the extermination of the Jews. On Soviet territories many thousands of people became the victims of the reprisals, and writing about this topic was banned for a long time.

In my book I try to focus on this absence of information. In the following, using Russian and Ukrainian documents: NKVD¹¹ records, reports, interrogation protocols, military court decisions, letters and memoirs, which are mostly unknown in Hungarian history, I made an attempt to describe the fate of Jews who fled to the Soviet Union and were sentenced in trials by Soviet courts.

¹⁰ GULAG (oroszul: ГУЛАГ: Главное управление исправительно-трудовых лагерей [Glavnoje upravlenyje ispravityelno-trudovih lagerej], azaz *Javító-munkatáborok Főigazgatósága*) kifejezés alatt a sztálini Szovjetunió egészét behálózó munkatáborrendszerét értjük. (Wikipédia)

¹¹ NKVD – (Народный Комиссариат Внутренних Дел). People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs. It was a central body in the Soviet Union dealing with both internal affairs and state defence. Established in 1934, it operated as the Ministry of the Interior (Ministryerstvo Vnutrennih Dyel, MVD) from 1946 up-to 1953

“Breaking the spine” of the Jewish communities

On 2 November 1938, as a result of the so-called First Vienna Award, Transcarpathia, as a matter of fact, was split into two parts. Out of the territory of Podkarpatska Rus, 1,523 square kilometres were transferred to Hungary. There were 97 settlements in this area where out of the 173 233 inhabitants 25 427 (15.47%) were ethnic Jews.

Carpatho-Ukraine, which declared itself independent in March 1939, then covered an area of 11,094 square kilometres, with a population of 552,124 in 390 settlements, of which 65,828 (12.08%) were ethnic Jews.

At first, *“the Transcarpathian Jews greeted the return to Hungary with optimism... However, it was a bad omen that before the formal entry of the Hungarian army, members of the ‘Rongyos Gárda’ (the “Rongyos Gárda”/Scrubby or Ragged Guard was a non-regular “Paramilitary” unit in Hungary, active in 1921 then re-established in 1938) operating in the area broke the windows of Jewish shops in several settlements and beat up many Jews. The abuse of Jews, especially of the religious ones, was a daily occurrence later on as well.”*¹²

The spirit of the anti-Jewish propaganda, which was deliberately stirred and whipped up by pro-Nazi elements in Hungary, gradually spread like an epidemic among the liberators, or more precisely among the members of the Scrubby (Ragged) Guard infected with extremist right-wing sentiments. These were enthusiastically welcomed by the Hungarian population of Transcarpathia, and then among Hungarian soldiers marching in, and by the various Hungarian authorities and officials.

For instance, survivors from Beregszász recollect that the Hungarian soldiers marching into the middle of the flag-draped, flower-covered Bereg region, were cheered by an enthusiastic crowd; then, after the welcoming ceremony, extremist emotions were unleashed. Inter alia, dozens of vengeful radical Ragged Guard

¹² *Kárpátalja 1919–2009. történelem, politika, kultúra.* Főszerkesztő: Fedinec Csilla, Vehes Mikola. Argumentum MT Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézete, Budapest, 185. p. A tovább biakban: Kárpátalja 1919–2009.

members dragged more Jewish spectators out of the crowd and beat them up almost to death, smashed the windows of some Jewish shops and committed other atrocities. For a long time Jónás Frankel was the topic of conversation: he was a badly hurt Jewish schoolteacher and was known and respected by the locals as a committed friend of Hungarians, and as having been, under the Czech regime, “the only one in his school who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Czechoslovak state.” In those days, the Ragged Guard members who flooded Mezőkaszony and its surroundings also committed similar anti-Jewish atrocities: to intimidate Jewish citizens they smashed the windows of their houses and shops and tore down even the Hungarian flags they fixed to welcome the liberators. The incident outraged even the sober-minded Christians. Among them, and we consider it important to mention him, was the farmer Sándor Horthy¹³ from Nagybánya (a cousin of the governor Miklós Horthy), who did not just stand idly by, watching the radical elements rioting, but acted courageously, calling the gendarmes from the neighbouring Barabás to the town, who chased the Ragged Guard boys away. Incidentally, Sándor Horthy,¹⁴ who owned vines on more than one acre, also came to the defence of the Jews during the Holocaust.

The mass exodus of Jewish families, fearing for their property and lives, was also triggered by a new political turn of events: the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Republic. Budapest politicians figured that the earlier Vienna Award was no longer valid and so, inter alia, the Hungarian leadership had the right to retake or reunite the whole of Transcarpathia, to oust Prime Minister (later President) Voloshin Avgustin and his government, and to liquidate Carpatho-Ukraine. Within the framework of a few days’ military operation on 19 March 1939, *“the military occupation of the territory of Carpathia was successfully completed.”*¹⁵

¹³ See his relative born in Mezőkaszony: *Béla Horthy* (1869-1943), painter, sculptor, student of Hollósy at the painter’s school in Nagybánya, who had a successful exhibition at the Glaspalast in Munich in 1882, and spent part of his summers with relatives there. Read more: in KERESZTYÉN BALÁZS: *Kárpátaljai művelődéstörténeti kislexikon*. Hatodik Síp Alapítvány Mandátum Kiadó, Budapest-Beregszász, 2001. 111.p.

¹⁴ *Bereg vármegye ismertetője*. Szerkesztette és összeállította: Réti Béla. Nyomatott Ludvig István könyvnyomdájában Miskolcon, 1940. 114. p.

¹⁵ See the official report issued by the Chief of the Defence Staff at 10 o’clock.

In those days, especially in the Máramarossziget area, Romanian border guards were simply unable to stop and reverse the flow of the Carpathian Sich soldiers and Jewish refugees into Romania. (The National Defence Organization Carpathian Sich were “Irregular military” of the short-lived state of Carpatho-Ukraine). Here, too, the first Jewish law of Hungary came into force immediately after the arrival of Hungarian troops. The fate of the rest of Transcarpathia was also interesting: at first it was directly controlled by the Ministry of the Interior as the Transcarpathian Governor’s Commissariat, and then civilian administration replaced the military administration,¹⁶ which lasted for a few months. Baron Zsigmond Perényi¹⁷, a nobleman from Ungvár, was appointed head of the Transcarpathian Governor’s Commissariat, who supervised it for a few months. According to contemporary data, 12.1 % (80 598) of the 667 561 inhabitants were registered as Jews, making it the third largest religious denomination after Greek Catholics (412 961, 61.8 %) and Orthodox Christians (114 659, 17.2 %). Roman Catholic (39,818, 6.0%) came fourth, while Reformed (14,825, 2.2%) came fifth¹⁸.

The precursor to the next wave of refugees was the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact¹⁹, the Soviet-German “friendship and power pact,” which triggered the Second World War, and within whose framework the decision was made to split and annex Poland by Germany and the Soviet Union respectively.

As a result of the war waged against Poland and the occupation of its territories by the Soviet forces, with the consent of the Hungarian government new railway lines were built across the Carpathian Mountains (Uzhok-Ungvár, Lemberg-Lavochnoe-Munkács, Kőrösmező-Máramarossziget) and other border crossings (Uzhoki-, Vereckei-, Tatar Pass, etc.) were also created through which the Polish population began to flee to Hungary, where the official authorities let

¹⁶ From 20. 02.1939 to 07.07.1939.

¹⁷ *Zsigmond Perényi's* term of office: 7 July 1939 - 12 IX 1940 After about 15 months in office, he submitted his resignation.

¹⁸ See the analysis of the performed statistical data in more detail: Botlik József: *Közigazgatás és nemzetiségi politika Kárpátalján. I. Magyarok, ruszinok, csehek és ukránok 1918-1945*. Nyíregyháza, 2005. 387.p.

¹⁹ The pact was signed in Moscow on 23 August 1939 by Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (Wikipédia).

the refugees come, helped them and organised their onward transport. In the meantime, according to the MTI (Magyar Távirati Iroda, or Hungarian Information Bureau), the Soviet troops in the Carpathians reached the Hungarian border and contacted the Hungarian border guards *“in order to establish the exact border lines”*. In the area occupied by the Soviets, Polish officers were taken prisoner, and prominent Polish intellectuals and patriots were arrested who resisted the Soviets. They were executed in 1940, and hundreds of thousands of others were deported to Soviet concentration camps. In occupied Western Ukraine, Ukrainian patriots were also exterminated *en masse*.

The fate of the Jews of Polish origin who had fled to Transcarpathia, and thus came under Hungarian rule, was a matter of great concern to the Hungarian authorities. Nearly a tenth of the thousands of Poles who fled to Hungary might have been Jewish²⁰. The larger cities sought to resolve the settlement issue, and the president of the Jewish community in Ungvár personally did much to help Jewish families seeking resettlement, because he was determined upon the peaceful resolution of their situation in preference to a formal and harsh expulsion. The problem was thoroughly discussed in an editorial article of the leading newspaper of the region, the *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap* (Carpathian Hungarian Newspaper): *“Quite recently the president of the Jewish community in Ungvár, accompanied by a delegate from the police headquarters, went to the Soviet border to have direct negotiations with the Soviet representative in order to let Jews of Galician origin cross the border. However, the Soviet Russian border guard refused to hear of the unilateral “exchange” operation. Negotiations are now continuing through diplomatic channels.”*²¹ From another article in the same newspaper, we learn

²⁰ The number of Polish refugees arriving in Hungary is a controversial issue. Some estimates put the number at between 100,000 and 140,000, others put it at between 50,000 and 55,000... There is also an intermediate view that the number of Polish refugees who arrived in Hungary in the region is around 70,000.

²¹ See: *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1939. november 16. And also: FEDINEC CSILLA: *A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944*. Fórum Intézet, Lilium Aurum Könyvkiadó, Galánta-Dunaszerdahely, 2002. 348. p. Further on: FEDINEC CSILLA: *A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944*. (Historical Chronology of the Hungarian Community in Transcarpathia 1918–1944, Fórum Institute, Lilium Aurum Publishing House, Galánta-Dunaszerdahely, 2002. p. 348.).

that “*the Soviet border guards received strict orders to deal with illegal border crossers in the strictest possible way. According to our information, the Soviet border guards used arms against several fugitives, and those who are caught will be handed over to the Hungarian authorities.*”²²

Jews of Polish origin who had fled to Transcarpathia to escape Nazi reprisals soon found that they were “unwelcome guests” there too. At the same time, the situation of the Jews of Transcarpathian origin also became increasingly untenable. The more pessimistic ones were forced to flee individually, or with families, and then in groups. Among them we find especially those who increasingly doubted and did not believe in Hungary as a safe place to live. This idea was reinforced by the fact that a government decree forbade the infiltration of Jews from the re-annexed territories into the county capitals.

Only few were able to find a safe haven or reliable sponsors for emigration to Palestine. The USA and Western Europe also almost completely closed their doors to people from Central and Eastern Europe classifying them as “undesirable immigrants”, and of those who continued to migrate only a few thousand were granted entry visas due to the tight annual quota. Immigration laws were made stricter also in England, Switzerland and other Western countries. These countries did not facilitate the immigration of political refugees during the Nazi death-factory boom. In her analysis of US immigration policy, Julianna Puskás notes, among other things, that “in proportion to its population, the United States provided far fewer places of refuge for those persecuted by the fascists than Britain, France or the Netherlands.”²³

As the possibilities for emigration to the West became more and more limited, many Jews turned to the Soviet Union, but only Communists and their family members who had been cleared by

²² See: *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1939. november 18-19. And also: FEDINEC CSILLA: *A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944.*, p. 348.

²³ PUSKÁS JULIANNA: *Az Egyesült Államok bevándorlási politikája (1890-1990)*. In: *Regio - Kisebbség, politika, társadalom* 4. Évf. (1993.) 3. sz. Internet: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00036/00015/pdf/10.pdf> (2015-01-16.).

the Comintern ²⁴ could apply for a visa and be admitted. Various settlements, including Birobidzhan in the Far East, were designated as immigration destinations for the Jews. By this time, it had become known gradually in the West that the Soviet government had created a Jewish nationality district in 1928, and that in 1934 this territory had been granted formal autonomy. However, Stalin categorically prohibited European Jews fleeing Nazism to settle in the Birobidzhan area. The spread of Nazism in the 1930s prompted a mass exodus of Jews from the western parts of the Soviet Union. By the end of the decade, 40% of the Jewish population lived in the six largest cities of the Soviet Union.²⁵

Transcarpathian Jews were also alarmed by the visa restrictions, but naively thought that they would be welcomed with open arms by the Soviets if they crossed the border.

Measures taken by the Hungarian authorities to stop defection

Between 1939 and 22 June 1941, the Hungarian counter-intelligence, police and gendarmerie and other official bodies sent numerous reports to the Budapest authorities about the defectors and groups of Ruthenian, Ukrainian and Jewish persons and groups who had crossed the border and fled to the territory of the Soviet Union. Dozens of copies of these files are also available for study in the Transcarpathian State Archives.

As early as 25 October 1939, the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office published in the press that the Communist-minded Ruthenians/Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities were fleeing daily from the villages, and even from Munkács and Ungvár, mostly in groups of ten and fourteen.

²⁴ The Communist International or Komintern briefly (in Russian: Коммунистический интернационал).

²⁵ PREKUP ANIKÓ: *A zsidóság Közép- és Kelet-Európában a 19–20. században*. Csokonai Kiadó, 1997. 344. p.

The first mass border crossings were noticed also by the Hungarian authorities. *“Between October 13 and November 2, 1939, 457 persons escaped from Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union, according to the report of the Ungvár border police station of the Hungarian royal police.”*²⁶ The nationalities of the invaders were quite diverse: in addition to Jews of Romanian, Polish and Hungarian origin, left-wing and non-party-minded Rusyn, Ukrainian, Slovak, Czech and Hungarian men and women crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in the hope of a better life.

The Hungarian authorities and the intelligence office also had precise information on the fact that Soviet border guards took the captured fugitives to *“Soviet collecting and screening camps”* and sentenced them. In his memoirs, Gyula Marina, a Greek Catholic theology teacher and government commissioner for education in Transcarpathia wrote: *“I had quite precise data and even some photographs showing that, for example, in the Sambor collecting camp, hundreds of boys and girls who had escaped from Transcarpathia had lived in the same camp behind barbed wire fences and under the most primitive living conditions. (...) Our security service officers captured and photographed quite a large number of “returnees. These pictures clearly showed that all the returnees had scabs and were in a very poor physical condition. Such returnees were happy to be invited to one or two of our border high schools to tell children about their lives in the Soviet camps and to show us its traces on their bodies.”*²⁷

In a letter²⁸ to Prime Minister Pál Teleki in July 1939, István Fenczik, an MP from Ungvár pointed out, among other matters, that the rude and inhuman behaviour of Hungarian gendarmes had caused more than 2,000 young people from Transcarpathia to cross the Soviet-Hungarian border.

²⁶ FEDINEC CSILLA: *A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944*. 346. p.

²⁷ MARINA GYULA: *Ruténsors – Kárpátalja végzete*. Patria Publishing Co. Ltd., 1977. 140–141. p.

²⁸ See the FENCZIK ISTVÁN letter, no. 196. case file in Ukrainian translation (KU/312-313). Ukrainian source: *Sljahom zhovtnya*. Zbirnyik documentary. T.V. Uzgorod, 1967. p. – 213–117. pp

In order to curb this phenomenon Budapest launched an investigation in Ilosva, Técső and Beregszász to study the case of the captured fugitives. The investigation was carried out with the supervisory assistance of the prosecutor's offices in Huszt, Ungvár, Munkács and Kassa. In addition, border police stations were set up in Aknaslatina, Fenyvesvölgy, Huszt, Kőrösmező, Ökörmező, Szolyva, and Volóc, under the direction of Budapest and the Border Police Station in Ungvár.²⁹

Despite the administrative measures illegal border crossings continued until 27 June 1941, which was the date of Hungary's entry into the war. Most of them, with the help of human traffickers, crossed the border on secret paths, the "*green corridor*", through the Ung, Latorca, Rika, Tarac, Tereblya, Black and White Tisza valleys in the local Ruthenian settlements.

On October 17, 1939, Arisztid Meskó, the advisor of the Ungvár Police Headquarters³⁰, in a telegram sent to the Budapest National Police Headquarters, noted, *inter alia*, that the number of illegal border crossings to Russia was increasing. In a note of the counter-intelligence department of the Ungvár counter-intelligence department of 25 October³¹ he indicated that groups of 10-40 people, mainly of a left-wing way of thinking, had crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border unhindered during the night. According to the report³² of patrols by Demeter Szuromi and László Bec, on 2 November, certain people (Ferenc Kahan, János Kahan) were arrested at the Volóc gendarmerie station, who, influenced by Soviet propaganda, tried to cross the border and get to the Soviet Union.

²⁹ PARÁDI JÓZSEF: *A két világháború közötti Magyar Királyság rendvédelme*. In: *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek* (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis) HU ISSN 1216-6774 XVIII. évf. (2010) 21. sz. 85–101. p. Internet: http://users.atw.hu/szbmrtrt/RTF/RTF_XVIIIlevf_21sz.pdf (2015-01-16.).

³⁰ See Case N 24. (Закарпатські втікачі в СРСР: через табори ГУЛАГ і БУЗУЛУК до рідних Карпат. 1939-1949. Архівні документи і матеріали. Упорядники: Корсун О.М., Пагіря О. М., Ужгород, Всеукраїнське державне видавництво „Карпати”, 2011. 60. p. In: Шляхом жовтня. Збірник документів. Том. V. Ужгород, 1967. – 125. p. Further on. ZVSZ/...).

³¹ See no. 28 case file (ZVSZ/64-65). Original source: Шляхом октвбра. Collection of documents. Том. V. Ужгород, 1967. p. – 126-127. pp.

³² See case N a 33. (ZVSZ/71). In: DAZO, f. 91. - op. 1. - szpr. 106. - ark. 16. Original. Type-written script. See also: Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга друга, - Ужгород: БАТ „Видавництво Закарпаття”. 2004. –16. p.

Henrik Werth, Chief of the Army General Staff, General of Infantry, in a note to Prime Minister Pál Teleki of 5 November informed him that a number of Jews and Ukrainians had fled into Western Ukraine and some of them spread a rumour to the effect that the soldiers of the Red Army would invade Subcarpathia.³³

On 9 November, Lieutenant Colonel Rideg, commander of the Hungarian Gendarmerie's Investigational Department, confirmed in a statement to the Minister of the Interior³⁴ that the 55 people who returned from Russian territory were detained as invaders. He would report about the details of further investigation later. According to a more detailed report of 24 November, forwarded to the Interior Ministry,³⁵ 516 persons had left illegally for the USSR and had not yet returned; the data on 312 of them were listed in the police bulletin (Investigative Gazette). In a report of the Ungvár border police headquarters in November 1940, the number of fugitives to the Soviet Union was about 2,500³⁶.

The October and December 1941 issues of the *Podkarpatski Visznik* published a list of fugitives who had been deprived of their Hungarian citizenship. The authority's present order included, among others, the wives and children of those who had fled to the Soviet Union.

This police report named, among others, the communist and non-party organisers in Transcarpathia and Budapest, including **József Rappaport** (Huszt, 1914), a former university student of Jewish nationality from Huszt, and **Jenő Klein** (Budapest), a worker at the Mautner leather factory in Budapest, as those involved in the identification of unknown persons.

The military administration imposed a strict curfew and regime in border settlements to deter invaders³⁷. For example, the border

³³ Look for more details in: BOTLIK JÓZSEF: *Közigazgatás és nemzetiségi politika Kárpátalján. II. A Magyarországhoz történt visszatérés után 1939-1945*. Nyíregyháza, 2005. 179.p.

³⁴ See Case N 36, in Ukrainian translation (ZVSZ/74-75). Original source is in: Шляхом жовтня. Збірник документів. Том. V. Ужгород, 1967. p. – 131. p.

³⁵ See Case N 44, in Ukrainian translation (ZVSZ/85-89). Original source is in: Шляхом жовтня. Збірник документів. Том. V. Ужгород, 1967. p. – 138-152. pp.

³⁶ BOTLIK JÓZSEF: *Közigazgatás és nemzetiségi politika Kárpátalján. II. A Magyarországhoz történt visszatérés után 1939-1945*. Nyíregyháza, 2005. 180 p.,

³⁷ See no. 204 case file in Ukrainian translation (ZVSZ/342-343).

guards were ordered from Budapest to open fire on invaders after the first warning was sounded.

The scenario of the illegal crossing of the Hungarian-Soviet border was almost the same: led by human traffickers and guided by local residents, people crossed the border one by one, two by two, sometimes three by three, or even in groups of 10-15. Only in 1940 more than 4,000 persons crossed the border in this way.

The bravest and best-known trafficker, who managed to outwit the vigilance of the Hungarian border guards, was a certain Gnatkovics who was paid from five to twenty pengos per person. In some cases the Ungvár border police detained, placed under surveillance and severely punished those people who were engaged in human trafficking, but the authorities were unable to eradicate this kind of abuse completely.

According to the documents that were examined there were persons who crossed two state borders, i.e. who went from Hungary to German-occupied Poland and from there to the Soviet Union, or who got to the Soviet Union via Romania.

In the opinion of some Hungarian researchers³⁸ who analysed defection data between 1938 and 1941, nearly 20,000 people, and according to other data, 40,000, mainly Russians, Ukrainians, Jews and to a lesser extent Hungarians, crossed the border in the hope of a better life (many to avoid military and labour service and persecution), all of whom, due to the influence of partisan-communist propaganda, were of left-wing persuasion³⁹ and yet ended up in the clutches of the NKVD. Very few survived the horrors of the GULAG camps.

³⁸ BOTLIK JÓZSEF: *Közigazgatás és nemzetiségi politika Kárpátalján. II. A Magyarországhoz történt visszatérés után 1939-1945*. Nyíregyháza, 2005. 180-181.p., Lásd még: UDVARI ISTVÁN: *Tallózások ukrán, ruszin és szlovák könyvek körében*. Előszó VIGA GYULA. Nyíregyháza, 1995. *Studia Ukrainica et Rusinica* 2. 168. p.

³⁹ The Hungarian authorities considered the communist movement to be the most dangerous, and the Transcarpathian archives hold many such police reports and investigative material, including several bundles of documents dealing with Jews involved in the leftist movement. Among them we can mention Zoltan Schönherz, who was active in Ungvár, Nagybecskó, Miklós Rotman from Ungvár, who was recruited by him, László Króh (Kroó), who collaborated with him, and many others. In addition to communist conspiracy, they were also accused of spying and gathering information for the Soviet Union, and some of them were court-martialed and executed. Researching this issue and the cases of the Jewish communists involved in the resistance requires separate research.

Between 1939 and 1943, the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior and the territorially competent sheriffs issued decrees requiring local authorities to register “*Russian, Polish and Slovak Jews*”, initiating their “*possible expulsion*” from the districts; or reporting on their return; the settling of “*the commercial rights of Jews*”; the “*warrant of capture of Jewish deserters and the control of their military service*”; and also the “*turning up of Russian-Ukrainian partisans in Subcarpathia.*”⁴⁰

Primarily it was Government Commissary Miklós Kozma⁴¹ who boasted about the “*solution*” of the Jewish question in Transcarpathia. “*There is a Jewish question in Subcarpathia, too!*” he declared in his inaugural speech in Ungvár. Then he continued: “*More than that, due to the number of Jews it is even more urgent than in the rest of the country. I will fully enforce the laws and decrees in the Jewish question and the government’s policy, but I will tolerate no possible individual actions...*”⁴²

At the same time, his campaign to deport homeless Jews, initiated on 7 October 1940, was a total failure: at the Uzhok border crossing, the Soviet border guards refused to accept those Jewish families who had been expelled from Ungvár “*during the Czech occupation*” because of their being Galicians.⁴³ But then Kozma’s office no longer made attempts to make the Soviet Union accept thousands of so-called homeless Polish, Russian, Slovak, etc. citizens, so-called “*alien Galician immigrant*” families of non-Hungarian nationality, who had arrived in Subcarpathia from abroad over a longer or shorter period of time, since on 22 June 1941 Germany had declared war against the Soviet Union. After a few days Hungary also broke off diplomatic relations with the Bolshevik state and went to war on the side of the Germans. On 27 June the Hungarian army crossed the Soviet border and occupied Galicia.

⁴⁰ CSATÁRY GYÖRGY: *Szabolcs-, Szatmár- és Zemplén megyei iratgyűjtemények a Kárpát-aljai Állami Levéltárakban (1828–1944)*. Kálvin Nyomda, Beregszász, 2014.128, 129, 131. p.

⁴¹ The term of office of Miklós Kozma: 12.09. 1940 - 5.01. 1942 He held his post until his death.

⁴² Miklós Kozma delivered his speech on the 22nd of September, 1940. It was published in the *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, *Az Őslakó*, *Bereg Vármegye Hivatalos lapja*, *Kárpátaljai Közlöny*, *Ung Vármegye Hivatalos lapja* and some other press products.

⁴³ FEDINEC CSILLA: *A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944*. 363. p.

The Jewish Diaspora in 1938-1941 in the light of figures

If we take a closer look at the data of the 1941 (31 January) census in Transcarpathia, conducted before Hungary entered the war, we can see that some researchers, on the basis of excessively rounded-up numbers, draw different conclusions from them.

According to official statistics, 78,727 (9.2 %) of the 854,772 inhabitants were Jews.

Some researchers dispute this figure and claim that keeping count of the religious-ethnic composition of the population there were between 100,000 and 110,000 Jews in Transcarpathia⁴⁴. György Haraszti goes even further. According to his analysis, “*in the statistics of 1941, in order to keep the number of Hungarians as high as possible, Jews with Hungarian mother tongue or claiming to have Hungarian mother tongue were considered Hungarians. Only Yiddish speakers were classified as Jews (78,699 persons). At that time the total population of the territory of Transcarpathia was 1,031, 815. The number of Jews was 146,199, or 14.2 %.*”⁴⁵

I would like to add two comments to this statement. The total population figure is either a typo or simply not true. The population of Transcarpathia exceeded 1,056,779 in 1970 alone! ⁴⁶

The number of Jews he had given is not true either. This is contradicted by an equally inaccurate statement in his essay cited above: “*In the years 1920-1938, Transcarpathia, named Podkarpatska Rus, was part of the Czechoslovak Republic without autonomy. [...] The Czechoslovak state counted the Jews as a separate nationality in order to reduce the number of Hungarians and Germans. In 1921, 93,023 of the 604,745 inhabitants of Rusinsko were Jews, it is 15.28 % of the population.*” ⁴⁷

⁴⁴ SÁGVÁRI ÁGNES: *Holocaust Kárpátalján*, 1941. Múltunk 1999/2. 116–145. pp.

⁴⁵ HARASZTI GYÖRGY: *Kárpáti rapszódia*. In: *História*, 2004/0-03. Original: <http://www.historia.hu/archivum/2004/040203haraszti.htm> (2015-01-16)

⁴⁶ DUPKA GYÖRGY: *Fogyó, gyarapodó nemzetiségek, érdekképviseletek Kárpátalján*. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2011. 84-85. pp.

⁴⁷ HARASZTI GYÖRGY: *Kárpáti rapszódia*. In: *História*, 2004/0-03. Stored as: <http://www.historia.hu/archivum/2004/040203haraszti.htm> (2015-01-16.)

His statistical figures are to be made more accurate, too. In fact, the total population of Transcarpathia in 1921 was 597 731, of whom 80 059 (13.39%) were Jews, and in 1930 this number was 725,357, of whom 91,255 (12.58%) were Jews.⁴⁸

The following (perhaps disputable) statistics are closer to reality. This represents a decrease of 12,528 in the number of Jews. The question arises: to which country did more than 12,000 Jews flee, and where did they disappear to between 1938 and 1941?

Reports from the vigilant watchers of the security of the new Soviet borders

In the autumn of 1939 in the regions occupied by the territorializing Soviet army (Western Ukraine, Western Belarus)⁴⁹, Soviet-Hungarian (Transcarpathia), Soviet-Romanian (Bukovina) and German-Soviet (the partitioned territory of Poland) borders came into being. On 28 October, Maslennikov, the People's Deputy Commissar for Internal Affairs issued corresponding general directions on how to guard and organise the security of the new border sections⁵⁰.

In his operational report Commissar Kluyev⁵¹, the commander of the political department of the border guard unit of the Kyiv Border Guard District, drew the attention of the Moscow leadership to the influx of Jewish refugees and those of other nationalities

⁴⁸ DUPKA GYÖRGY: *Fogyó, gyarapodó nemzetiségek, érdekképviselők Kárpátalján*. Intermix Kiadó, Ungvár-Budapest, 2011 – 84-85.pp.

⁴⁹ Pursuant to the German-Soviet treaty signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939, concerning mainly the division of Poland, on September 17, 1939, the Red Army units occupied the listed areas.

⁵⁰ See Maslennikov's general directions in file N 3. (ZVSZ/29-31). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 32 (1951 r.). - szpr. 69. - ark. 399-401. Attested copy. Typewriting on letterhead paper.

See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки у 1939-червні 1941 р.: документи ГДА СБ України. Автор: Даниленко Василь, співавтори: Кокін Сергій. Київ: Видавничий дім „Києво-Могилянська Академія”. 2009. – 68-70. pp. Further on: Радянські органи державної безпеки....

⁵¹ See file N 18. (ZVSZ/55). Original place of source: Пограничные войска СССР 1939 -1941. Сборник документов и материалов. – Москва: Изд-во «Наука», 1970. –262-263. pp. Further on: Пограничные войска СССР 1939. - 1941.

crossing the border sections, and to measures for strengthening border security. Division Commander Sokolov, in his Circular of the Central Headquarters of the Border Guard of the NKVD of the USSR⁵², ordered the establishment of special border guard units with immediate effect. Pursuant to this, on October 7 and 8, of the 15 border guard posts⁵³ in Western Belarus and seven in Western Ukraine, the guarding of designated border sections was begun. Arresting, vetting and screening of the refugees and then directing them to concentration camps was a daily routine.

The Merkulov-Serov report⁵⁴ addressed to Beria, the NKVD People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR, on 8 October 1939, states as a fact that groups of about 50 people, Romanian, Hungarian and Czechoslovak citizens, cross the border illegally every day in the area of Stanislav (today's Ivano-Frankovsk). The refugees arrested were put in camps and were interrogated by the NKVD's operational investigation teams.

Nearly 4,000 Jews from Polish territories annexed to Germany were detained when they arrived in the Soviet zone. It is noted that after the annexation of the Polish territories the German town command gave the Jews 24 hours to leave the town of Bircha, Tirjava-Volynsk (Przemyśl district), and ordered them to go to the countryside beyond the San River, before which they were stripped of all their valuables, allowing only 20 zlotys each. The situation was similar in the municipality of Lisko where 3,000 refugees were registered.

Division Commissar Mironenko, commander of the Political Headquarters of the NKVD Border Guard Army of the USSR, also reported the growing wave of refugees in a memo of 24 October 1939 to the Moscow leadership.⁵⁵ On 22 October border guards detained 3,850 invaders at the Latvian, Lithuanian, German, Hungarian and Romanian-Soviet border sections.

⁵² See no. 19 case file (ZVSZ/56). Original source: Пограничные войска..., pp. 263

⁵³ See the report of Division Commander Maslennikov, no. 22. case file (ZVSZ/58). Original source: Пограничные войска..., 80-281. pp.

⁵⁴ See file N 21. (ZVSZ/57). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 32 (1951 r.). - szpr. 33. - ark. 211-212. Copy. Typewritten script. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки ... 380-381. pp.

⁵⁵ See: Division Commissar Mironenko's report in file N 27. (ZVSZ/63-64). Original source: Пограничные войска, 283-284. pp.

On 28 October 1939 in Lvov (Lviv), Division Commander Osokin, commander of the NKVD Border Guard in Kiev District, had a more detailed account of the refugees detained and sent to the newly established camps. This report reflected the situation between 14 October and 28 October 1939.⁵⁶

The first list includes those who tried to flee illegally from the Soviet Union to another country:

at the border with Germany - 465 persons

at the border with Hungary - 41 persons

at the Romanian border - 30 persons

All in all: 536 persons were intercepted.

The other list provides data on various citizens from the neighbouring countries who had fled to the Soviet Union and were arrested:

at the German border - 5,731 persons

on the Hungarian border - 733 persons

at the Romanian border - 618 persons

All in all: 7,082 persons

The report noted that it did not include those 11,000 people who had fled to Przemyśl from the Germans on 28 October 1939, and whose accommodation and investigation was not yet solved. Otherwise, these refugees would be returned to German territory by the competent authorities after prior consultation. The majority of the invaders were of Jewish origin, among them intellectuals of other nationalities, peasants, workers, couples and large families with small hungry children, who quickly ate up the border guards' food reserves. The division commander expected urgent action from his superiors to prevent epidemic diseases. He proposed that after checking each person, refugees should be sent to the hinterland to obtain bread needed for self-sufficiency.

In a memo from Kiev on 5 November 1939 Gorlinski, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR,⁵⁷ reported

⁵⁶ See Division Commissar Osokin's report in file N 29. (ZVSZ/65/66). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 32 (1951 r.). - szpr. 21. - ark. 278-279. Original. Typewritten script. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки ..., 382-383. pp.

⁵⁷ See: Deputy People's Commissar Gorlinski's report of 5 November, 1939, in file N 34. (ZVSZ/71-72). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 32 (1951 r.). - szpr. 13. - ark. 272-375. Copy. Typewritten script. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки..., 284-386

on the number of refugees arrested on 31 October: 9,121 were from Poland, 1,024 from Hungary and 616 from Romania. Of the 10,726 people arrested the majority were Jews. In his report he pointed that it was possible that many of them were Germans, Romanians and Hungarians recruited as agents or spies, whose screening was an important task for the state security organs. He therefore proposed to create special screening camps for this purpose.

On February 12, 1940 Gorlinski, in another report addressed to Beria,⁵⁸ provided new data on invaders. According to this report, some 10,000 persons were put in various prisons in Ukraine, of whom 4,500 were cross-questioned and 3,000 were handed over to the Special Council of the NKVD of the USSR for trial. The methodology for the rapid and incisive interrogations was developed by State Security Captain Nikitin, an advisor-investigator to the commander of the NKVD Investigation Department. According to his characterisation, the vast majority of the refugees were peasants, workers, servants, day labourers and working-class people of various nationalities from Western Ukraine, Western Belarus, Bukovina and Bessarabia; once these refugees had been screened, then he recommended, they could be released and allowed to return to their original places of residence. On the basis of this report on 22 February 1940 the USSR People's Commissar for Internal Affairs ordered⁵⁹ the NKVD investigative departments in Ternopil, Drohobichi, Lvov and Stanislav to investigate the cases of 1,300 refugees more thoroughly, because the interrogating officers had not done the job properly. Opinion at the centre was that more detailed information was needed in connection with the unmasking of suspected spies. It was unacceptable that the lack of required vigilance should lead to infiltration of "*counter-revolutionary*" agents from Hungary, Romania, and Poland into the country. He also suggested that investigators who had not done their work properly should be called to account for this. On 14 June 1940, State Security Commissar

⁵⁸ See State Security Captain's report of 12, 02. 1940 in file N 80. (ZVSZ/148-149). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 84 (1951 r.). - szpr. 6. - ark. 89-97. Copy. Typewritten script. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки....401-403. pp.

⁵⁹ See State Security Captain's report of 22, 02. 1940 in file N 4. (ZVSZ/31-32). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 16. - op. 32 (1951 r.). - szpr. 69. - ark. 369-401. Attested copy. Typewriting on letterhead paper. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки ..., 68-70. pp.

I. Serov, 3rd rank People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR, gave special instructions on the detention and interrogation of refugees for the heads of the UNKVD departments,⁶⁰ in which he stressed that suspected spies had to be kept in solitary confinement so as not to have contact with genuine refugees.

Those NKVD reports⁶¹ are also worth mentioning that were made on the movement and structure of the Hungarian mountain troops and other military units stationed in Transcarpathia, especially in the Soviet-Hungarian border area, then of the border posts set up in the mountain settlements, the gendarmerie stations, the police headquarters, the military equipment, the number of trained armed forces, etc. These data, which were very important for the Soviet military policy and intelligence, were received from illegal incomers from Transcarpathia during their interrogation, and then passed over to other competent organs. Colonel Savchenko,⁶² Deputy Commander of the USSR NKVD Border Guard Troops, states that more than a thousand border crossers from Hungary entering the Soviet Union were apprehended. Corps Commander Osokin,⁶³ Commander of the USSR NKVD Border Guard Army, also prepared a report on the situation for the high command on the basis of the data given by the arrested border crossers of Rusyn, Ukrainian, Jewish, and other nationalities from Transcarpathia, in which he noted, *inter alia*, that there were rumours among Transcarpathians that the Soviet Union intended to invade and annex Subcarpathia.

On the 14th of August, 1940, Gorlinski,⁶⁴ Major of State Security, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR, sent to

⁶⁰ See: I. Serov. file N5 (ZVSZ/33-34). Original source: GDA SZB Ukrajina, f. 9. - szpr. 34. - ark. 139-146. Original. Typewritten script. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки ..., 122-123. pp.

⁶¹ See Osokin Divisional Commander and Colonel Savchenko's report on 19 May, 1940, in file N 103 (ZVSZ/182-186). Original source: GDA SZBU. f. 16. - op. 33 (72). - ark. 15-42. Original. Typewritten script.

⁶² See Colonel Savchenko's circular letter of 7 June 1940 in file N 123 (ZVSZ/217-219). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 33 (1951 р.). - спр. 56. - арк. 190-194. оригін. машинопис.

⁶³ See: Oszokin hadseregátbörnök, az USZSZK NKVD határőrhadseregének parancsnoka Szavcsenko ezredes, az USZSZK NKVD Határőrcsapatok parancsnokhelyettese 1940. június 14-én keltezett „körlevelét”, a 130. sz. ügyiratot (ZVSZ/229-230). Original source in: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 33 (1951 р.). - спр. 56. - арк. 205-206. Оригін. машинопис.

⁶⁴ See: Major of State Security Gorlinski's report of 14 August 1940 in file N 193. (ZVSZ/320-322). Original source in: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 33 (1951 р.). - спр. 85. - арк. 1-6., 63-65. Копія. машинопис. See also: Радянські органи державної безпеки..., 440-443. pp.

the People's Commissar Beria a thick report on the implementation of the NKVD Resolution N-122 of 13 May 1940 and on operative measures taken in the border area. The number of crossers on the German-Hungarian and Romanian-Soviet borders showed an increasing tendency compared to previous figures, and the proportion of Jews and Poles was surprisingly high in relation to the number of crossers of other nationalities (Rusyns, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Moldovans, Romanians, etc.). In his opinion German, Hungarian and Romanian intelligence send more and more agents across the border. It refers, in particular, to Ukrainian nationalist organisations in exile in Germany who send their agents to Western Ukraine to organise subversive activities and armed attacks by OUN activists, but there were Polish armed groups, too, preparing riots. Up-to the 15th of June, a total of 12,981 people were arrested, 250 of them deserters from the armies of the neighbour countries.

Distribution of illegal border crossers by countries between 1 January and 15 July 1940:

From Germany – 5,248, of which 2 soldiers, detected 15 agents;

From Hungary - 2,370, of which 52 soldiers, detected 10 agents;

Romania – 1,777, of which 196 soldiers, detected 12 agents;

4 Polish agents detected.

In total: 9,095 persons

Number of crossers trying to flee from the Soviet Union:

To Germany - 2839 persons;

To Hungary - 568 persons;

To Romania - 479 persons.

In total, there were 3,886 persons detained.

According to the report, the exposure of agents who had infiltrated the border, and the detection of subversive groups were treated as a national priority task. At the same time, from a military point of view, and at the directions of Beria, State Security Colonel Savchenko⁶⁵, the Deputy Commander of the NKVD Border Guard

⁶⁵ See. Report of Colonel Savchenko, State Security, Deputy Commander of the NKVD Border Guard Troops, dated 15 August 1940, file no. 194 (ZVSZ/323-327). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 33 (1951 р.). - спр. 7. - арк. 178-184. orig. машинопис. See also: Radyanski organi derzhavnoi bezpeki ..., 444-449. pp.

Troops, Major General Khomenko⁶⁶, the Deputy Commander of the NKVD Border Guard Troops, Colonel Rogatin⁶⁷, and all the NKVD interrogators coordinated by Colonel Strokach⁶⁸, collected even more detailed data about Hungary from the interrogated Hungarian border crossers, military deserters, and escaping Jewish inmates of labour camps. Data collection was carried out specifically with regard to the war preparations against the Soviet Union, and it was absolutely necessary for the Soviet intelligence.

Fugitives from Hungarian Soil: Arrest and interrogation

Several previously classified NKVD reports and other documents have recently emerged from the Russian State Archives of Military History in Moscow providing an approximately authentic picture of the fate of those who illegally crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in 1939-1941 and who were among the first to fall victim to Soviet terror.

⁶⁶ See also. See the report of General Homenko, commander of the NKVD border guard troops, dated 16 January 1941, file no. 263 (ZVSZ/430-432). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 34 (1951 р.). - spr. 1. - ark. 8-15. orig. typescript. See also: Radyanski organi derzhavnoi bezpeki..., 479, 482-483. pp.

⁶⁷ See. Report of Colonel Rogatin, representing the NKVD border guard troops command dated 20 April 1941, file no. 274 (ZVSZ/445). Original source: Пограничные войска СССР 1939 - 1941. Сборник документе и материалов. - Moscow: Izd-vo "Наука", 1970. - 375. p. See also: Pogranichnye troussa USSR 1939 - 1941. See the report of Colonel Rogatin, representing the NKVD Border Guard Troops Command, dated 21 April 1941, file no. 275 (ZVSZ/448). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - оп. 34 (1951 р.). - spr. 1. - ark. 188-191. orig. машинопис.

See also: Radiantski organi derzhavnoi bezpeki..., 569, 570-573. pp.

See. Homenko-Rogatyin in report dated April 25, 1941, No. 276 case file (ZVSZ/447). Original source: Пограничные войска..., 378-379. pp.

See. Homenko-Rogatyin in His Memorandum dated April 25, 1941, No. 277 case file (ZVSZ/447-448). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - Оп. 34 (1951 р.). - spr. 1. - arch. 231-238. orig. typescript. See also: Радянски органи драйте бесплатно ..., pp. 573, 574, 576-577, 578.

⁶⁸ See the note dated June 13, 1941 by Colonel Strokacs, the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USZSZK, No. 279. case file (ZVSZ/450). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - Оп. 34 (1951 р.). - spr. 1. - arch. 347-348. orig. typescript. See also: Радянски органи программы бесплатно, 639-640. pp.

Colonel Strokacs, the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USZSZK in 1941, his note dated June 20, no. 281 case file (ZVSZ/452-453). Original source: ГДА СБ України, ф. 16. - Оп. 34 (1951 р.). - spr. 1. - arch. 395-398. orig. typescript. See also: Радянски органи программы бесплатно ..., 646-648. pp.

The first sources of that period, the materials of the Transcarpathian rehabilitation committees also confirm⁶⁹ the fact that the Hungarian-Soviet border established in 1939, under the influence of communist propagandists who “*told so many nice tales about the Soviet Union*,” in a literal sense was flooded by refugees: former members of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Sich Guard; unemployed, penniless peasants, high school students from Ungvár, Munkács and Huszt who wanted to escape the military service or Levente (Levente Associations: *Leventeszervezetek* or simply *levente* were “Paramilitary” Youth organizations in Hungary, 1920-1946. They were established in 1921 with the declared purpose of physical and health training. As of the mid-1930s, they became a method of circumventing the ban on Conscription imposed on Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon and over time openly became a paramilitary organization under the leadership of a military Veteran. As of 1939, under the Act of Defense, all boys aged 12–21 were required to join the *levente*); or they were poor students who could not pay their tuition fees at the Prague or other universities; unemployed Jewish teachers and left-wing anti-Hungarians with anti-fascist sentiments; members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party; politically or ethnically hunted people; persecuted Transcarpathian volunteers of the 1937-1938 Spanish Civil War etc.⁷⁰ The Soviet border guards at first returned the groups consisting of 10-15 people to the Hungarian authorities, but later changed their mind. It is known from the local Hungarian press that at one time 62 returnees were tried for crossing the border and were sentenced to 8-10 months in prison.

According to NKVD interrogation records, several Transcarpathians who were released from prison, among them

⁶⁹ See: Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга перша. Упорядники: Довганич О.Д., Хланта О.В., Корсун О.М., - Ужгород: ВАТ Видавництво „Закарпаття”. 2003. –42. p. Further on: (RIZO...).

⁷⁰ Members of the better-known Subcarpathian Jewish internationalist brigade of the Spanish Civil War: János Kahán, Reisman Menyhért, Imre Ébert, his father First Lieutenant Móric (1906 - Spain, Villafranca de la Castilla cemetery. July 14, 1937), Sámuel Köstenbaum (Tiszaújklak, 1906? - Spain, fell at the Ebro river in July 1937), worker Lajos Reichmann (Tiszaújklak, 1902 – Spain, fell near Madrid in July 1937), worker József Schwarz, (Tiszaújklak, 1890? – Spain, fell near Madrid in July 1937). See also: ROTMAN MIKLÓS: *Kik érted haltak... Forradalmár elődeink arcképcsarnoka*. Uzshorod, Kárpáti Kiadó, 1982. 44-48. pp., *Ukrajna emlékkönyve*. 1. Kárpátontúli terület. Kárpáti Kiadó, Ungvár, 1997.

many of Ruthenian/Ukrainian and Jewish origin (V. M. Csizmár, I. J. Andrijco, V. I. Ruszanyuk, I. L. Moldavcsuk, V. D. Andrijco, G. M. Markus, M. I. Lazur and others) successfully crossed over the border for the second time in September 1940, but they were soon arrested on the Soviet side, and given three years per head for crossing the border illegally.

Many Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Jews having Hungarian citizenship, subjected to harsh interrogation by the NKVD, were suspected of spying. In accordance with the Article 58-6 of the Soviet Criminal Code the sixteen-year-old Olena (Ivanovitsh) Bilak, a Munkács resident, was groundlessly accused of spying and on the 8th of December, 1941 the Ural District (Molotov/Perm) Military Court of the NKVD sentenced her to death in a show-trial. On 12 January 1942, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR commuted the death sentence to a 15-year-custodial sentence in a forced labour camp. The young girl was innocently persecuted and served 13 years in a labour camp. On grounds of the same charge (the Article 58-6 of the Soviet Criminal Code), G. E. Edelstein (Nagyberezna), J. G. Rais (Ungvár) and O. M. Lipcsák (Ungvár) were also sentenced as agents of a foreign country to 10, or 15 years in custody, in a correctional-educational labour camp.

The theory of a concocted “*Jewish conspiracy*” against the Soviet Union is revealed in one of the Jewish-related Memos that turned up recently⁷¹. The case file was created on April 10, 1941, in Stanislav⁷², in which Jesipenko, head of the state security section, the officer of the department of investigations of the UNKGB, informed his superiors (the leaders of the NKVD of the USSR) that a so-called “*State Hungarian-Jewish Association//Goszudarsztvenij vengerszko-jevrejszkij szojuz*” had been formed in Hungary with Hungarian state support to help the National Hungarian Jewish Aid

⁷¹ See case file N 21. (RIZO/31). Original source: АУ СБУ 30, - spr. 3698, arch. 26.

⁷² Stanislav, in Polish Stanisławów, German Stanislau, city in the Soviet Union. In Ukraine. In Galicia. Today it is Ivano-Frankivsk, county seat. The city was named after the Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko.

Association⁷³ with an Acting Guardian Bureau⁷⁴. One of its leaders, according to the report, was a certain **Andre/András Kirsch**, who participated in helping Jews in Hungary and in organising their illegal emigration. Thus, with the help of his intermediaries, he smuggled Jews from Hungary to several countries, mainly to the Soviet Union. As an agent of one of these hostile states, Kirsch was actively spying against the Soviet Union. Under his supervision, trained Jewish spies were sent across the Hungarian-Soviet border, assigned various tasks, and ordered to send letters and information to his address. The investigator ended his report saying that several agents recruited by Kirsch had already been captured and interrogated, and that central command would be kept informed.

The charges of espionage were later officially proven to be unfounded, the convicts were removed from the criminal record, and since they were all innocent, they were rehabilitated as victims of political reprisals for having committed no crime.

It should be noted here that during 1942, many Transcarpathians involved in the unfounded espionage case, especially the left-minded ones, became – to save their lives perhaps – agents recruited into the intelligence group trained by the Moscow State Security Ministry. After proper training, they were parachuted into Transcarpathia, which was a sort of springboard, as members of the “*Hungarian partisan detachment led by Ferenc Pataki*”⁷⁵ and other reconnaissance and diversionary groups (Borkanyuk’s group for instance)⁷⁶. The Hungarian counter-intelligence, however, immediately cracked down on the group, most of its captured members were sentenced to death by court martial, while others of Jewish origin recruited

⁷³ In the investigator’s (literal) translation it is also called the „National Hungarian Jewish Association”, whose official Hungarian name is „Országos Magyar Izraelita Közművelődési Egyesület (OMIKE) „ the National Hungarian Israelite Public Educational Association (NHIEPA-OMIKE), founded in 1909, which was dissolved on 19 March 1944, when the Germans invaded Hungary.

⁷⁴ Its full name was MIPI (Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája - Hungarian Acting Guardian Bureau of the Israelites), which operated during the Shoah.

⁷⁵ Ferenc Pataki’s desante group landed successfully in the Drahova area of Transcarpathia on 19 August 1943..

⁷⁶ The Borkanyuk Group went into direct combat in early January 1942 and met a tragic end.

into the reconnaissance squad were executed on the spot setting an example by way of deterrence⁷⁷.

More Ruthenian/Ukrainian, Hungarian and Jewish communists from Transcarpathia, former CZCP activists also crossed the border illegally, but ended up in Soviet prisons. Among them several party members of Jewish origin (Samuel Háberman, Eszter Lebovics, Mihajlo Mozsarovics) were rescued from Soviet prisons by the Moscow emigrants Oleksa Borkanyuk, Ivan Turjanica, Samuel Weiss and other party functionaries and NKVD agents who had been helped to cross the Soviet-Hungarian border by the Comintern in 1937 and later. However, many of them did not receive a so-called confirmation document from the Comintern Central Secretariat, and they too (Balázseri Péter Győri from Hete, born in 1897, in Sokolovo, died in 1943) were also judged. They had to spend 3-5 years in a correctional-educational labour camp for lack of a “safe-conduct.” On July 20, 1940, the Ukrainian newspaper *Vilne Slovo (Free Word)*⁷⁸ in Drohobich also wrote about how Soviet authorities had imprisoned refugees (Jews, Rusyns, Ukrainians, simple peasants, unemployed workers) from Carpatho-Ukraine begging for protection. As indicated above, only Hungarian communists who, at the request of the NKVD, had been officially certified by the Comintern⁷⁹ were exempt from prosecution.

In the archives, lists of names have also been found where Hungarian, Polish, or Czechoslovak citizenship is listed alongside the names. For reasons unknown to us the NKVD investigators classified some of them (especially Jews who had crossed the border) as Soviet citizens, and they remained in the camps for ever, and died there.

According to the (old-new) regulation issued in the Soviet Union on 10 November 1936, persons who crossed the border illegally – in both directions – without a valid passport and a permit from the competent authorities were severely punished. This was considered a criminal offence and was punishable by imprisonment of from 1 to

⁷⁷ See: *Ukrajna emlékkönyve*. 1. Kárpátontúli terület. Kárpáti Kiadó, Ungvár, 1997.

⁷⁸ See: case file N 22. (RIZO/32). Original source: Вільне слово. Дрогобич, 1941. N-6. – 20. лип. Then newly published: Літопис нескореної України: Документи, матеріали, спогади – том. 1. – Львів: Просвіта, 1993. 66. p.

⁷⁹ See: case file N 20. (RIZO/31). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. op. 1. szpr. 4441, ark. 18.

3 years⁸⁰. The Special Council of the Soviet NKVD, on the basis of Article 80 of the USSR Criminal Code of 1927, imposed for illegal border crossing 3 years' imprisonment, and in some cases (contrary to the article of the Code) 5, 8, or even 10-15 years' imprisonment to be served in the designated correctional-educational and forced-labour camps.

In my opinion, there were two basic reasons for the people being sent to camps. All refugees with Hungarian nationality were considered to be loyal to Horthyist Hungary, allied with Hitler's Germany, which had started the world war. The other reason was the excessive vigilance that was applied during the Stalinist cult against all foreigners who fled to the Soviet Union. The NKVD organs regarded these people as a base on which foreign intelligence could be safely relied upon. Thus, those persecuted by the Nazi regime were received and treated not as refugees in need of protection, but as enemies of the Soviet state.

The fate of Jews in the light of NKVD interrogation records and indictments

In the following, on the basis of the Ukrainian and Russian-language documents that greatly facilitated my research, I examined the interrogation records and sentences related to the persecuted Jews and submitted to the NKVD Special Council.⁸¹ These documents show absolutely clearly and unanimously that the convicted persons fled to the Soviet Union to escape official persecution at home. They were persecuted for example if they did not want to serve in the Levente

⁸⁰ See case file N 1. (RIZO/28). Original source: ТРАЙНИН А., МЕНЬШАГИН В., ВЫШИНСКАЯ З. Уголовный кодекс РСФСР: комментарий. Под редакцией и с предисловием председателя Верховного Суда СССР И.Т. Голякова. 2-е издание. – Москва: Юридическое издательство НКЮ СССР, 1946. – 121. p.

⁸¹ See: (Закарпатські втікачі в СРСР: через табори ГУЛАГ і БУЗУЛУК до рідних Карпат. 1939-1949. Архівні документи і матеріали. Упорядники: Корсун О.М., Пагіря О. М., Ужгород, Всеукраїнське державне видавництво „Карпати”, 2011. 768 p. Further on: ZVSZ. See also: Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга перша. Упорядники: Довганич О.Д., Хланта О.В., Корсун О.М., – Ужгород: ВАТ „Видавництво „Закарпаття”. 2003. Further on: RIZO I., II.

organisation⁸² or as “*labour service men*” in the military. Many wanted to continue their studies, or to have some job; they longed for a better life and so left for the Soviet Union with “*a pure heart, honest and noble intentions.*” They never dreamed of ending up in reform camps. Many of them crossed the border without the necessary ID-s as a precaution, but they honestly confessed their purpose. The fate of almost all of them was predetermined, and continued tragically.

Áron Katz, father Samuel (Nagyberezna county, Chornoholova, 1917) shared the fate of his comrades. He was a carpenter, and was interrogated by a certain Truber, head of the State Security Section, in November 1939. His interrogation record⁸³ is quoted by me in full, in my (Gy. D.) translation with the intention to illustrate the run of the process.

During the interrogation, four questions were asked and four answers were given:

“Question: - *Explain your party views in detail.*

Answer: *Like all Jewish boys, I endured national oppression for many years, I dreamed of going to Palestine to take part in the creation of an independent state, so that we could preserve our national identity. This is the basic program of our Zionist organization.*

Question: *Why did you change your views which you have just confessed and come over from Hungary to the Soviet Union?*

Answer: *Firstly, I could not get to Palestine because the Hungarian authorities did not let me go; secondly, I learned that workers in the Soviet Union lived well, and I am a worker so the living conditions are just suitable for me; thirdly, I became convinced of the Zionist organisation’s sham activity, and decided to break off my relationship with it.*

Question: *What makes you say that the activity of the Zionist organisation is sham activity?*

Answer: *I can see that it does not act decisively, and is engaged mainly in nationalist propaganda...*

⁸² **Aron Katz** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 20 June 1940, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See RIZO I./ p. 361.

⁸³ See no. 12 case file (RIZO II. /23-24). Original source: ДА30, Ф.. 2558. on. 1st floor 4406, arch. 14, 15.

Question: *What goals did you set for yourself before crossing the Hungarian border and getting to the Soviet Union?*

Answer. *As a matter of fact, I had decided to flee to the Soviet Union before November 4, 1939. My first attempt to cross the border was a failure because my four mates were caught by the gendarmes⁸⁴. I managed to get off because at the time I was not at home in Cernoholova. I was working in a nearby village called Dubrinics. It was there that I was informed that the police were looking for me. From there I fled to the village of Volsinki, where I was lucky, because there I met a Jewish boy, Jakab Raut,⁸⁵ with whom I set off for the Hungarian-Soviet border. This was on November 2, 1939. We cut through the dense forest and got to the Soviet Union. Another reason for my crossing the border there was that I knew that if I was caught, I would be put in prison. Besides I did not want to join the Hungarian army, which would happen in 1940.*

*Signed: Chernigov, Truber, commander of the UNKVD PO,
Sergeant of the State Security.”*

Not only single men or women, but families and young couples also often decided to change their country or place of residence because of their bleak situation. NKVD files contain the case of the Herskovicses, who crossed the border on 23 January 1940 and were subsequently detained by Soviet border guards. The interrogation report⁸⁶ on 11 May 1940 was made on former Hungarian citizen **Matild Herskovics**⁸⁷, father Martin (Munkács distr., Bukovinka, 1910), a former resident of Zaharjevo. Occupation: teacher.⁸⁸ Husband: Arnold Herskovics, father Izsák Csinagyijevo/ Beregszentmiklós, 1913). Occupation: teacher.

To L.I. Kadaner, an investigator of the NKVD's Kharkov unit, Matild Herskovich told that she and her husband had crossed the

⁸⁴ Understand: gendarmes, policemen

⁸⁵ There is no further information on Jakab Raut, his fate is unknown.

⁸⁶ See case file N a 104. (ZVSZ/187-188). Original source: ДАЗО. Ф. 2558. - оп. 1. - спр. 1111. - арк. 31-34. Оригін.рукоп..

⁸⁷ **Herskovics Matild** was sentenced to three years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 27 July, 1940, her further fate is unknown, was rehabilitated in 1989. See: RIZO I./264. p.

⁸⁸ **Arnold Herskovics** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 27, 1940, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1989. See: RIZO I./263. p.

Hungarian-Soviet border intentionally. In response to the ten questions put to her by the investigator one by one, she said that she had lived in Csinagyijevo and had taught at the local elementary school for seven years until 30 April 1939. Hungarian authorities terminated her employment because she was a Jew. After having been dismissed, she went to live with her fiancé, Arnold Herskovics, who was also a teacher at the folk school in the village of Brusztura, but as a Jew he was also dismissed from his job. On 1 June 1939, they moved to Uszty-Csorna, where they married, and then returned to Csinagyijevo and lived with her husband's family until the border crossing. They approached the border at the Csinagyijevo-Volovec-Pilipec-Nizhne Studenoe line. In the village they stayed in the house of a close friend of her husband's, the local Friedmann family. Then, she told the interrogator, they intended to start work in the newly established local Jewish school. In Verhni Studenoe, they managed to make a bargain with a local human trafficker, who successfully escorted them across the border for 30 pengos at night on the 23rd of January and they found shelter in a farmer's house in the nearest village. They told the arriving Soviet border guards that they had crossed the border in order to find a job as teachers in this country, because they knew there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union, that everyone could work and Jews were not persecuted as in Hungary.

Finally, Matild Herskovics, when asked replied that she had no contact with the Hungarian police or gendarmerie.

The interrogation report of the butcher **Jankel Bergida**⁸⁹ (his father Bernát; Nagyberezna district, Lyuta, 1914) is dated 7 June 1940. The interrogating officer, according to the document⁹⁰, was a certain department commander Golub who asked 12 questions and got the answers. From these we learn that before the border violation the 26-year-old Bergida Jankel lived and farmed in Lyutka in the district of Ljuta, in the district of Lviv, with his 54-year-old father Bergida Bernat, his two brothers (Mór, Manas) and three sisters (Jelena, Dóra,

⁸⁹ On 11 October 1940 **Jankel Bergida** was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD as a spy. His further fate is unknown. In 1991 he was rehabilitated. See: RIZO I./263. p.

⁹⁰ See case file N 159. (ZVSZ/272-273). Original source: ДАЗО, Ф. 2558. - оп. 1. - сир. 3593. - арк. 15. Оригін.рукоп.

Malka). His relatives knew that he wanted to flee to the Soviet Union. He was persuaded to do this by three of his neighbours in the village – Peter Perebzják, Jurko Perebzjak and Jurko Hricák. He was not a member of any political party, had no connection with the Hungarian police or gendarmerie, and had received no orders from anyone. The purpose of his coming here was to look for and get a job. He crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border alone without being escorted at the 19 km marker on 5 June 1940. He admitted his guilt of illegally crossing the border and signed his statement in his own hand.

The indictment⁹¹ relating to the investigation of **Jankel Bergida**, a Jewish-Hungarian citizen drafted on 14 August 1940 and submitted to the Special Consultative Committee of the NKVD for a verdict by the deputy prosecutor in charge of the investigation (*his signature is illegible*), has also turned up. Approved by Lieutenant-General Petrov, Deputy Commander of the UNKVD DO. Drafting the indictment: detective Kosenko. Verified by: State Security Lieutenant Pavluchenko, Deputy Commander of the Investigative Corps of the UNKVD DO.

Bergida Yankel was accused of illegally crossing the border on the basis of Article 80 of the USSR Criminal Code. Pursuant to Article 204 of the USSR Code of Criminal Investigation, Bergida Jankel's investigation file N-35959 was sent to the USSR Special Council⁹² of the NKVD through the UNKVD Special Department No. 1 in Drohobichi Region for adjudication. Certificate: the accused J. B. Bergida is being held in custody in the prison of the city of Striy. From that date he falls under the jurisdiction of the Special Council of the USSR NKVD. He has no personal documents. The following hand-written inscription appears on the margin of the indictment:

⁹¹ See case file N 192. (ZVSZ/319-320). Original source: ДА3О, Ф. 2558. - оп. 1. - спр. 3593. - арк. 21. Оригін.рукоп.

⁹² The Special Council of the NKVD of the SZSSKSZ was established on April 8, 1937, pursuant to the decision of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the SZKP. He was authorized to impose a prison term of 5 to 8 years in a correctional-educational labor camp on the accused. The members of the 4-member board are: the deputy People's Commissar of the Interior, the NKVD representative of the SZSZKSZ, the head of the department of the worker-peasant militia and the territorially competent People's Commissar of the republic, part of the country. See no. 2 case file (ZVSZ/28-29). Original source: Российский центр установка та установь документы новитний истории - Ф.17., оп. 3., од. Зберигання 986.

- 5 years ITL (*illegible signature*) 27/9/40 -5 years ITL (*illegible signature*) 23/9/40.

The next convict, though he is Ukrainian, his case file includes also a Jewish boy's name. The interrogation report of **Ilona Petáh**,⁹³ father László (Munkácsi district, Medvegyivci/Fagyalos, 1921), a home-maker defendant (the document is in two parts, the other is a supplementary interrogation report), dated 13 September 1940, was compiled by Kurotsapov, an investigator co-worker at the Skole border police⁹⁴. In response to the 7 questions asked during the first interrogation, Petáh gave the following answers: On 27 August 1940, she decided on her own initiative, but with her companions, to cross the border at the village of Huszne Vizsna on the Szerednye-Munkács-Polyana route in the early hours of the morning. They decided to do this in the hope of a better life and well-paid work. She was accompanied by two of her former colleagues: **László Csáti**,⁹⁵ father Sándor (Szerednye, 1921), who said he was Ukrainian, and her Jewish **Emánuel Fried**,⁹⁶ father Bernát (Szerednye, 1922). They were both residents of Szerednye. They were trainee drivers at the Guberlinat Hospital in Szerednye and did not want to join the Hungarian army. Iván Gnatkovics, a trafficker from the village of Guta, helped the three of them to cross the border for 30 pengos, and he also received a watch and a pair of shoes. They did not meet any gendarmes or police officers and had no contact with them. They admitted that they had committed a border offence.

A *Supplementary Interrogation Record*⁹⁷ dated 23 September 1940, made by Kuratsapov, a member of the Sokoli Border

⁹³ On 17 May 1941 the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced **Ilona Petáh** to 3 years, her further fate is unknown. In 1991 she was rehabilitated. See: RIZO I./554. p.

⁹⁴ See case file N 226. (ZVSZ/375-377). Original source: ДАЗО, Ф. 2558. -оп. 1. -спр. 1183. -арк. 27-28. зворот. Оригін.рукоп.

⁹⁵ **László Csáti** was sentenced to three years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941. His further fate is unknown. In 1991 he was rehabilitated. See: RIZO I./732. p.

⁹⁶ **Emanuel Fried** was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD, on 17 May 1941, to three years, his further fate is unknown, in 1991 was rehabilitated. See: RIZO I./712. p.

⁹⁷ See: case file N 12. (RIZO/29-30). Original source: ДАЗО, Ф. 2558. - оп. 1. - спр. 4057, - арк. 98-99. See also case file N 235. (ZVSZ/390-391). Original source: ДАЗО, Ф. 2558. - оп. 1. - спр. 4057. - арк. 98-99

Guard, with **András Grossman**,⁹⁸ father Dezső (Nagyberezna, 1912), a Jewish university student defendant. Excerpts from it are reproduced below:

“Question: - *What made you cross the border of the USSR illegally from Hungary?*

Answer: *I crossed the border in order to avoid being drafted to the labour camp where Jews born between 1900 and 1917 are currently being mobilised. Besides, as far as I know, Jews who had previously been drafted into the Hungarian army are now transferred to labour camps, where working conditions are intolerable, food is poor and there are severe penalties for any minor misdemeanours. There were also rumours among Jews that Jews toiling in labour camps were taken to Germany to work there. Then, because of my participation in the communist movement, I was placed under surveillance of the gendarmerie, arrested in May 1940, and imprisoned for six days.*

Question: *How and by what means did you discuss the border crossing with those you had allied yourself with?”*

In his answer, Grossman told the detective that on the 1st of September on his way from Ungvár he visited Nagyberezna to discuss with the group how to cross the border with his comrades whom he had known well since childhood because he had lived there with his family from birth until 1935. At first, he contacted Miklós Malmos and Teodor Munk but his proposal to defect was not accepted; they were later taken to a labour camp.

Then on 8 September, he met the tailor **Mihály Abramovics**,⁹⁹ father Adolf (Nagyberezna, 1906), the shopkeeper **Szemen Davidovics**,¹⁰⁰ father Jenasov (Nagyberezna, 1914), and a Jewish boy named **Guzner**,¹⁰¹ who joined them, and they tried to reach out to others, too. Guzner went to their meeting-place, the village of Bukivca

⁹⁸ **András Grossman** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See RIZO I./291. p.

⁹⁹ **Mihály Abramovics** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See RIZO I./p. 152.

¹⁰⁰ **Szemen Davidovics** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See RIZO I. p. 300.

¹⁰¹ No material on **Guzner**, his fate is unknown.

on his bicycle. They were joined by the worker **Jenő Waldman**,¹⁰² father Samuel Waldman (Zabrigy, Nagyberezna district, 1913), who was a communist and the member of the CzCP in 1932-1935, and also by the newsboy **Gábor Weiss**,¹⁰³ father Abraham Weiss (Uzsok, 1919). Abramovich asked a friend from Csernoholova to find a guide. They found someone who led them to the border village of Ljuta, where they were given another guide. It was the baker **Mihály Markovics**,¹⁰⁴ father György (Nagyberezna district, Ljuta, 1909). Under his guidance they crossed the border at night, on the 8th of September.

The interrogating officer Kuratsapov also asked Grossman if anyone in his group or family had contact with the gendarmes. Grossman could not answer this question on behalf of the others, but he admitted that his father was in contact with the gendarmes and police in Nagyberezna because it was part of his work as a lawyer. Grossman also stated that he had gained a lawyer's diploma in 1938, but after the arrival of the Hungarians he was unemployed, had no contact with the authorities, and was kept by his father.

The quoted report was signed by András Grossman and the detective Kurotsapov.

We received valuable information also from the interrogation report¹⁰⁵ of **Sámuel Friedmann**,¹⁰⁶ father Jakab Friedmann (Ungvár/Radvánc, 1913), who was a tailor who settled in Kőrösmező. On the 28th of October, 1940, detective Zhadan interrogated him with the assistance of the tailor **Zsigmond Grossman**,¹⁰⁷ father Martovics (Jaszinya/Kőrösmező, 1912). Before he fled to the SU Friedmann had worked in the workshop of Ernő Ignác, a master tailor in Kőrösmeza. His 59-year-old father, Jakab Friedmann, lived in Radvánc near

¹⁰² **Jenő Waldman** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See: RIZO I./224-225. p.

¹⁰³ **Gábor Weiss** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1990. See: RIZO I./222. p.

¹⁰⁴ On 7 June 1941, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced **Mihály Markovics** to 5 years in prison, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1989. See: RIZO I./ p. 471.

¹⁰⁵ **Friedmann Samuel** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1991. See: RIZO I./ p. 712.

¹⁰⁶ See file 253 (ZVSZ/415-416). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 2903. - ark. 37-38, 41-42. Original. Manuscript.

¹⁰⁷ **Zsigmond Grossman** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See: RIZO I./291. p.

Ungvár. At that time he was unemployed, though earlier he was a nurse at the Ungvár hospital. The 47-year-old mother, Lejni Fajerman, is a housewife. His 25-year-old brother Armin is a Hungarian infantryman serving in the border guard. He is not the member of any party.

He said that he had fled to the SU in the hope of a more human life, he did not want to serve in the Hungarian army, and he knew that Jews were sent to concentration camps. On the 20th of September, 1940, he paid 10 pengos to a human trafficker from Kőrösmező, Vassiliy Kapraljuk, to help him cross the border, whom Endre Grossman, who had gone before him, knew well; and then a young girl led him to the Soviet border guard headquarters. It turned out that he had a sister living in the town of Kolomiya, he had previously been in correspondence with her, and in 1937 he visited her in person on a legal trip spending 15 days as a guest. When the Red Army took Western Ukraine he received two letters from his sister by post reporting on how she was and that everything was fine. He replied to these letters and was not harassed by the police. In response to the last question from the investigator he pleaded guilty to crossing the border illegally.

Soviet documents on illegal deportations carried out by Hungarian authorities

Quite recently new documents have also emerged from the NKVD archives in which Soviet border guards also report on how the Hungarian gendarmerie, with the violent assistance of border guards, deported illegally large Jewish families, young couples with one-, or two-month-old children through the Soviet-Hungarian border. So for instance, on the 12th of May, 1940, in a report sent to Serov, rank 3 State Security Commissar, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR and other military leaders, State Security Major Skorodumov¹⁰⁸, the commander of the 94th Skole garrison of the

¹⁰⁸ See the report issued by State Security Major **Skorodumov**, the commander of the 94th garrison of the NKVD Border Guard Troops in Skole and Commissar Kozlov, dated 12 May 1940, file No. 105 (ZVSZ/189-190). Original source: GDA SZBU. f. 16. - op. 33 (1951). - szpr. 56. - ark. 108-109. Original. Typewritten script.

NKVD border guard troops and Commissar Kozlov of the NKVD describe the detention of 15 families of 49 people, including 22 children, who were forcibly and illegally driven across the Soviet-Hungarian border by Hungarian authorities during February and April. According to the relevant Soviet laws, the above-mentioned commanders reported, people can be detained in the detention centre of the border police for 10 days only, and the small children cannot be cared for because of the limited available space. Since the NKVD district commissar does not want to place the adults with children in their prison, they ask the authorities in Kiev to take immediate action in the case of the arrested foreign citizens.

Interrogation records found after the change of systems show that after the Hungarian authorities the Soviet authorities persecuted among others the Russian **Nikolai Zhuravsky**,¹⁰⁹ father Fedor (Galchin, Zhytomyr district, Volynsk governorate, 1874), who settled down in Ungvár and was detained by the Soviet border guards on the 22nd of January, 1940, and branded as a Hungarian agent. Zhuravsky's registered interrogation record ¹¹⁰ is also a question-and-answer session, which unfolds the ordeal of a 70-year-old man in search of a home, clinging to his family and being in a bad situation. From Zhuravsky's answers given to the six questions of the interrogator, Lieutenant Popov, the officer of the 94th Border Guard Unit, we learn that Zhuravsky's wife is Verona Pajunk, 72 years old, and that their child is Jozef Pajunk, a 32-year-old farmer. Zhuravski was unemployed for years and was kept by his wife who worked as a cleaner in houses of Jewish families. They lived in Radvánc, a suburb of Ungvár. A few days before his deportation Zhuravski was arrested as a homeless person and interrogated several times by a Hungarian senior police officer.

For a few days he was imprisoned with his old acquaintance, **Lejba Lembevszkij** (father, Nikimov, Zvenyigorod, Kiev region, 1890),¹¹¹ a worker of Jewish origin, picked up in Ungvár. He lived in

¹⁰⁹ No information is available on **Nikolai Zhuravsky**, who is presumed to have died in prison.

¹¹⁰ See **Zhuravsky's** file no. 81 (ZVSZ/149-151). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. -op. 1. -szpr. 4216. - ark. 18-20. Zvorot. Original. Manuscript.

¹¹¹ **Lejba Lembevszkij** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 10 February 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1990. See RIZO I./ p. 446.

great poverty with his wife in Ungvár. They were told that since they were born in Russia, they could not get work in Hungary and would be sent back to the Soviet Union, but that they could not take their families with them because they were Hungarian citizens. They were both escorted by the police on the Ungvár-Uzsok railway line and then on foot to the border, where they were forced to cross the border in a wooded area towards the village of Skole with the words that if they returned, they would be killed. After three hundred metres they were captured by the Soviet border guards. As suspected Hungarian spies they were sentenced to 5 years.

Béla Süskind¹¹² a Jew by origin, father Áron (Budapest, 1908), a tailor and former resident of Vienna, was arrested in Huszt (he worked as a tailor in Ruszka Mokra, Técső district), was kept in prison for a while in 1941, then on March 4, 1941, since he had no Hungarian citizenship, the gendarmes forcibly deported him to Soviet territory, where he was detained by the border guards, sent to a camp, and convicted for espionage on the basis of the interrogation report¹¹³ signed by Lieutenant Shinkarenko.

Refugees from the Carpathian Basin in the claws of the NKVD

In addition to those from Transcarpathia, lots of people from the mainland, as well as from the Highlands and Transylvania, made their way to the Hungarian-Soviet border in the Carpathians to flee from their persecutors and find refuge in the Soviet Union.

Dozens of files bear witness to this. The interrogation report of **József Farkas**, father András¹¹⁴ (Salgótarján, 1905), a Budapest resident, formerly an electrician, arrested at the border, and recorded on 16 July 1941 with the assistance of the interpreter of Section 5,

¹¹² **Béla Süskind** was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1991. See: RIZO I./446. p.

¹¹³ See Béla Süskind no. 267. case file (ZVSZ/436-437). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - Op. 1. - spr. 2869. - arch. 13-14. Zvorot. Original. Manuscript.

¹¹⁴ **József Farkas** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1989. See RIZO I./ p. 709.

reflects this situation.¹¹⁵ Six persons crossed the border, all of them activists of the Hungarian Communist Party and of Jewish, Hungarian and Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationality. During the interrogation, József Farkas answered 12 questions, and we learn from this that he was a member of the Hungarian Communist Party, and that he was in prison for eleven months in 1940 before the court martial transferred his case to the civil court that allowed him to defend himself. He feared being sent to prison again, so he and five of his comrades decided to flee to the Soviet Union: **Izidor/Juzef Farkas**, father Áron¹¹⁶ (Huszt c., Veléte, 1916), deserted from the Hungarian army, **Pál Faragó**, father Pál¹¹⁷ (Nagykőrös, 1911), a resident of Budapest, formerly a car mechanic, **Pálné Faragó**, father Gábor¹¹⁸ (Budapest, 1913), factory worker, **Géza Oláh**, father István¹¹⁹ (Arad, 1913), resident of Budapest, wagon-factory worker, **János Moldavcsuk**, father János¹²⁰ (Rahó, 1922). The group was led across the border for 50 pengos by the human trafficker Nikoláj Guden. József Farkas was instructed by a comrade, József Kovács, to contact the communist leader Spongercen living in exile in Moscow who had crossed the border in 1940, to inform him about the disruption of the Hungarian Communist Party in Hungary.

He admitted that a friend of his, **Árpád Torgus**,¹²¹ a communist, had also lived in Moscow since 1928; he had escaped arrest and fled to the Soviets, and had met his brother in Salgótarján. Finally, he said he was under surveillance by the Hungarian gendarmerie in Budapest, and had had to report at a given address nine times so far. **Vilmos Kraus**,¹²² father Izidor (Baja, 1908), an architect of Jewish

¹¹⁵ See Farkas' file no. 280 (ZVSZ/450-452). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 2955. - ark. 75-77. Original. Rukapis.

¹¹⁶ **Izidor Farkas** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1991. See RIZO I./ p. 709.

¹¹⁷ **Pál Faragó** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown. See RIZO I./ p. 695.

¹¹⁸ **Pálné Faragó** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown. See RIZO I./ p. 695.

¹¹⁹ **Géza Oláh** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1989. See RIZO I./531. p.

¹²⁰ **János Moldavcsuk** was not convicted by the Special Council of the NKVD, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1992. See RIZO I./p. 507.

¹²¹ There is no information on **Árpád Torgus**.

¹²² **Vilmos Kraus** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, his fate is unknown. See RIZO I. p. 413.

origin, member of the Hungarian Communist Party, who served in the Hungarian army as an officer, was another luckless victim of the Soviet spy hunt. He was imprisoned by the Hungarian authorities in 1930-31 for his participation in the communist movement. According to the recently discovered *Supplementary Interrogation Report*¹²³ of 9 September 1941, Kraus had escaped to the Soviet Union before the outbreak of the Second World War¹²⁴. For crossing the border illegally, Kraus was interrogated by Alexeyev, an investigator of the UNKVD (Ivanovo Region) investigative team. He was mainly questioned about his activities in the communist movement, and also about his comrades and his contacts. After Kraus was released, he crossed the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border with some of his comrades on 10 November 1934, before the new trial, and sought and found refuge with the leaders of the CZKP in Bratislava. Then the party ordered him to go Brno (Brün). From 10 November 1934 to 18 January 1937, he carried out various tasks and was supported by the League for the Protection of Human Rights in Czechoslovakia. Then he returned home, was again imprisoned and between February 1937 and October 19, 1938 he spent one month in Pécs and 20 months in a Szeged dungeon. Incidentally, Mátyás Rákosi, with whom he was in rapport, was also in prison with him.

According to an NKVD memo¹²⁵ dated 10 September, Detective Alexeyev interrogated Kraus again asking specifically about Mátyás Rákosi, their activities in prison and after their release.

The Jewish-born **István Kajzer**, father Bertalan (Budapest, 1912),¹²⁶ was also involved in several espionage cases. According to the *indictment* of the Soviet military investigators (State Security Sub-Lieutenant Leonov, State Security Lieutenant Molkov, State

¹²³ See **Kraus** case file No 285. (ZVSZ/458-459). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 1238. - ark. 22-24. Copy. Typewritten script.

¹²⁴ On 22 June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Previously arrested border guards were transferred from prisons in western Ukraine to the interior of Ukraine, Ivanovsk and other areas.

¹²⁵ See case file No 287 on **Kraus** (ZVSZ/461). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 1238. - ark. 28-29. Copy. Typewritten script.

¹²⁶ **István Kajzer** was sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1991. See RIZO I./ p. 354.

Security Lieutenant Markov)¹²⁷ representing the Ivanovsk area, on 11 June 1941 the 95th unit of the NKVD arrested him while he was crossing the border. He was placed in pre-trial detention and interrogated several times, during which it was established that he had been arrested earlier by the Hungarian National Security Service, and placed under investigation. He was interrogated several times, during which it was established that Kajzer had been sentenced to 4 years in 1936 by a Hungarian court martial for collecting secret information for the benefit of the Romanian reconnaissance and counter-intelligence service. The NKVD suspected that in 1940 he was deliberately transferred from the prison to a labour camp near the Soviet border and, as a labourer, escaped to the Soviet Union a few days before the start of the German-Soviet war having been given the task to spy. He did not say that he was an agent, but the NKVD investigators considered this accusation to be well-grounded. On this basis, pursuant to Article 58, point 6, paragraph 1, of the Criminal Code of the USSR, the case file N-11881, the culprit was sent to the Special Council of the NKVD to be sentenced, with the recommendation that he serve 10 years in a correctional labour camp. It should be noted that there is no concrete evidence of Kajzer's alleged espionage in the investigation file.

On the 17th of December, 1940,¹²⁸ the following Hungarian citizens crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in the area of the border **village of Zimir**: the Jewish-born **Dezső Klar**, father Jakab¹²⁹ (Szerencs, 1914), a factory worker, formerly a resident of Budapest; a member of the Social Democrats, and his wife **Julianna Klar**, father Zsigmond¹³⁰ (Budapest, 1921), a resident of Budapest, a printer; **Julianna Kastl**, father Franc¹³¹ (Temesvár, 1881.) lived in

¹²⁷ See **Kajzer's** file no. 298 (ZVSZ/476-477). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 2583. - ark. 30-31. original. Masinapis.

¹²⁸ See file no 335 (ZVSZ/516-517). Original source: DAZO, f. 2558. - op. 1. - szpr. 3153. - ark. 336-337. Original. Typewritten script

¹²⁹ **Dezső Klar** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, his fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1964. See RIZO I./ p. 354.

¹³⁰ **Julianna Klar** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, her fate is unknown, she was rehabilitated in 1964. See RIZO I./ p. 354.

¹³¹ **Julianna Kastl** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, her fate is unknown, she was rehabilitated in 1964. See RIZO I./ p. 360.

Temesvár, as a housekeeper; **Pál Kulikov**, father Izrail ¹³² (Budapest, 1918) a Budapest resident and photographer; **Katalin Svuger**, father Cirill ¹³³ (Budapest, 1920) a Budapest resident and photographer; **Ferenc (Franc) Swarcz**, father Ludvik ¹³⁴ (Ro. Csurgó, 1904) a resident of Temesvár, a worker; **Herman Weinberger**, father Jakab ¹³⁵ (Pozsony/Bratislava, 1911) a resident of Prague, a tailor (CZKP member in 1936-1937); **Tibor Rott**, father Leopold ¹³⁶ (Brasov, 1915) a resident of Budapest, a worker; and **Ignác Blum**, father Manuil ¹³⁷ (Prešov/Eperjes, 1900) a resident of Budapest, a worker. The defendants of Jewish origin listed above served their sentences in correctional labour camps.

Excerpts from the suffering-stories of survivors of the Soviet reprisals

Oleksandr Dovhánics and Jurij Csóri GULAG researchers from Ungvár have collected and published in book form several documents, reports, reminiscences, interviews and portraits in Ukrainian about the tragic fate of those who fled illegally to the Soviet Union.¹³⁸

This collection contains the harrowing memoirs of **Zoltán/Iszakhár Stern**, father **Moses**¹³⁹ (Szolyva district, Paszika/Kishidvég, 1919), a lawyer from Ungvár, who went through the hell

¹³² On 5 June 1941, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced **Pál Kulikov** to 5 years in prison, his fate is unknown, and he was rehabilitated in 1964. See RIZO I./ p. 423.

¹³³ **Katalin Svuger** was sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, her fate is unknown, she was rehabilitated in 1964. See RIZO I./749. p.

¹³⁴ **Ferenc (Franc) Swarcz** was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1964. See: RIZO I./748. p.

¹³⁵ **Herman Weinberger** was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1964. See: RIZO I./221. p.

¹³⁶ **Tibor Rott** was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1964. See: RIZO I./610. p.

¹³⁷ **Ignác Blum** was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, his further fate is unknown, he was rehabilitated in 1964. See: RIZO I./195. p.

¹³⁸ Кризь пекло ГУЛАГів: Документи, спогади, нариси (In the hell of the GULAG: Documents, memories, portraits). - Ужгород, 1996. - С. 13-18.

¹³⁹ **Zoltán Stern** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, and was released from the labour camp in 1947. He was rehabilitated in 1962. See RIZO I./ p. 767.

of the GULAG prison camps¹⁴⁰. In August 1940, at the age of twenty-one, as a student at the Commercial Academy, he decided to leave his mother, father and family of nine behind. In another interview with him, he explained his hard decision as follows: *“After the Hungarians had taken the whole Transcarpathia,¹⁴¹ they introduced Jewish laws¹⁴² and began to persecute Jews in different ways. Although we had news of how people lived in the Soviet Union after the 1917 revolution, unfortunately we only had access to official propaganda – newspapers and radio broadcasts. I thought the Soviet Union to be a country of equal opportunities for all nationalities, a country of universal freedom and justice.”*¹⁴³

In his more detailed recollection in Ukrainian, he mentions, inter alia, his friend **Mitro Zozulja**¹⁴⁴, with whom they organised a group in Solyva, and then on Friday, the 19th of August, 1940, went as a group to the borderline of Solyva-Golubine-Polyana-Guta. Their first attempt failed, because Hungarian gendarmes near Poljana were patrolling at the border at night. They called off the operation, returned home and told their parents of their intentions. He was convinced that he and his companions would get to the Soviet Union and return home in three or four months as the soldiers of the liberating Red Army. Their second attempt was successful, and with the help of a local guide in Huta, 54 persons (boys, girls, entire families) crossed the border in the forest and reached the village of Gusne on the Soviet side. The following is a quote of his words: *“The Soviet border guards found (and arrested) us very quickly. We were delighted when we saw them, but our joy was gone after their first words: ‘Watch out, line up, every step to the left or right is an escape, we will open fire on anyone fleeing.’ I will never forget these words. That was the beginning of my other life.”*

¹⁴⁰ ШТЕРН ЗОЛТАН. Оси таби и столася наша трагедия... Кризь пекло ГУЛАГів. Documents, memories, stories. Редакційна колегія: В.О. ПРХОДЬКО (ГОЛОВА), О.Д. ДОВГАНІЧ, О.В. ХЛАНТА, Ю.С. ЧОПІ. - Uzhgorod, 1996. -13-18. pp (A GULÁG pok-lában: Dokumentumok, visszaemlékezések, portrék). – Uzsgorod, 1996. – 13-18. pp.

¹⁴¹ See the Occupation of Transcarpathia.

¹⁴² See: Jewish Laws in Hungary.

¹⁴³ STERN ZOLTÁN. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/stern-zoltan-1> (2015-01-16.)

¹⁴⁴ We have no other information on **Mitro Zozulja**.

Ernő/Cvi Wieder, father Gyula¹⁴⁵ (Munkács, 1922)¹⁴⁶ was sentenced to imprisonment for six years – he did not think of such an outcome either when he planned his illegal escape to the Soviet Union: *“Socially we were all leftist minded a bit, but at the same time we were a little Zionist, too. I knew my parents wouldn’t let me go because they loved me dearly, I was their pet. My brother Miklós went to the Czechs, my parents knew that. But what should I do here? So, I ran away from home, without my parents knowing it. In September 1940, I crossed the border and escaped to the Soviet Union. Well, it’s a long story... At first, I lived not far from Huszt.*¹⁴⁷ *My aunt, a sister of my mother lived there, and I was a guest.*¹⁴⁸ *I met a Jewish boy in Visk, who was called Patyipa. We agreed to go over to Russia! Two more boys from Huszt also came with us. Adventure, youth! But indeed, there was nothing to do in Hungary for us at that time! (...)*

*So, we four crossed the border: the two boys from Huszt, Patyipa and me. The border was there at Körösmező, because then, after the occupation of Poland, the Russians had already a border in Subcarpathia. I was immediately arrested at the border. After that I was taken from one prison to another. First, we were in Nadvorna for a few days, it is there on the border, next to Körösmező, but on the other side. After that I was taken to Ivanofrankov,*¹⁴⁹ *known as Stanislav*¹⁵⁰ *at that time. In Stanislav, there were hundreds of us sitting in a basement with a cement floor. There were almost a hundred of us, ninety, ninety-five, all the time. No bed, no bunk, just the cement floor. Those who had crossed the border were*

¹⁴⁵ **Ernő Wieder** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was released from the labor camp in 1947. It was rehabilitated in 1969. See: RIZO I./233. p.

¹⁴⁶ **Ernő Wieder was interviewed by JAGODICS EDIT in October 2004. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Jewish life stories in the twentieth century.** <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/wieder-erno> (2015-01-16.)

¹⁴⁷ Not far from Huszt is Visk which is a large village in Máramaros County, with a population of 4100 Hungarians and Ruthenians in 1891, and 4800 Hungarians, Ruthenians and Germans in 1910. After the Treaty of Trianon Czechoslovakia got it. (Note of the editor).

¹⁴⁸ This sister was not mentioned in the interview before: So, it seems that his mother had not two, but at least three sisters. (Note of the editor).

¹⁴⁹ See: Ivano-Frankivszk.

¹⁵⁰ Today: Ivano-Frankivsk is the seat of the area (oblast) of the same name (former German or Polish name: Stanislau /Stanisławów), the city is in the vicinity of Kamenets-Podolsk. See: Kamenets-Podolsk carnage. (Note of the editor).

there. They were many... thousands and thousands. Mainly Poles and Transcarpathians..."

Ernő Wieder's "adventures" convincingly prove that he was not talking about individuals escaping, but about group illegal migration, measured in masses, about which special literature and Hungarian history studies have been silent until now.

"From prison to camp..."

The political prisoners were rehabilitated, and the process of reviewing their cases proved that the NKVD's administration of justice was completely subordinated to the interests of communist dictatorship. At the suggestion of the NKVD investigators, the imposed verdicts came into existence before the illegal and formal proceedings had even begun.

*"In the summer of 1942, I and other prisoners were summoned to the director of the mine, and it was announced that we were sentenced to three years in prison for illegally crossing the state border. It was only then that the site director received our documents, even though we were already in our third year of custody. This was considered a fairly mild sentence based on the eightieth paragraph of the Soviet Union's penal code. If the person was accused of espionage, the sentence was five years in prison. And if someone had relatives abroad, then this resulted in a prison sentence of up to eight years. But I was among those who were told, "three years for crossing the border illegally," and that's it. How this was established unheard, without trial or investigation, no one knows."*¹⁵¹

This is how the asylum seekers became defendants, who were declared spies against the Soviet Union and border crossers. They languished in inhumane conditions in the NKVD prisons of Skole, Nadvirna, Striy, Sambor, Stanislav, Drohobich and other settlements until the verdict was handed down. This is how **Miklós Gerics**,

¹⁵¹ STERN ZOLTÁN. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/stern-zoltan-1> (2015-01-16.)

his father Gábor¹⁵² (Técső district, Hanics, 1909), who, when fleeing from Hanics, Técső district, with two other villagers (**Izik Herskovics, father Ábrahám**¹⁵³ (Hanics, 1909), a blacksmith, a member of the CZKP from 1935, and **M.J. Korszak**¹⁵⁴) were caught by the Soviets on May 20, 1940, remembers what happened: *“I met a lot of people in Stanislaus: women, children, and also old and young soldiers, who had deserted from the Hungarian army. We were all lined up and ordered to face the wall, a military patrol with dogs had to guard us. There was a forester, too, I can’t recollect his name and what village he was from, but he was there with his wife and six children. When they began to separate the mother, father, and children from each-other, he began to yell in exasperation. I ended up in prison, in cell 31, where I served three months. Every night I was called in for questioning. After three months people were transported to Belarus, Gomel, Orsha, and from there to Minsk. Every prison was packed. People died of hunger. Those who were still alive were transferred to the prison in Rovno. There, an officer called us one by one into the office, put a report in front of us and told us to sign it: three years in a labour camp for illegally crossing the border. That was the beginning. We were transported in cold wagons. We were hungry, we had no water. Our guard gave us sometimes a bucket, but no cup, and everyone could have a sip but no more. We were taken to the Komi ASR. They put us in cars and from the station we travelled two days. Then we continued on foot. Tormented by hunger and cold, many died during the march. They took me to a forest where there were no buildings. Our guards put a sign on the trees, marking the zone beyond which we were forbidden to go. We were provided with saws and axes to build barracks from the felled trees. When we finished, another order came. Let’s go deeper into the forest, because horses would be placed in the barracks. And so, we continued to build until spring. Those who did not meet the specified*

¹⁵² **Gerics** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, and was released from the labor camp in 1947. He was rehabilitated in 1970. See: RIZO I./261. p.

¹⁵³ **Herskovics** was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991. See: RIZO I./263. p.

¹⁵⁴ We have no data on **Korszak**.

standard did not receive their daily ration (40 deka of frozen black bread, 1 litre of balanda).’’¹⁵⁵

László Lolin, father György¹⁵⁶ (Loza, Ökörmező district, 1923), a skilled worker, due to the advance of the German troops was dragged to the Salkin steppes together with the prisoners evacuated from Novorrechinsk. From there they reached the forested area of Siberia via the Volga-river, and then in the “*green camp*” they were told that the “*troyka*”, in less than five minutes, had reached their verdict: they were sentenced to fell trees for 3 years in a forced labour camp for crossing the border. Those who met the standard were given two portions of bread (one portion 400 grams or 40 deka), fish and balanda. Political prisoners were deprived of part of their rations by the all-powerful common criminals. The number of prisoners decreased by five or six heads per day, and the prisoners who collapsed from hunger and lost 30-40 kg of weight were either frozen to death or killed by the guards.

Ruthenian and Jewish girls from Transcarpathia, sentenced to three years in prison for border infringement, were transported from Western Ukraine to a women’s camp in Kemerovo (the place to which the female relatives of the “*enemies of the people*” were deported), where they worked 12 hours a day in a sewing factory. Only after the war, in the late 1940s, were some permitted to return home, while others were sent to settlements in the Tumen area, where they lived in exile for years¹⁵⁷.

The “inquisitorial communist justice” camps

In the “*Soviet Patriotic War*”, the “*inquisitorial communist justice system*” continued, running at full speed in the hinterland. It was the investigative staffs of the NKVD departments of the Dnieper, Kamyanets-Podilsk, Kirovogradsk, Mikolayivsk, Odessa, Ternopol,

¹⁵⁵ Presented by DOVHANICS, OMELJAN. Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism. International conference. Beregszász, November 16, 1989 - Memorial book about the victims of Stalinism. Published by GYÖRGY DUPKA. Ungvár-Budapest, Patent-Intermix, 1993. p. 223.

¹⁵⁶ **Lolin** was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, but was rehabilitated in 1972. See RIZO I./ p. 456.

¹⁵⁷ See RIZO L/p. 54.

Kharkiv, Chernyigiv and other regions that dealt with the cases of border crossers deported to the interior of Ukraine and Russian territories. It was the same staffs, too, drafting the indictments. The investigations were finished at the end of 1942. The last verdict was returned on the 12th of February, 1943, after the amnesty had been declared on 19 November 1942.¹⁵⁸

These sentences were handed down by the Special Council of the NKVD of the USSR, which sentenced people, mostly under Article 80 of the Criminal Code of the USSR, to 3 years imprisonment in a correctional labour camp for the crime of illegal border infringement.

Convicts were taken to the GULAG camps (Vorkuta, Pechorsk, Norilsk, Karaganda, Magadan, etc.). The process of the deportation of detainees from the prisons to the camps can be well seen too in the case of two Jewish survivors from Transcarpathia. In an interview, **Ernő Wieder**, a Jewish inhabitant of Munkács, spoke of the following: *“We were taken from Stanislav to Voroshilovgrad region, now called Lugansk. That’s beyond Kharkov, which is now eastern Ukraine, on the Russian border. There they housed everyone in a large monastery, which consisted of several buildings. There were no longer hundreds of us, but a few thousand. I remember I was in Block Five, Monastery Five. It used to be a monastery, then the Soviets liquidated it and turned it into a prison. I was sent there in September 1940. Then from there we went to Starbelsk, in Voroshilovgrad region. It was, I think, in January 1941. They took us there in wagons and we were there until April. There, in Starobelsk, they judged everyone. They called out ten people at a time by name and told them how much each person had received for crossing the border. I got three years, others five or ten. Anyone who said he was a communist got more, and I, as a child, did not become a party member, so I only got three years. I was eighteen years old at the time, so I was no longer that child. They said that communists got more because they should have stayed at home and fought the fascists instead of running to the Soviet Union!”*

¹⁵⁸ See the paper compiled by See O.M. KORSUN, O.M. PAGIRYA, ZVSZ, p. 19.

In April, in Starobelsk we were put into wagons, about twenty or 25 wagons connected with each other, and were taken to the North. Where, we didn't know! The cars were for cattle, not for people. There were bunks on both sides, the middle was empty. We travelled more than two weeks. They didn't give us much to eat on the way. Every day they gave us something like a soup. It was herring soup and salty. They didn't give us anything to drink, there was no water. We suffered more from lack of water than from hunger. We arrived there in April. We did not know where we were yet, all we could see was that it was night and snowing, and it was very cold.”¹⁵⁹

Similar to Ernő Wieder, other survivors present authoritative and detailed accounts of the route, length, and duration of their deportation by railway in locked trains from prisons in western Ukraine to the stormy climate of remote Siberia. We learn from them how cold it was, how hungry they were and how much they wanted to drink at the forced overnight stays and assembly points. They all tell us how and what they ate on these routes, how the death trains to the GULAG camps were guarded, what the death marches between the camps were like, how some of them attempted to run away in the hope of quick death or freedom, what brutal reprisals were taken against the captured escapees. They all agreed that the number of prisoners was severely depleted by starvation, frost-death and various epidemic diseases well before reaching their destination camps. **Zoltán Stern**, a Jew from Ungvár, gave a very harrowing account of these events in his memoirs written in Ukrainian and Hungarian:

“We were deported to a camp in Skolye in Lvov district. There were about one thousand five hundred or two thousand people there. Nobody was charged with anything, so we didn't understand at all why we were arrested, no explanation was given. Three months later we were transferred from Skolye to Striy, to a prison. In the winter of 1941, we were transported by freight trains with guards to Starobelsk in the Poltava district. We stayed there for a few months. We didn't have to work, so we just sat on the bunks in the barracks and walked around the camp. On the eleventh of June 1941, we were

¹⁵⁹ WIEDER ERNŐ. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/wieder-erno> (2015-01-16.)

*put into freight trains. The route was Starobelsk to Vladivostok, then to Nahodka Bay near Vladivostok. From there, we were taken on the steamer Dzhurma to Nagayevo Bay in Kolima [see Gulag], also with lots of guards. From Nagayevo Bay we had to walk on foot, again with guards, to a prisoner transfer station in Magadan. There, people were distributed to all the different Gulag camps. From there, about four hundred prisoners, including me, were taken in guarded trucks to Molyak, a large, half-finished camp. A few days later, I was transported from there to the Obyedinenniy mine in a convoy of trucks. This was already full of people in 1941/42. There were several barracks at the mine but they were not finished yet, they didn't even have roofs, just two or three-storey bunks and stoves heated with petrol. There were more than a hundred people in each barrack, and a petrol stove at each end of the barrack. We lined up to warm ourselves at the stoves. It was very cold, so we slept with our clothes on. At night, each prisoner went to the stove two or three times to warm himself. It was here, in the Obyedinenniy mine, that most of the prisoners died of hunger and cold..."*¹⁶⁰

Territorial disposition of the prisoners and the work they had to do

The Transcarpathian prisoners were kept mainly in correctional labour camps in Inner Russia and Siberia¹⁶¹, in towns and cities like Perm, Vorkuta, Salehard, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, Ufa, Norilsk, Omsk, Karaganda, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Taishet, Irkutsk, Svobodniy, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Yakutsk, Magadan and others. GULAG researchers agree that the camps in Mordovia, Kolyma, Vorkuta and Kazakhstan were among the most notorious ones. There were in the GULAG 19,758 (1.50%) Jews as of 1 January 1939 and 25,425 as of 1 January 1951 (source:

¹⁶⁰ STERN ZOLTÁN. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/stern-zoltan-1> (2015-01-16.).

¹⁶¹ DOVHANICS, O. (1997): *Akik átszöktek a Szovjetunióba. Sorsuk további alakulása.* In: *Ukrajna emlékönyve*, i. m. pp. 38-39.

<http://feldgran.info/forum/index.php?topic=603.0>). The camp system for political prisoners in Mordovia was the most crowded.¹⁶² Potma and Dubrovlag, the centres of the camp complex in the south-western part of the Autonomous Republic of Mordovia, attracted the attention even of French researchers. The motto of a joint monograph compiled by the two Parisian researcher historians, Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot¹⁶³, is most brisk in case of the Soviet camp system: *“Camps were invented to exterminate people”*.

We know from survivors that if anyone who, after having arrived in the camp and working without pay with just the everyday norm to eat, *“gave way and was not sustained by belief or love of someone, or by a sense of duty, inevitably perished.”* Zoltán Stern was one of those who *“did not give way,”* working under indescribably harsh conditions for just enough to eat in order not to starve. *“From 1943 to 1947 I worked in the Burkhala mine. The work was the same as in Molyak. Of course, we were paid nothing for the work, and the food was terrible; we lived without medical care in terrible conditions in huge, barely heated barracks with one hundred or two hundred prisoners. It was terribly cold. The summer lasts only a few weeks there, the snow barely melts, the ground warms up a little, and then the frost comes again, with temperatures plummeting to minus 40 degrees.”*

In the Komi ASSR, in the so-called green camps, **Mihály Gerics** and his comrades also felled trees: *“Three thousand people worked in three shifts day and night. From one morning till the next, five or six people died. The dead were just left on the snow beyond the zone. Because of the hard work and exhaustion, they remained forever in the soil of Pechora and other camps.”*¹⁶⁴

Ernő Wieder and his fellow prisoners built a railway line from Pechora to Vorkuta, that was four hundred and fifty kms long. They

¹⁶² In the Mordovian Yavas (Camp 7) the lives of many young people from Transcarpathia were made very hard and bitter by imprisonment.

¹⁶³ KOTEK, JOËL - RIGOULOT, PIERRE: *A táborok évszázada*. Nagyvilág Könyvkiadó, 2005. See also: http://frankaegom.ofm.hu/irattar/irasok_gondolatok/konyvismertetesek/konyvek_11/taborok_evszazada/a_taborok_evszazada.htm (2015-01-16.)

¹⁶⁴ Presentation by DOVHANICS, OMELJAN. The Transcarpathian victims of Stalinism. International conference. Beregszász, 16 November 1989 - Memorial book on the victims of Stalinism. GYÖRGY DUPKA. Ungvár-Budapest, Patent-Intermix, 1993, pp. 222-223.

were brought to the tundra, where there were the trees, and were told: *“Here you are, a shovel, here you are, an axe and a saw, now build a house for yourselves where you will live! We worked hard like hell, for railway building is not an easy task. We lived in huts that we built ourselves. We put moss between the logs to keep them together. By the way, when we had nothing to smoke, we pulled the moss out, wrapped it in newspaper and smoked it. It wasn’t good to be there at all, and many people died due to hard work and poor food. But those who died in winter were not even buried, because the ground was all frozen over at least one and a half to two metres down, one couldn’t bury anybody there! So, as we built the railway line, the corpses were placed there in a line, then the sleepers and the rails were put on them, and we went further. The dead were left unburied.”*¹⁶⁵

Ernö Wieder recalls that there were all kinds of people in those labour camps. Among them were criminals, politicians, generals, chief officers, murderers, robbers, thieves, famous Kremlin doctors who had been sentenced in Russia in show-trials. *“There were people who spoke Hungarian and Yiddish with me, they were from Transcarpathia. They who invaded the border with me were separated from me. Four of us did this in 1940, but we were sent to different places. But there were still many others. There was Sanyi Weisz,¹⁶⁶ who still lives in Budapest; we were together and he was two years older than me, he was born in 1920. And from Ungvár, too, I had friends like Sanyi Friedmann¹⁶⁷ and others.”*

In his memoirs, Ernő Wieder gives the name of **Friedmann** from Ungvár as **Sándor**, who was in fact the master tailor **Samuel Friedmann**. In September 1940, in order to avoid labour service, he and his fellow tailor **Zsigmond Grosszman** went to Kőrösmező

¹⁶⁵ WIEDER ERNŐ. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/wieder-erno> (2015-01-16.)

¹⁶⁶ We have no data on **Sándor Weiss**.

¹⁶⁷ **Sándor Friedmann** (Radvác, 1913), a resident of Jaszinya, was arrested on September 30, 1940, together with Zsigmond Grossman (Jaszinya/Kőrösmező, 1917), who were registered in the 29997. according to the file, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced him to 3 years in October 1940 on the charge of border violation. The copy of the case file was made available to me by Béla Huber, the president of the KMZSE, because the convicted master tailor Friedmann was his father-in-law.

and successfully crossed the Hungarian-Soviet green border in that area. On the other side they were captured by the Soviets. After gruelling interrogations, they too were sentenced to a three-year-imprisonment. He refuted the Ukrainian researchers' claims that those who served the three years were released, and allowed to enlist in the First Czechoslovak Army Corps or work in exile, unsupervised, in settlements designated by the NKVD. In his and in his fellow Jews' case the opposite was true. They were released after seven years of slave labour instead of the three imposed by the court. During his imprisonment he was in several forced labour camps and prisons of the GULAG in Siberia. He spent the last two or three years of his imprisonment in the northern tip of Kamchatka in the Far East. He owed his miraculous survival primarily to his trade as a tailor, to his artful professional ingenuity, and his sturdy constitution. He was ordered by his captors to sew their uniforms. For this he received special treatment, extra food and better living conditions. But he also said that he was a helpless witness of the death of his fellow prisoners, including thousands of Transcarpathian Jews who died of frostbite and starvation. (Many of them tried to escape to Alaska in reindeer sledges to get to the USA, but their fate is unknown).

Amnesty for refugees from Hungary

The decision to create the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps according to the military-political agreement¹⁶⁸ between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak government in exile was taken on the 27th of September, 1941. Later on, there was an exchange of telegrams between the two sides, mediated by the Soviet Embassy in London, between General Heliodor Pika, Czechoslovak Minister of State,

¹⁶⁸ The signatories of the agreement are Pika, plenipotentiary of the Military High Command of Czechoslovakia, Major General Vasilevsky, representative of the Military High Command of the SZSSKSZ: See No. 7 case file (ZVSZ/35-36). Original source: Советско-чехословацкие отношения во время Великой Отечественной войны 1941-1945 гг. Документы и материалы. – Москва: Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1960. – С. 14. A továbbiakban: Советско-чехословацкие отношения....

and Moscow, concerning the arms, uniforms, the supply¹⁶⁹ etc. of the Czechoslovak units. In a telegram¹⁷⁰ sent on the 13th of November, 1941, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs informed A. E. Bogomolov, the Soviet Ambassador in London, that the Soviet leadership supported the establishment and full provisioning of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps. An informative meeting on this matter took place between the Soviet Ambassador and President Benes on the 16th of November.

The two parties agreed that volunteers could be:

- a) soldiers of the former Czechoslovak army, who were commanded to Suzdal after the occupation of the country;
- b) Soviet citizens of Czech or Slovak nationality;
- c) Transcarpathian Rusyns as Czechoslovak citizens who were sent to Soviet labour camps after illegally crossing the border.

The last point proved to be the most difficult. But this issue was also resolved. By decree of 19 November 1942, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union granted amnesty to *"the Carpatho-Russians, Ukrainians and Slovaks who were refugees from Hungary and who had Czechoslovak citizenship until the break-up of Czechoslovakia."*¹⁷¹ The Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs informed the Czechoslovak ambassador that the issue of the conscription of the Carpatho-Russians had been resolved and that only the technical implementation of the issue was causing some delay in the recruitment of volunteers to the Czechoslovak military corps. Unfortunately, by this time many of the Transcarpathian invaders had died and the rest were weakened.

¹⁶⁹ See the telegram of Bogomolov, the Soviet ambassador in London, file number 291 (ZVSZ/468-469). Original source: Советско-чехословацкие отношения..., 22. p.

¹⁷⁰ See: the telegram sent by the Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the ambassador in London, file number 292 (ZVSZ/469). Original source: Советско-чехословацкие отношения..., 23. p.

¹⁷¹ See the amnesty issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by decree of 19 November 1942, file no. 9 (ZVSZ/38). Original source: RGASZPI, f. 17. - op. 162. - szpr. 37. - ark. 66. Podlennik. Машинопис. See also: Любянка: Сталин и НКВД-НКГБ-ГУКР „Смерш”. 1939 – март 1946. Составители: В.Н. Хаустов, В.П. Наумов, Н.С. Плотникова – М., 2006 Составители: В.Н. Хаустов, В.П. Наумов, Н.С. Плотникова – М., 2006. – pp. 354-355.

An example of a document that recalls human tragedies is the letter¹⁷² addressed by the Ruthenians and inhabitants of other nationalities of the Podkarpatski-Rus to the representative of the Czechoslovak embassy asking for their release from the camp and enlistment in the Czechoslovak army corps. They describe, among other things, that in the NKVD camp in Soroksk¹⁷³ out of the 350 Transcarpathian prisoners, who were eligible for amnesty, only half did survive, while the rest died of starvation and frostbite or were victims of various epidemic diseases. However, thanks to the efforts of Czechoslovak diplomacy, prisoners of Moravian and Slovakian origin could leave the camps. On behalf of the Jews suffering there, **Arnold Herskovics**,¹⁷⁴ a reserve second lieutenant, also signed the letter. However, we know nothing even now of the main organizer of the letter and the person who delivered it to the addressee, **Ivanyas Mitrofan**, his father Georgij (Huszt district, Koselovo, 1921), and the others (**Rudolf Blaton**, **Irzsi Bruszos**, **Irzsi Ruszenska**, **Stefan Fil**, **Mikulas Fulitka**, **Mikulas Tuh**, **Michael Baljé**) who were also sentenced to five or more years for anti-Soviet agitation. They all vanished into thin air, though in a letter dated 6 March 1942, the major of the Czechoslovak military mission, too, asked the Czech Communist leader Klement Gottwald, who was in exile in Moscow, to speak up for the prisoners from Transcarpathia and set them free.¹⁷⁵

Referring to certain NKVD sources, some Ukrainian historians claim falsely in view of the amnesty that everybody connected with Transcarpathia was released from the labour camps and directed to Buzuluk “*to join voluntarily the Czechoslovak army.*” NKVD officers involved in the organisation of the Czechoslovak army were prejudiced against non-Slavs. There were two committees, a reception committee and a recruitment committee. All arrivals

¹⁷² See letter from the prisoners of the camp in Soroksk, file no. 294 (ZVSZ/470-472). Original source: (Personal archive of GULAG researcher Omeljan Dovhanich.) Zakarpatski vtiakat-shi... 1939-1941 rr... pp. 264-265.

¹⁷³ See Soroklag, Arkhangelsk region.

¹⁷⁴ See Arnold Herskovics, father Izsák (Beregszentmiklós, 1913) Jewish teacher. 27 June 1942, sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment by the Special Council of the NKVD. His fate is unknown. He was rehabilitated in 1989.

¹⁷⁵ See case file No 295. (ZVSZ/472). Original source: Мамай Василь: Грань трагічної війни. In: Закарпатська правда. – 2002. – 1 травня.

from the camps appeared before the reception committee. It selected and sent to the recruiting committee those who were healthy and politically reliable. The recruitment committee encountered some difficulties, as many volunteers had no documents and not all of them spoke Czech or Slovak.

On the first day of the committees' work, out of about 1,000 applicants, 214 were examined. Among them few were from Transcarpathia. They arrived *en masse* in December, 1942 and January, 1943. For example, on 2 February 1943 in a secret report¹⁷⁶ sent to Colonel Pika (head of the Czechoslovak Military Mission), Czechoslovak Chief of Staff Jakub Koutny gave a detailed account of the situation and negative phenomena concerning the recruitment of Transcarpathian people. He and his fellow officers had been entrusted with the task of recruiting former Czechoslovak citizens sent to the camps into the units to be set up in the Soviet Union.

From the 54 sub-camps belonging to the Kargopol camp centre, which were operating in the Arkhangelsk and Vologda areas, they managed to round up about 400 Czechoslovaks by December 1942 – and there would have been more, but the NKVD camp commanders listed and segregated the former Czechoslovak citizens by nationality. Hungarian citizens, Poles and Czechoslovakians, several of whom were classified as Soviet citizens, were grouped separately. It was also clear from his report that in the Kargapol camp system “*there are some three million interned persons of various nationalities.*” It gives a shocking picture and devastating details of the inhuman conditions and the ‘discriminatory’ treatment of prisoners. It also draws the attention of the Czechoslovak mission to the fact that “*there are still about a hundred Czechoslovak citizens in the Kargapol camp, mainly Jews*”¹⁷⁷ and persons sentenced to eight or more years in prison.”¹⁷⁸ He concludes his report quoted above by stating that

¹⁷⁶ See the Koutny-report, case file No 307 (ZVSZ/489-491). Original source: (Personal archive of GULAG researcher Omeljjan Dovhanich.) In: Закарпатська правда. - 1991 - 7 червень.

¹⁷⁷ We know from the survivors (*Zoltán Stern, Samuel Friedmann*) that they were Transcarpathian Jews.

¹⁷⁸ See the Koutny-report, case file No 307 (ZVSZ/489-491). Original source: (Personal archive of GULAG researcher Omeljjan Dovhanich.) In: Закарпатська правда. - 1991. - 7 червень

more Jews were there in prison than had been suggested. In the sub-camps belonging to the main camps in Vorkuta and Pechorsk, many Czechoslovak citizens were forced to labour, among them also Jews sentenced to eight years in prison, whose extradition was refused by the camp commanders.

The Czechoslovak chief of staff, Jakub Koutny, also had a report on the Pechorlag archipelago, another vast area of the GULAG. Here, too, NKVD officers held back the Jews, and refused or hindered their mobilisation into the Czechoslovak army. For example, persons of Czechoslovak citizenship sentenced to three years were sentenced again to eight years for anti-Soviet agitation before their release. Between 30 December 1942 and 30 January 1943, 185 prisoners from the Kargopol camp, 34 from Severadvinsk, 42 from Ivdel-Zverdlorsk, 45 from Inta-Komi, 145 from Uhta-Izem Komi, 241 from Pechora-Abez and 185 from Vorkuta, in all 886 prisoners eligible for amnesty, were found and recruited into the Czechoslovak army corps. After travelling hundreds of kilometres between the various labour camps and Buzuluk, many of them were weakened and died en route (on foot, on prisoner transport trains), their bodies and documents were confiscated by the NKVD and not handed over to the Czechoslovak military mission.

The whole truth, however, was that the NKVD commanders of the GULAG camps and the Cheka officers delegated to the deportation committees made their decisions arbitrarily, on a person-by-person basis, because they gave no exoneration to Jews, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities of Czechoslovak citizenship, but only to those of Transcarpathian origin. **Zoltán Stern**, a survivor, experienced the discrimination against Jews first hand. From his memoirs (1995),¹⁷⁹ published in Ukrainian, we know that he was first among the 160-170 'Carpathian escapees' who had been granted amnesty and who worked in a Kolima gold mine and then in March 1943 were transported to Magadan, where the Czech Legion was being formed.

¹⁷⁹ See ZOLTÁN STERN's *Memories*, file no. 403 (ZVSZ/599-601). Original source: ШТЕРН ЗОЛТАН. Оси таби и столася наша трагедия... Кризь пекло ГУЛАГів. Documents, memories, stories. Редакційна колегія: В.О. ПРИХОДЬКО (ГОЛОВА), О.Д. ДОВГАНИЧ, О.В. ХЛАНТА, Ю.С. ЧОПІ. - Uzhgorod, 1996. Pp.13-18.

The NKVD officers told him, without giving any reason, that as he was a Jew, he could not be a soldier in the corps, and he was taken back to the Burhala mine, 600 km from Magadan. On 6 May 1944, however, he was told that he would be conscripted into Svoboda's corps; 20 days passed, but the Magadan state security officials again ignored his application. He was sent back to work in the mines, and from that day onwards he weekly petitioned the Soviet authorities claiming that he was kept in prison innocently and should be released.

Convicted Jews from the Hungarian part of Transylvania (they were classified as prisoners with Hungarian citizenship) did not receive amnesty either, because they did not have Czechoslovak citizenship granted before 1938. They continued to work in the camps under duress, and only those who were said to be Czech, Slovak or Ruthenian and spoke the language were released. Thus, many of the prisoners who spoke one of the Slavic languages, hiding their ethnicity (place of birth), stating that they belonged to one of the favoured Pan-Slav nations in an attempt to save their lives, escaped the death camps. They left as Czechs, Slovaks or Ruthenians/Ukrainians and could apply in Buzuluk as volunteers and go to the front as fighters. They consciously chose between two options, death or life. The front meant a possibility to survive. The psychological background of their decision is well explained by **Károly Lusztig**, the chronicler of the Subcarpathian Jews, as follows: *"The battlefield was not a 'life insurance' either, of course, but the exhausting work done on deforestation or in the mines, with rare exceptions, had only one end – the unmarked, common mass grave."*¹⁸⁰

The receiver and recruiting officers of the Czechoslovak army in the town of Buzuluk in the Siberian Orenburg region were more lenient towards the so-called "*vtikattshies*" (invaders), and, as a rule, did not question their nationality, so they tried to select as many suitable persons as possible from among the Transcarpathian prisoners. The bold, courageous and decisive action of these officers saved the lives of hundreds of people who were dismissed from the death camps at their urging. Then, under their direction, the

¹⁸⁰ See: LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. A kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1992. június. 11. sz. 10. p.

emaciated (to 30 - 40 kilos), exhausted and sick prisoners who were brought here from camps were trained, reconditioned and treated in barracks built for this special purpose.

Data on the nationality distribution of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union between 8 April and 30 October 1943 have also been found. From the 3 tables published, we quote the data on the Jews.¹⁸¹

1) As of 8 March 1943, of the 2,665 volunteers applying for the Czechoslovak Army in the Soviet camps. 149 were Jews.

2) In the July 1943 statement, of the 494 non-commissioned officers, 81 were Jews.

3) On October 30, 1943, before being deployed, the 1st Czechoslovak Brigade consisted of 3,348 trained soldiers, including 563 Czechs, 543 Slovaks, 2,210 Ruthenians-Ukrainians, 6 Russians, 5 Poles, 2 Latvians, 204 Jews, 2 Germans, and 13 Hungarians.

Jews released from the death camps in the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps

In the first volume of the *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület (Memory Book of Ukraine. Transcarpathian Region)*¹⁸², the compilers provide a wealth of information on the 1st Czechoslovak Army deployed to the front. For instance, the first train left Novohoperszk for the front on the 30th of September, 1943. At the Yakhnyivk station in Chernihiv region, the train No. 18605 was hit by enemy bombs. As a result, 57 soldiers, including 42 Transcarpathians, lost their lives. The fallen were buried in a common grave in the village of Svitanok in Nizhnivsk district.

¹⁸¹ See file no. 310 (ZVSZ/493). Original source: *Sljah do volí. Zbirnyk muzeju ukrajinskaj kulturi v Svidníku*. in: Szlovacke pedagogicsne vydavnictvo v Bratislavi, 1966. 193-194. pp.

¹⁸² See: *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület*. 1. (A szerkesztőbizottság tagjai: KERECANIN VASZIL (elnök), DOVHANICS OMELJAN, GVARGYIONOV BORISZ és mások), Ungvár, Kárpáti Kiadó, 1997. Pp. 50-62.

After 17 October 1943 the brigade was attached to the 38th Army of the I. Ukrainian Front. In November, it already took part in the battle for Kiev, in which 34 Transcarpathian soldiers were killed.

Later, in the offensive and defensive operations in the Kiev region, in Vasilkovo, Chernakhivka, Kodaki, 29 Carpathians lost their lives.

In operations in January 1943, 133 Transcarpathian soldiers fell in the area of Bila Tserkva and 62 in the areas of Cherkassy and Vinnytsa.

The 1st Czechoslovak Corps also contributed to the advance of the 4th Ukrainian Front when it took part in the operation around the Dukla Pass. Of the 17,000 men who went into battle, 7,200 were from Transcarpathia¹⁸³, of whom 800 were killed in the mountainous operation going on from 9 September to 28 October 1944. According to historians, the price paid in the battle for the Dukla Pass was even higher, as thousands of untrained Carpathians, unfit for military operations in a mountainous area, fell there, too. Hundreds of men were sacrificed as cannon fodder, not on the basis of technical and martial principles, but on the basis of flawed ideological and political considerations. A high price was paid for the capture of the town Liptovsky Mikulas (Liptószentmiklós), where 1346 men lost their lives. The 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps' fighting tour ended in Moravia.

More than 7,000 Transcarpathian soldiers risked their lives on the battlefield in the hope that Transcarpathia would remain part of a liberated Czechoslovakia. They were wrong. An interesting NKVD report¹⁸⁴ came to light about the first messengers, volunteers of the Czechoslovak army who went home for furlough in Transcarpathia. They told their relatives (Sub-Lieutenant **Kvasznyuk** in Kvaszi, **Vasil Jurcsuk** in Rahó) that those who had fled from Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union, including Communists, were put in camps, and many of them died. Lieutenant Colonel Bossiy, Chief of the NKVD detachments in charge of controlling the hinterland of the

¹⁸³ MOSZKALENKO, K. SZ.: *A délnyugati irányban*. Kijev., 1984, pp. 456-457.

¹⁸⁴ See the report of Lieutenant Colonel Bossiy, Chief of the NKVD divisions in charge of controlling the hinterland of the 4th Ukrainian Front, and Lieutenant Colonel Levitin, Deputy Chief of Staff, file 323 (ZVSZ/502-503). Original source: RGVA -F. 32885. - Op. 1 - D. No. 68. copy 287. Masinapis.

4th Ukrainian Front, and Lieutenant Colonel Levitin, Deputy Chief of Staff, conclude their report by saying that those spreading such fake news should be monitored and filtered out of the army ranks.

Of the 204 Jewish volunteers who fought in the Red Army and in the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, formed in the Soviet Union, 110 died in defensive and offensive operations in various areas; others vanished into thin air¹⁸⁵.

The fate of the “amnestied” not fit for service

According to the above-mentioned research, there were about 8,000 convicted Transcarpathian refugees in the Soviet Union. But the latest research estimates the number of the Transcarpathian GULAG camp inhabitants at 10-12 thousand. Of these 7,200 were conscripted into the Czechoslovak Army Corps in Buzuluk in the Orenburg Oblast, Yefremov in the Tula Oblast, Novohopersk in the Voronezh Oblast, Kamyanets-Podolsk in the Khmel'nitski Oblast, Stanislav/Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi.

Reception and recruitment committees set up in Buzuluk, Yefremov and Novohopersk directed hundreds of people, mostly girls and women, unfit for military service to Kazakhstan to work. The Jambul State Beet Farm was designated for them as a work-place. In May 1943, 27 women of various nationalities and of former Hungarian and Czechoslovak citizenship from Transcarpathia, and namely (the first name is the surname here): **Magyar A. I., Mlavec M., Hmily Anna, Lucsin G., Krivánics Mária, Magyar Anna, Káli Mária, Rákóci Zsófia, Forzan Mária, Tarpai Márta, Gusevszka Mária, Molnyinec Éva, Placsinda P., Magyar Agafija, Ternavcsuk Mária, Varga Agafija, Ruscsák I., Rusznák Mária, Rákóci Kalina, Scsur Anna, Babichin Jusztina, Markovics Éva, Babichin Mária, Gáll Anna, Krizina Gafa, Tyuh Anna, Ljavinec Anna**, who prepared for military service and worked there, with the assistance of the Czechoslovak

¹⁸⁵ Source: *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület 1. Kárpáti Kiadó, Ungvár, 1997.* p. 85.

Embassy, sent a joint letter¹⁸⁶ to the amnestied Transcarpathian fighters who had begun their service in the Czechoslovak army and provided their compatriots with clothes and footwear. It is interesting to note that with 99 signatures¹⁸⁷, the soldiers of Transcarpathian origin in the Czechoslovak army responded to the letter published in the July 1943 issue of the camp newspaper '*Nase vijszko*' (Our Army) with "*in the hope of seeing you again*" and vowed to fight for the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

Those under the surveillance of the NKVD shared the fate of the exiles, working in the local collective farms and industrial enterprises. The so-called "*amnestied prisoners*" were forbidden to leave their work and residence.

In the light of the applications examined, it can be said that the "*amnestied*" persons not in the correctional camps had a better chance to survive than those imprisoned in the labour camps, whose number was constantly decreased by death. There is also evidence to suggest that hundreds of Transcarpathian people were not released from the camps. We know of their detention from a letter of the Czechoslovak military mission in the Soviet Union sent to the Czechoslovak embassy in Moscow on 8 May 1942. The letter says, for example, that the management of the correctional labour camp of North Dvina refused to set free Czechoslovak citizens granted amnesty because, it says, the camp was short of workforce. The camp commander was right not to fulfil such requests because, as he explained, these people were not Czechoslovak citizens if they had crossed the border illegally, for in accordance with the Soviet law these were considered homeless.

Dozens of letters testify to similar detentions. It happened for example that in January 1943, camp commanders detained persons eligible for amnesty before they left Knyazh-Pogost in the Northern Railway Camp, and confiscated their documents. In a letter signed by groups of prisoners people asked the competent

¹⁸⁶ See file no 312 (ZVSZ/494-495). Original source: Nase vojsko v SSSR, roc... Dvojcislo 15 -15/26-27., Sljah do voli. Zbirnyik muzeju ukrajinskaj kulturi v Svidniiku. in: Szlovacke pedagogicsne vidavnictvo v Bratiszlavi, 1966 - p. 282.

¹⁸⁷ See file 313 (ZVSZ/495). Original source: Sljah do voli. Zbirnyik muzeju ukrajinskaj kulturi v Svidniiku. in: Slovacke pedagogicsne vidavnictvo v Bratiszlavi, 1966 - p. 282.

authorities to release them and send them to the Czechoslovak Corps, which in March 1943 went to the front against the Nazi occupants in Ukraine.

Coming home from Soviet confinement

Hundreds of Transcarpathian Jews were not allowed to join the Czechoslovak brigade. They remained captive. The survivors were permitted to return home well after the end of World War II, between 1946 and 1947. Those prisoners who were charged with carrying out anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda in the labour camp were released between 1949 and 1954 only.¹⁸⁸

More of them were kept in camps even after three years. For **Ernő Wieder/Cvi Wieder**, a Hungarian-speaking Jewish boy from Munkács, sentenced to three years of forced labour on charges of crossing the border, after he had completed his original term, it was prolonged without date on the grounds that Hungary and the Soviet Union were at war. He was released from camp after six years only. The forced labour camp was not far from Vorkuta, near the North Sea. A railway was built there. *“When the three years I was sentenced to came to an end in 1943, I was summoned by the camp commandant and told that because Hungary was at war with the Soviet Union, they would not let me out, and would adjourn my release without date. So, I was there six years instead of three. There I was not allowed to contact anybody at home. There was a total, one hundred percent blackout of information. We had not heard anything about the Holocaust, and we had heard very little about the war. Some news leaked out here and there, but we knew nothing exactly. We knew that war was going on, we were told by the officers who were there that the German fascists had attacked the Soviet Union. That much we knew, but nothing else.”*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ See the foreword of the compilers **Korsun and Pagirya** to the collection of case files, ZVSZ, p. 19.

¹⁸⁹ WIEDER ERNŐ. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/wieder-erno>

Neither **Ernő Wieder**, nor **Zoltán Stern**, nor any of their fellow Jews could benefit from the amnesty proclaimed on 19 November 1942 and could not join the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps. They were unlawfully detained and subjected to slave labour by the executioners.

Ernő Wieder was one of the few who managed to survive Stalin's inhuman camp. *"I was young, I somehow managed to survive and went home to Munkács. It was in December 1946. When I arrived, I knew nothing about anyone. I saw no one I had known before. I went to the house we had lived in to see if anyone would come out: my mother, my brothers. But I saw nobody. I stood there for an hour and a half, but nobody came out! One day I saw a man coming out of the house next door, he looked very much like Jani Kahán, my mother's nephew. But I didn't dare speak to him. I went after him. He went downtown, towards the centre. I followed him, just followed. When we got to the theatre, I shouted: Jani! He looked back at me. He recognized me. I recognized him. I stayed in his house for months. Our old house was occupied by the Soviets; someone else lived there.*

*Then I learned that my mother and father had died in Auschwitz. They were taken away and never came back. After the war I met a man called Grol who was with my Dad. He saw Dad being taken away to the left. Because they separated people to the right and to the left [see: segregation]. Dad was taken to the left, towards the crematorium. Groll was a witness of this. He didn't see Mum, but Mum was of an age when all the people of that age were taken to gas chambers. None of my brothers¹⁹⁰ were in Munkács either, and I could learn nothing of them (...)"*¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Ernő Wieder's brothers: **Menyhért Wieder**: Tel-Aviv (circa 1946 to late 1950s) (He hid in Budapest during the war, went to Prague after the war, then to Paris with **Andor Wieder** and **Kálmán Wieder**, and from there to Palestine circa 1946.) **Miklós Wieder**: in 1939, after Munkács was temporarily returned to Hungary, he escaped to Czechoslovakia, from where he went to Western Europe and joined the Czechoslovak Army Corps; Chester (United Kingdom) (1945-1955), **Andor Wieder**: Tel-Aviv. (He survived labour service /also in Ukraine/, after a five-day stay in Munkács after the war he went to Prague, then with **Menyhért** and **Kálmán** to Paris, and from there to Palestine around 1946, and from there to Brussels - where he married.), **Kálmán Wieder**: Tel-Aviv (from about 1946 to the late 1950s) (He survived the concentration camp, then went briefly to Prague, from there with Menyhért and Andor to Paris, and from there to Palestine.)

¹⁹¹ WIEDER ERNŐ. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, *Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században*. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/wieder-erno> (2015 január 16.)

Zoltán Stern served a tough 7 years in prison instead of three. He was released from the camp in 1948 and returned to Ungvár. *“On the 30th of January, 1947, I was summoned by the camp commander. He was sort of confused and said that he had had enough of me, because according to the papers my term was up, but I was still there in the camp. They sent me to the mine’s personnel department to get the papers. I didn’t know how to get there, but I was told that I would have to cross a mountain pass, turn to the left and right several times and the personnel department would be there, I could not miss it. It was an indescribable feeling – for the first time in many years I was alone, not guarded, free!”*¹⁹²

About the losses of the border crossers

The subject of the research so far was the interrogation records, indictments, and other notes discovered, from which the fate of the border crossers of different nationalities, including the Jews, can be clearly seen. Thanks to the rehabilitation, thousands of case files recovered from Moscow and other former Soviet archives were transferred to the archives of the region (Oblast) and the Ukrainian Security Service (ASS). Heaps of documents on illegal border crossers and refugees are already available in Ungvár, too, and some collections have already even published excerpts from them.

However, further bundles of documents lurking in the Moscow archives (Russian State Military Archives, RGVA), documenting thousands of innocent people fleeing Nazism and racial discrimination, still wait to be discovered and analysed. These people sought homes and jobs needed for survival; instead, they were accused of espionage by NKVD interrogators and indictment-writers, whose court-martial or *‘troika’* proceedings were routinely conducted on the basis of false accusations.

From these documents it becomes absolutely clear that the Stalinist leadership also had an indissoluble distrust of Jews of foreign origin.

¹⁹² STERN ZOLTÁN. In: Centropa in Hungari, c centropa, Zsidó élettörténetek a huszadik században. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/stern-zoltan-1> (2015-01-16.)

Anikó Prekup draws attention to this phenomenon. In her opinion, Jewish refugees “were accused of espionage, and collaboration with the international Jewish elite, in addition to Zionism. It would be difficult to estimate how many Jewish citizens fell victim to the purges of the Stalinist era, and how many *“were sent to the Gulag camps as a result of the policy professing the ‘gradual escalation of class struggle’.*”¹⁹³

The extremely inhuman life in the camps was also harsh for the Jews, Rusyns and other nationalities of Transcarpathia. Many of them could not bear the harsh northern winter and the poor conditions. According to the data analysed, 15-20% of the GULAG inmates died from starvation and frost-death, from epidemic diseases and overwork in the Russian lands of Siberia, and 25-30% in the north or in the land of permafrost. The exact number of those who died in the camps has not yet been established.

As regards the quantitative indicator of the number of the border-crossers and fugitives from Transcarpathia, the Ukrainian special literature has presented different figures so far: the number of illegal refugees to the Soviet Union is estimated at between 5,000 and 105,000. In the former case, the figure is justifiably low, while the latter is considered unacceptably high. The authors of the papers publishing these figures cannot defend their own claims in the absence of authentic archival documents.

One of the representatives of the Soviet-Ukrainian historiography in Ungvár, V.I. Ilko¹⁹⁴ emphasizes that *“mainly the 18-25-year-old communist-minded conscripts defected, and their motive was ideological rather than economic or social.”* On the other hand, in his article Ilko says nothing about the nationality of those “3,534 people” who fled to the Soviet Union in 1939-1940, or who “those many young men and women who were sentenced” were, and thus he simply hides the truth. Most of them were Rusyns/Ukrainians, Jews, but there were also Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Romanians and others. According to the NKVD interrogation reports, the representatives of the two large ethnic groups (Ukrainians/Rusyns and Jews)

¹⁹³ PREKUP ANIKÓ: A zsidóság... p. 279.

¹⁹⁴ *Towards happiness. Outline history of Transcarpathia, 1975. p. 138.*

were motivated mostly to cross the border illegally, with complex, inseparable motives, but most of them (boys and girls in high school) were influenced by communist propaganda that said they would have a better, absolutely unproblematic life over there. Some of them, of course, sought refuge in the Soviet Union from military mobilisation, others from Nazi persecution, and never thought they would end up in Soviet concentration camps. In the pre-study of the large monograph published in the second half of the Soviet era discussing the history of the cities and settlements of the Transcarpathian region¹⁹⁵ the authors claim exaggeratedly that before the start of WW II “almost 18,000 people crossed the border” in favour of “pro-Soviet propaganda,” and this was evaluated as a “general Transcarpathian phenomenon” on both the Hungarian and Soviet sides. However, they kept deep silence about the fact that there were hundreds of Jews belonging to no party, just wanting to save their lives.

In the opinion of the Ukrainian historian Oleksandr Dovhanics¹⁹⁶ from Ungvár, the number of Transcarpathian men and women who crossed the Soviet border illegally before and during World War II is still a matter of debate because different publications give different figures. In the Hungarian documents that he checked, this number is about two to three thousand. Before 1989, the Czechoslovak archival data speak about four thousand, the Soviet ones from five thousand to fifty thousand. In the 1962-1964 local inspection carried out by the Subcarpathian district and village councils we have 3,534 people. This is not an accurate figure either, because the list was compiled more than twenty years after the event.

During the past 25 years, the research of the historian Alexei Korsun, who was previously deputy director of the Transcarpathian regional committee of the State Security and a member of the regional rehabilitation committee, was simply invaluable in studying the problem. With his help, the Rehabilitation Committee was provided, *inter alia*, with the Hungarian gendarmerie's register of fugitives in Transcarpathia and many other archival documents. A thorough study and analysis of the Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and

¹⁹⁵ История городов и сел. Закарпатская область, 1982. P.59.

¹⁹⁶ DOVHANICS O. D.: See: RIZO I./pp.42-56.

former Soviet-Russian sources has so far led to the conclusion that the number of those who illegally resettled from Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union was 8,627. This study also made it possible to compile a register, with the assistance of Dovhanich and Korsun, of these political convicts and later rehabilitated persons. Of the 8,627 confirmed refugees, 7,887 were of Transcarpathian origin: 492 persons from Hungary, 129 from Czechoslovakia, then 119 from Romania, and 119 from Transylvania and Máramarossziget. Of all of them 329 were women, 4348 were unmarried and 228 were former soldiers of the Hungarian army.

It is worth examining the flood of refugees by year: there were 1,079 in 1939, 4,037 in 1940 and 537 in 1941; 2,951 people were released from the labour camps by amnesty, according to the records, and 882 died in the camps. For 1780 people, no case files have been found so far. They can be presumed to be dead or untraceable persons.

Based on the lists of fugitives compiled by the Hungarian authorities in 1941, between 1962 and 1964, 1886 names were identified by door-to-door searches in Transcarpathian settlements, but no criminal records of these refugees have been found so far.

According to the Dovhaniches, there are authentic files and other written evidence on 7,500 border crossers. The identification of family names, first names, and patronymics, which are confused in the interrogation records and written down by hearsay, is a serious puzzle. In many cases, the names of the settlements were written incorrectly and distorted. There are especially many misspellings in Hungarian and Jewish names, as well as in Hungarian geographical names.

The names of the officers who interrogated the Jewish fugitives and those of other nationality have also become known from the heaps of documents: Belyayev, Bezmaternikh, Davidov, Datsenko, Dubovik, Dushin, Yesipenko, Kosenko, Kucherenko, Leonov, Lyadsky, Sahajdachny, Sidorov, Fedulov and others.

Contradiction is found between the above study by Oleksandr Dovhanich and the recollections of **József Einczig**, a labour camp inmate, who was a Soviet prisoner, and later a Czech legionnaire. According to Einczig, *“at least 60 % of the Czechoslovak armed*

*forces organised in Russia were made up of surviving Jews.”*¹⁹⁷ According to another statement, “*including those who came with the Czechoslovak army, the total number of Jews from Transcarpathia during the Czech census of 1947 was about 10,000.*”¹⁹⁸ They went to the Czech Republic and settled there.

The task of the young historians is to gloss over the names of those Transcarpathian people who fled illegally to the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941 and became victims of the reprisals. We do not yet know the names of all of them, but we must continue the search as no one can be left out of the list. Everything must be done to give back to history the names that have been unjustly forgotten. Unfortunately, in Transcarpathia there are no memorial plaques or monuments to the fugitives of various nationalities. In 1991 an initiative was taken in Ökörmező to erect a memorial pillar for the border crossers on the Toronyai Pass, but this call has not been implemented to date.

Rehabilitation: crossing the border was found “not to be against the law”

During the years of 1965-1999 political prisoners were rehabilitated. The rehabilitation of thousands of people took place during the period of “*glasnost*” triggered by the decree¹⁹⁹ of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 16 January 1989 on the rehabilitation of victims of repression in the 1930s and 1940s and the early 1950s. It was followed by four other important rehabilitation documents in the Moscow and then the independent Ukrainian legislature between 1989 and 1994.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ *Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. p. 193.

¹⁹⁸ *Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. p. 193.

¹⁹⁹ See file no. 11 (ZVSZ/40-50). Original source: Vedomoszt'yi szjezda narodnih deputátov (SZND) VSZ SZSZSZR 1989, N-9, no. 202.

²⁰⁰ See No. 12, No. 13, No. 14, No. 15. case files (ZVSZ/40-50). Original sources: Vedomoszt'yi szjezda narodnih deputátov (SZND) VSZ SZSZSZR 1989. r., N-9. s. 202, Gazeta Izvestiya. – 1990. – N-227. – 15 sherbets. Vidomost'yi Verhovnoi Radi (BBR). – 1992. – N-32. – s. 263. Verhavnaj Radi of Vidomost'yi (BBR). – 1992. – N-32. – s. 450. Vidomost'yi Verhovnoj Radi (BBR). – 1994. – N-15. – p. 88

Already in the spring of 1989 a committee²⁰¹ with 19 members was formed in Ungvár to promote the rights and interests of those who fell victim to repression in the 1930s and early 1950s and had since been rehabilitated. The cases of political émigrés who had illegally left Subcarpathia, belonging then to Hungary, and fled to the Soviet Union in 1939-1941, were the main focus of the review. The Special Council of the NKVD sentenced them to 3-5 or 7 years in prison for illegally crossing the border. The certificate of rehabilitation was sent to the persons concerned, including their relatives. In October 1989 the newspapers *Zakarpatska Pravda* and *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* in Ungvár began to publish in series the names of the victims of the repression.

In 2004 the editorial board of the Memory Book of the Rehabilitated, coordinated by the Ukrainian historian Oleksandr Dovhanich²⁰² from Ungvár, demonstrated that between 1962 and 1993 the Soviet and then the Ukrainian judicial authorities re-examined the cases of 8,627 Transcarpathian political prisoners. They were convicted mostly for crossing the border. In case of each person the court annulling previous judgments repeatedly ruled that crossing the border was an act aimed at saving one's life and was found "*not to be against the law.*" The list of those who were rehabilitated included more than half a thousand Jews.

The first citizen to apply for political rehabilitation was **Zoltán Stern** from Ungvár, whose rehabilitation document was issued by the Lviv/Lwow/Lemberg Regional Court in 1962. In English translation it says: "CERTIFICATION. On the 27th of September, 1962 the Lvov Regional Court annulled the decision of the former Special Council of 7 June 1941 in the case of the convict **Zoltán Stern Mojszejevics** and his associates, and, finding their activities not to run counter the law rehabilitated M. Z. Stern. C. Rudik, President of the Lviv Regional Court."²⁰³

²⁰¹ The writer of the lines was also an active member of the rehabilitation committee between 1989-1994.

²⁰² DOVHANICH O. D.: See: RIZO I./pp.42-56.

²⁰³ **Zoltán Stern** escaped to the Soviet Union in 1940 from Subcarpathia, then part of Hungary. He was taken straight from the border to prison and then to the Gulag, where he spent 7 years.

To the event that was an important milestone in the life of a man dragged through the mire he added the following statement on his and his fellow prisoners' behalf: *"Thanks to the condemnation of Stalin's personality cult by the Twentieth Congress, I was rehabilitated in October 1962. The Lvov Regional Court investigated my case and found that I had been the victim of persecution of Jews in fascist Hungary and that crossing the Soviet border was not a crime."*²⁰⁴ Stalin's death on March 5, 1953 was not as big a blow to me as it was to most Soviet people. I looked at everything as a bit of an outsider and understood more than people who were born and grew up under Soviet rule. But people who were in the camps had few illusions. I was aware that Stalin had to know what was going on in the country, and without his blessing none of this would have happened. I realised this, and Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress further strengthened my conviction of the guilt of the Stalinist regime.

*As a matter of fact, there are many good ideas in the communist ideology. What Stalin and his successors did with these ideas is another matter. I experienced this in my own life. I could not imagine what was going on there until I saw it with my own eyes. Before my stay in Moljak [Kolima], one thousand five hundred or one thousand six hundred camp inhabitants were shot there. A lot of people died. And it was not the only camp where prisoners were executed in a single day. On the one hand, I associated this with Stalin's name, but on the other hand, I could not believe that the leader of a powerful country could be so cruel. After all, it was during the Second World War, people went into battle in Stalin's name, millions believed in him unconditionally. Of course, people knew certain things, but there was a lot they didn't know, and a lot they didn't want to."*²⁰⁵

For researchers of the period, the first volume of the 788-page documentary collection *Rehabilitovani Isztorieju. Zakarpatskaya*

²⁰⁴ Centropa. Interactive library of preserved memories. Rehabilitation certificate of **Zoltán Stern**. In: <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/stern-zoltan-rehabilitacios-igazolasa> (2015-01-16.)

²⁰⁵ See: Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга перша. – ВАР «Видавництво Закарпаття». Ужгород, 2003.р. 700.

oblasty, published in 2003 in Ungvár, is also a milestone.²⁰⁶ The publication can also be considered as a “*Transcarpathian GULAG Encyclopaedia*”, a gap-filling source work, since its database lists 8,200 political persons of various nationalities rehabilitated between 1956 and 1999, who were sentenced to prison from 3 to 25 years of hard labour under all kinds of false pretexts by the Soviet state security organs, military tribunals and other Soviet courts between 1938 and 1970. They also publish the names of those who were executed. The majority of them were transported to regions of the Soviet Union beyond the Urals, where they suffered innocently in forced labour camps, and did the work of a slave till exhaustion or death, many thousands of them. Those who were deprived of their personal freedom for political reasons, but managed to survive the inhuman oppression in the camps were allowed to return home only after Stalin’s death. Many of those who were severely punished later regained their individual freedom before the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The 800 pages of archival materials (NKVD documents, interrogation reports, etc.) published in 2004 in the second volume of *Rehabilitovani Isztorieju. Zakarpatskaya oblasti (Rehabilitovani Isztorieju. Zakarpatskaya oblasti, Volume 2)*²⁰⁷ show clearly that the Jews, in addition to the other nationalities (Rusyns, Ukrainians, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, etc.) fleeing from Nazi persecution, were arrested by the vigilant Soviet border guards after escaping to the Soviet Union. Survivors said that they were held in prolonged detention for months, epidemic diseases thinning their ranks significantly. Many died in the prison hospital before being sentenced. The NKVD investigating officers fabricated minutes and indictments of their individual interrogations, treating them as German and Hungarian agents, as undesirable migrants. The interrogating officers were unimpressed by the fact that they had fled

²⁰⁶ In the second volume, the compilers published archival documents, various contemporary articles, archival records and survivors’ recollections. See: Zakarpattya region. Book друга. - VAT “Vidavmitsvo Zakarpattya”. Uzhgorod, 2004 - 800 p.

²⁰⁷ In the second volume, the compilers published archival documents, various contemporary iarts, archival records and survivors’ reminiscences: Реабілітовани історією. Закарпатська область. Книга друга. – VAT «Видавниктво Закарпаття». Uzhgorod, 2004 – 800 p.

for their lives from the brown plague that swept through Europe to the land of the Bolsheviks proclaiming world freedom. They went there in the hope of living in safety, learning a trade and working.

False confessions were extracted from them using the interrogation methods of psychological terror. The vast majority of them were Hungarian-speaking Jews, who did not speak Russian or Ukrainian, and were interrogated with the help of interpreters. Many of them had no idea of the charges they were signing. Then, the professionally drafted indictments were submitted to the Special Council of the NKVD, and the all-powerful members of the martial law passed automatic sentences. The accused were unheard.

Of the 8200 victims recorded in the first volume of the Rehabilitated History documentary collection, I picked out the names and details of 614 persons of Jewish origin who escaped to the Soviet Union through the Carpathians between 1938 and 1941, then were sentenced between 1941 and 1943, suffered in various camps of the Gulag, were rehabilitated between 1956 and 1997, but whose fate remained unknown.

The personal data published by the Transcarpathian Rehabilitation Committee are taken from authentic archival sources. The authors of the original documents that were processed and analysed by the Committee are former employees of the NKVD and other Soviet investigative and judicial bodies. From 1988, as a delegate of the *Kárpáti Kiadó* (Carpathian Publishing House), and from 1991-1994, as a representative of the Transcarpathian Regional Council, I actively participated in the work of the Committee, which consisted of nearly 20 members. During that period hundreds of persons were rehabilitated.

For now, I will focus on a sketchy summary analysis of the identities and personal data of 614 Jews who were previously unknown to Hungarian readers, and shed light on the obscure facts about them. The documents that have been discovered and published so far are a collection of tragic Jewish fates that are shocking and tragic in human terms. This research may never be completed, because as far as we know many hundreds of archival documents were lost during and after WW II. Of the thousands of Jews

who escaped to the Soviet Union and were sentenced as political criminals, the 614 names identified and cited below represent a small fraction of the thousands whose stories of suffering led them from the tribunals to the camps where they shared the fate of the victims of the Communist dictatorship. Perhaps some of those concerned will recognise their relatives who disappeared untraceably, and will continue to add new data and facts about the fate of their relatives, to correct data, to uncover careers that were thought to be ended.

In the context of the data analyses, I think it is important to point out the following conclusions:

1) Of the 614 Jews from different regions of the Carpathian Basin who fled to the Soviet Union and were sentenced, 80 were females, 24 of whom were connected to the Carpathian Basin by descent. The majority of the refugees, 329 in number, came to the thousand-year-old Hungarian border from various regions of historic Hungary and neighbouring countries. From settlements belonging to present-day Transcarpathia, 285 people crossed the Soviet border.

They evaded the vigilance of Hungarian border guards and patrolling gendarmes, mainly with the help of paid local Ruthenian human traffickers, and, alone or in groups, crossed the border to the Soviet Union: 178 from Transylvania (Nagyvárad, Máramaros region, Szatmárnémeti, Kolozsvár, Szeklerland), then also from Romania (Bucharest), 116 from Hungary (Budapest and some provincial towns: Debrecen, Szeged, Miskolc), 29 from Slovakia, and up to 10 from the Czech Republic, Austria and Germany etc. The Soviet authorities received the Jewish asylum-seekers in an unfriendly and distrustful manner, arresting them in the order of their arrival on a charge of crossing the border illegally. The NKVD investigating officers also noted in their reports the civilian occupation, former trade, primary, secondary and higher education of the Jews they interrogated. They also recorded if anyone was unemployed before crossing the border. It is clear from the official material that Jews had occupations typical of the period. The vast majority of them were workers, farmers and small tradesmen.

There were a remarkably large number of tailors, seamstresses, hairdressers, carpenters, locksmiths, coopers, weavers, embroiderers,

shopkeepers, printers, car drivers, mechanics, glaziers, electricians, mechanics, bakers, blacksmiths, cobblers, carpenters, watchmakers, butchers, butchers, turners, waiters, maids, weavers, gardeners, woodcutters and master craftsmen. There were also schoolchildren, apprentices, high school students and university students. The majority of women were registered as housewives. Traders, businessmen and those with secondary and higher education were few among the refugees. For example, in the list of names I discovered a few teachers, dental technicians, medical laboratory technicians, medical specialists and agricultural engineers. I did not find among them middle- and upper-class people, bankers, creative intellectuals or priests.

Table 1
Regional distribution of convicted Jews, major cities

Regional distribution of condemned Jews, larger cities	Men/ women	Trans- carpathia	Transylvania, Romania	Hungary	Slovakia	Other	Altogether
Munkács and its surroundings		44					
Nagyberezna and its surroundings		35					
Huszt and its surroundings		30					
Ungvár and its surroundings		25					
Técső and its surroundings, Rahó, Beregszász, Nagyszőlős, Ilosva, Szolyva, Volóc, Ökörmező etc.		153					
Nagyvárad			75				
Máramarosziget and its surroundings			34				
Szatmárnémeti, Kolozsvár, Zilah, Marosvásárhely, Brassó, Székelyföld, Bukarest			69				
Budapest				50			
Szombathely, Miskolc, Cegléd, Karcag, Baja, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Kisvárd, Kecskemét, Vác etc.				66			
Kassa and its surroundings					20		
Dunaszerdahely, Pozsony etc.					9		
Altogether:	534/80	287/24	178	116	29	6	614

2) According to the NKVD's registered data, the oldest couple in terms of age composition was 61-62 years old. The youngest were pupils and high school students barely 14-15 years old. Around 60 % of the sentenced people were strong young men between 20 and 31. The number of prisoners under the age of 20 is 73. According to the survivors' accounts, the highest death toll in the camps was among the 40-62 and 14-19 year olds.

Table 2
Age composition of the Jewish prison population

No	Age composition of convicts	Age difference	The newly born children's number in the designated period
1.	1879-1889	51-61	6
2.	1890-1899	41-50	28
3.	1900-1909	31-40	98
4.	1910-1920	20-31	409
5.	1921-1926	14-19	73
Altogether:			614

3) According to the data on the ideological distribution of the convicted Jews, almost ninety percent of the 599 Jews were not party-members and adhered to their religion in all respects. Only 55 were members of different parties. It is striking that the vast majority of the 41 CZKP members were residents of Transcarpathia.

Table 3
Distribution of the ideological views of the convicted Jews

The distribution of the ideological views of the convicted Jews	No party membership	CZKP member	Social democrat	HCP-member	RKP-member	SCP-member	Altogether
Altogether:	599	41	9	3	1	1	614

4) The data on the sentences, broken down by years, show clearly that the NKVD investigators and the “troika” magistrates dealt with Jews arriving in two large waves of refugees. The first groups, according to the interrogation reports, came between September 1939 and January 1941. This was after the Soviet troops had invaded Western Ukraine at the end of September 1939, as a result of the consensual German-Soviet offensive to occupy and partition Poland; and thus it was that the Soviet-Hungarian border on the Carpathian watershed was created. According to the NKVD files, 396 people were sentenced in Western Ukraine in ‘peacetime’. The second major wave of refugees was triggered by the advance of German troops and the attack on the Soviet Union. Before the arrival of the Hungarian and German troops, the NKVD evacuated the majority of Jewish prisoners from the concentration camps in and around the cities of western Ukraine. On orders from the top, they were taken to various penal institutions in eastern Ukraine and Russia, where they continued to be interrogated and sentenced. Even during the harshest, bloodiest period of the war, the Special Council of the NKVD continued to operate uninterruptedly, and according to our records, between 1942 and 1943, some 214 detained Jews, mostly of Hungarian nationality, were sentenced to 3-5-8 years of forced labour. Further sentences were ended by a joint agreement between the Czechoslovak government in exile and the Soviet government. A decision was taken to set up a Czechoslovak army, and so prisoners who had escaped from Transcarpathia and were in the GULAG labour camps and had Czechoslovak citizenship before 1938 were granted amnesty. They were given the opportunity to volunteer for the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, which was being formed in Buzuliki.

Table 4
Data on convictions broken down by year

Data on convictions broken down to years	1940	1941	1942	1943	No verdict was reached	Held off convictions	Altogether
Altogether:	81	315	207	7	4	1	614

5) In connection with the table of the imposed sentences, it is important to note that Jews arrested on political charges were also sentenced by the special commissions of the state security bodies to 3 years in prison for illegally crossing the Soviet border, 473 persons, as “*invaders of the border*” under Article 80 of the USSR Criminal Code. The other 137 persons were declared Hungarian and German spies for illegally crossing the border. These were sentenced to 5-8-10-15 years’ imprisonment in a correctional-educational labour camp under the notorious paragraphs 1 to 14 of Articles 54-58 of the Criminal Code of the USSR and other articles – not only for espionage, but also for maintaining contacts with foreign states for counter-revolutionary purposes, anti-Soviet agitation, incitement to hostile actions, aiding the international bourgeoisie, etc. The military tribunals of the NKVD could sentence to death by bullet anyone charged with anti-Soviet propaganda, promoting an attack on the Soviet Union, weakening the communist regime and other clichéd charges.

Of course, the Jews persecuted by the Nazis had no intention of committing the crimes recorded in the indictment, but the Communist chief prosecutors’ concocted assumption was that Jews who fled to the Soviet Union were a potential threat to the Soviet system and should be eliminated from society; they should be confined to a camp set up in harsh Siberia, in conditions of slavery known as correctional and educational labour, subjected to 12 hours of forced labour a day and left to die slowly of starvation, frost-death and epidemic diseases. Anyone who survived the untold horrors was considered a hero, “*a master in the art of living.*”

Table 5
Data on imposed sentence

Data on imposed sentences	3 years	5 years	8 years	10 years	15 years	Held off	Altogether
Altogether:	473	111	22	2	2	4	614

6.) For the period 1940-1943 we found data on nearly one hundred deserters from the Jewish inmates of labour camps which were established in December 1940. They were either in the Hungarian army, or – those who did not “*perform armed service*” – they had deserted and tried to escape from their pursuers to the Soviet Union. The majority of those from Transcarpathia worked in the 8th Public Interest Labour Battalion in Kassa, where the number of the conscripted from Transcarpathia was estimated at more than two and a half thousand.²⁰⁸ Later, the competent commanders of the military authorities transferred the “*least assimilated*,” “*very religious boys*”²⁰⁹ from the Máramaros, Bereg and Ung provinces to the labour service battalions in the interior of Hungary for disciplinary reasons. In Transcarpathia the Ruthenians, along with left-wing Hungarians, Slovaks and other nationalities, who were considered unreliable, were assigned to Hungarian sapper (pioneering) troops. Together with their compatriots from Hungary, Transylvania and Upper Hungary (the Highland), they took part in road construction, road maintenance, logging, building local fortifications, the construction of the Árpád Line, etc. The brutal treatment by the gendarmes, the reduced rations, poor medical care and lack of warm clothing in winter led to more and more desertions. Those who were captured were executed, those who managed to make their way through the forests of the Carpathians to the Soviet Union were captured by Soviet border guards. According to the data discovered so far, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced 78 conscripts to 3-5-10 years as invaders and “*spies for the Hungarian army*,” and they served their sentences in labour camps in Siberia. No further details of their fate are available.

²⁰⁸ See more in B STENGE CSABA: 3-3. 3. Kárpátaljai zsidók a honvédségben: Fegyveres szolgálat és munkaszolgálat. In: *Zsidók Kárpátalján*, pp. 249-256.

²⁰⁹ See the recollections of comrades, including IMRE TATÁR of Budapest, „*Emlékezés a bánhídi munkatáborra* (Remembering the Bánhid labour camp) (1940-1944)”, in *Férfiportrék a XX. századból* (Tatabánya, 2011), pp. 129-130.

Table 6
Data on fugitive inmates of labour camps

N	Data on deserted Jew inmates of labour camps who fled to the Soviet Union (broken down by regions)	Years	Number of Jews escaping from labour camps
1.	Hungary	1907-1919	40
2.	Transcarpathia	1907-1919	20
3.	Transylvania	1907-1919	10
4.	Highland	1907-1919	8
Altogether:			78

7) During the time-periods broken down by year, the Jews who were convicted and rehabilitated for no crime can be divided into two groups (see table 10). Between 1956 and 1977, a total of 123 persons were rehabilitated, mainly former party members, inmates of labour camps based on the search and recommendations of the Hungarian, Slovakian and Romanian authorities and also on grounds of the most careful checks carried out by KGB staff over the past 21 years. Between 1978-1988, on the advice of the party's vigilant post-communist ideologists, the process was halted, and there was a 10-year hiatus. In the years of the Gorbachev perestroika, from 1988 to early 1991, 85 persons were rehabilitated. In the years following Ukraine's becoming independent, the process accelerated sharply: 287 persons were rehabilitated in 1991, 170 in 1992 and a further 15 from 1993 till the turn of the millennium, with no ethno-political conditions attached. More files were not found and the rehabilitation commission was disbanded.

Table 7
Data on rehabilitations

Years of rehabilitation of convicted Jews	Altogether:	Years of rehabilitation of convicted Jews	Altogether:
1956	5	1973	4
1961	1	1974	1
1962	6	1977	1
1963	3	1989	24
1964	9	1990	61
1965	9	1991	281
1966	11	1992	170
1967	4	1993	12
1968	11	1996	1
1969	49	1999	2
1970	9		
Altogether: 674			

1. Additional material for this chapter ²¹⁰

CONVICTED PRISONERS WHO HAD DEFECTED TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THEN WERE SENT TO THE STALINIST CAMPS BUT WHOSE FATE IS UNKNOWN

1938-1943

*(The spelling of the names is given in Hungarian transcription.
Surname is first. [Note of the translator]).*

Abramovics Mihajlo Adolfovics (Nagyberezna, Ua, 1906) worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Abrahamovics Izrail Adolfovics (Nagyberezna, Ua, 1911), worker, member of the CPSU, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1968.

Ackerman Aron Gnatovics (Munkács, Ua, 1895), worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 2 November 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ackerman Samuel Jakubovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1915), local resident, cooper, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

²¹⁰ In favour of a more expedient and quick retrieval, the published names are given in the order in which they appear in the aforementioned collection of documents and in documents of the Transcarpathian rehabilitation committees, in the Ukrainian alphabet and transcription, without change. Of course, in several places the names and geographical designations were inaccurate, in some cases not readable or twisted. In the first place, the NKVD interrogators often incorrectly recorded, by hearsay, the surnames and first names of the German and Hungarian-sounding Jews, the father's name, the names of settlements in Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, and the administrative units. In some cases I identified and standardized the names of settlements on the basis of the following publications: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Budapest, Hornyánszky Viktor R.-T. Hungarian Local Names Identification Dictionary. Edited by György Lelkes. Talma Publishing House, Baja, 1998. The Ukrainian historians, as compilers of the lists of names, have published a list of the names discovered so far and a lexicon of the rehabilitated in book form: Реабілітовані історією. Zakarpattya region. Book 1 - VAT „Vidavmitsvo Zakarpattya.” Uzhgorod, 2003 -p. 700.

Adler Ella Mendelivna (Nizhne Solotvina, Ungvár j. Ua, 1918), paper-mill worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 April 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Adler Jozef Mihajlovics (Máramarossziget, Ro., 1913), a cabinet-maker from Kolozsvár, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 31 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Adler Mor Manuszovics (Nagyberezna, Ua, 1921) carpenter, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Ajvenhold Bernat Murovics (Budapest, Hu, 1897) a tailor from Kolozsvár, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ajvenhold Olga Jozefivna (Kaba, Hu, 1895), housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Alter Jenő Szamuilovics (Kassa, Szl, 1912), resident of Budapest, inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-party member, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 January 1942, rehabilitated in 1989.

Anchelovics Mendel Anchelovics (Kopasnyavo, Huszt j. Ua, 1922) tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1968.

Andor Hugo Samilovics (Rahó, Ua, 1911) agricultural engineer, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Antal Palmar Oleksandrovics (Stockholm, Sweden, 1911), a worker in Nagyvárád, member of the RCP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Appel Marton Davidovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1906), resident of Bucharest, locksmith, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 3 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Auslander Zoltán Davidovics (Stavne, Nagyberezna j., Ua, 1913), worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 29 March 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

B

Bash Ferenc Móricovics (Felsőbánya, Ro, 1913) resident of Nagyvárád, butcher, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Beck József ²¹¹(?1914) was convicted by the Special Council of the NKVD under Article 80 of the USSR Code of Criminal Procedure for illegally crossing the Soviet border, and was rehabilitated in 1962.

Beck Olekszandr Vojtehovics (Leveles, Ro, 1903), resident of Nagyvárád, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Beck Vojtech Davidovics (Ungvár, Ua, 1914), resident of Ungvár, tailor, member of the CZCP, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 3 October 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Berger Adolf Gercovics (Balachana, Chernivetsky region, Ua, 1879), resident of Csíkszereda, owner of a founding company, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berger Gavril/Gedajlo Liberovics (Kalini, Técső j. Ua, 1911), resident of Solyva, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berger Emanuil Adolovics (Csíkszereda, Ro, 1909), resident of Csíkszereda, accountant at a founder's company, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berger Erne Simberivna (Kimpullung, Maramaros vm., Ro., 1909), resident of Csíkszereda, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

²¹¹ His name was omitted from the RI ZO (2003) collection, see the list of rehabilitated: *Kár-pátaljai magyar GULAG-lexikon*, 1999. 17 p.

Berger Móric Jakovics (Verbőc, Nagyszőlős j. Ua, 1907) tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 4 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berger Oleksandr Gnatovich (Szatmárnémeti, Ro, 1918), artisan, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 24 January 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Bergida Jan Zigmundovics (Kisberezna, Ua, 1909), local resident, butcher, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 28 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Bergida Jankel Bernatovich (Ljuta, Nagyberezna j. Ua, 1914), local resident, vendor, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Bergl Ivan Leopoldovics (Budapest, Hu, 1916), local resident, an inmate soldier of labour camp of the Hungarian, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Berkovits Fajga Herskivna (Verkhny Studeny, Mizhgirja j. Ua, 1918), local resident, worker, non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Berkovics Mikola Abramovics (Munkács, Ua, 1917), local resident, inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 19 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Berkovics Móric (Moisz) Miháj (Zilah, Ro, 1910), resident of Arad, merchant, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1970.

Berkovics Olena Mihajlivna (Budapest, Hu, 1920), local resident, seamstress, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 31 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Berkovics Sándor Martinovics (Lipcsa, Huszt j. Ua, 1916) local resident, agricultural worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berkovics Solomon Jakubovics (Lipcsa, Huszt j. Ua, 1916) local resident, agricultural worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Berkovics Szima Herskivna (Verhny Studeny, Mizhgirya j. Ua, 1923), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 27 September 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Berner Ernő Zoltánovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1914), local resident, dentist, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Binder Jozsif Abramovics (Rahó, Ua, 1919), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1965.

Blank Martin Solomonovics (Szilágysomlyó, RO, 1908), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Blasberger Vojtech Samovics (Rahó, Ua, 1925), local resident, student, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Blum Gnat Manuilovics (Eperjes, Sl, 1900), Budapest resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Blum Marton Gnatovics (Szatmárnémeti, RO, 1911) local resident, salesman, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 24 January 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Bogorocsaren (Bogorodcsaner) Juda Majerovics (Körösmező, Ua, 1913), local resident, agricultural worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Brajer Miklós Simonovics (Dunaszerdahely, Sl, 1918), local resident, inmate of labour camp in the Hungarian army, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Branstejn Abram Hersovich (Verhny Studeny, Mizhgirja j., Ua, 1902), local resident, agricultural worker, member of the CZCP in

1920-1926, sentenced to 3 years by the NKVD Special Council on 2 November 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Breban Zoltan Mojzesovics (Miskolc, Hu, 1917), resident of Rahó, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 14 September 1940, rehabilitated in 1965.

Brener, Berta Abramivna (Izakonyha, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, artisan, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 September 1942, and again to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 January 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Brener Ilona Abramovna (Szilágysolmó, Ro, 1913), resident of Nagyvárad, dentist assistant, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Brener Jevhzen Abramovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1923) resident of Nagyvárad, weaver, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 September 1942, and again to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 January 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Brener Oleksandr Serenovics (Kolozsvár, Ro, 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, artisan, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 September 1942, and again to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 9 January 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Bresler Mojse Vilmosovics (Kőrösmező, Ua, 1913) resident of THE Czech Brno, metal frame fitter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, rehabilitated in 1999.

Breuer Imre Juzefovics (Budapest, Hu, 1916) resident of Kőrösmező, inmate soldier of a labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Bronstein Abraham Minasevics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1906) resident of Nagyvárad, artisan, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Bronstein Soma Jurijovics (Izki, Mizshirja j. Ua, 1919) local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 28 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Bruler Ester Juzefivna (Kézdivásárhely, Ro, 1908), resident of Csíkszereda, accountant, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Bruler Roza Zaharivna (Pereginsk, Lvov region, Ua, 1882), resident of Csíkszereda, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Brjukel Haskel Jakubovics (Kőrösmező, Ua, 1905) local resident, merchant, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 28 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Budanszkij Andrij Lajosovics (Budapest, Hu, 1918) local resident, locksmith, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

C

Caigerman Zolo Slemovics (Vonyigovo, Técső j., 1915) local resident, tailor, member of Socdem between 1936-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Cvajk Zoltan Adolfovics (Kék, Hu, 1914), a local resident, shop-keeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Ceizler Armin Murovics (Kozmaalmás, Ro, 1907), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ceizler Dezse Murovics (Kozmaalmás, Ro, 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ceizler Erzebet Samuilivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ceizler Irina Izidorivna (?, Hu, 1910) resident of Nagyvárád, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Cimlihman Zelik Haimovics (Kőrösmező, Rahó j., 1908), local resident, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Csele (Rot Houer) Pepi Samuilivna (Beregszász, 1901), local resident, housewife, CZCP member between 1934-1935, sentenced to 5 years on December 27, 1941 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1991.

Csuszhin Béla (Budapest, 1918) in accordance with the Article 80 of the Criminal Code of the USSR; judged by the Special Council of the NKVD for illegally invading the Soviet border as a Hungarian and German spy, rehabilitated in 1962.²¹²

D

Davidovics Albert Samuilovics (Szerednye Vogyane, born in Rahó, 1919) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Davidovics Anton Leopoldovics (Huszt, 1919), local resident, high school student, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Davidovics Fegyir Leopoldovics (Ruszke Pole, born in Técső j., 1920), resident of Huszt, driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Davidovics Izidor Hermanovics (Beregszász, 1910), resident of Nagyszőlős, house-painter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Davidovics Lazar Mojsejovics (Nagyberezna, 1912), resident of Ungvár, carpenter, member of the CZCP, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1989.

²¹² His name was omitted from the RI ZO (2003) collection. See the list of those who were rehabilitated: *Kárpátaljai magyar GULAG-lexikon*, 1999. p. 25.

Davidovics Szemen Jenaszovics (Nagyberezna, 1914), local resident, shopkeeper, member of the CZCP between 1932-1936, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Dajcs David Hermanovics (Rahó, 1919), local resident, hairdresser, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Daskal Oleksandr Izrailovics (Budapest, 1912), house painter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Daskalovich Grigoriy Abramovich (Tereszva, born in Técső j., 1912), a local resident, worker, member of the CSKP, was sentenced to 3 years on December 17, 1942 by the NKVD Dalystroj military court, he was rehabilitated in 1991.

Deits Ernest Szemenovics (?, Ro, 1917), resident of Nagyvárád, hairdresser, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Drukker Vladislav Mihajlovics (Budapest, 1919), non-party member, inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Drukman Otto Mendorovics (Rod, Ro, 1919), non-party member, inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Dub Mojszej Davidovics (Huszt, 1918), local resident, worker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1968.

E

Edelstein Gavrilo Jevgenovics (Nagyberezna, 1901), resident of Ungvar, unemployed, non-party member, sentenced to 15 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 23, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Ehrenfeld Magdalina Andrijivna (Nagyvárad, 1919), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1956

Eices Blanka Pavlivna (Szilágyillésfalva, Ro, 1911) resident of Nagyvárad, shoe-factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Eices Moric Pavlovics (Szilágyillésfalva, Ro, 1905), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 9, 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Einhorn (Ejgorn) Mur Solomonovics (Nagyszőlős, 1910), a resident of Huszt, masseur, member of the CZCP, was sentenced to 3 years on April 7, 1941 by the Special Council of the NKVD, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Eisner Abram Jakubovics (Nagyberezna, 1914), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1962.

Eisner Adolf Josipovics (Nagyberezna, 1906), a local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 3, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Eisner Herman Morovics (Munkács, 1919), a local resident, machinist, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Eisner Ignac Morovics (Munkács, 1915), local resident, hairdresser, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1962.

Eisner Natan Morovics (Munkács, 1913), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1962.

Elias Mozes Zoltanovics (Tiszakarácsonyfalva, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1924), resident of Nagybecskó, librarian, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1990.

Elovics Albert Jakubovics (Szobránc, Slovakia, 1917) resident of Beregszász, university student, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party between 1933 and 1938, sentenced to 5 years by

the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Epstein Deze Dezevics (Budapest, 1919), Albertfalva resident, electrician, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Erbet (Gruber) Herman Haimovics (Rahó, 1906), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Erbst Klara Majerina (Körösmező, Rahó j., 1902), local resident, housewife, non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 2, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1989.

Erbstein Jozip Arminovics (Nagyvárad, 1916), local resident, tailor in the local factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Erlík Pavlo Oleksandrovics (Nyíregyháza, 1919) resident of Budapest, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

F

Faerstein Piroska Juzefovna (Lippa, near Nagyvárad, Ro, 1919), local resident, householder, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1956.

Faerstein Sandor (Oleksandr) Samuilovics (Nagykerek, Hu, 1906) resident of Nagyvárad, car mechanic, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Fainer Hugo Davidovich (Moravska Ostrava, Czech Republic, 1892) resident of Ivano-Frankivsk, accountant, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 20, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Falkovics Paraska Wolfivna (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1918), local resident, householder, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Falkovics Berta Volfovna (Apsa, Máramaros district, Ro, 1915) resident of Nagyvárád, factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Farkas Abram Jakubovics (Szilágynagyfalu, Hu, 1905), resident of Nagyvárád, blacksmith, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Farkas Blanka Lajosivna (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1902), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Farkas Dora Boruhivna (Morojen, Dembovec district, Poland, 1922) resident of Gyímes, Czíkmégy, householder, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Farkas Izidor Aronovics (Veljatino, Huszt j., 1916) inmate of forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1991.

Farkas Rozalia Lajosivna (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1915), local resident, seamstress of the “Helios” plant, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Farkas Vilmos Benjaminovics (Csajag, Hu, 1897) resident of Nagyvárád, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Feig Kalman Izrailovics (Rahó, 1912), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Feldman Gnat Manusevics (Ruszká Kucsava, Munkácsi j., 1919), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1966.

Feldman Jozef Samijlovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1893), local resident, muralist, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1966.

Ferber Mikola Jakovicz (Huszt, 1916), a resident of Nagyszőlös, turner, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 10, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Ferdinand Ludvig Davidovics (Bethlen, Ro, 1908) resident of Cluj, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Fiderveis Gyula (Dunaszerdahely, Slovakia, 1919), a conscript soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Fiksler Adalbert Bernardovics (Balassagyarmat, Hu, 1907) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Fiksler Herman Somogy (Visk, Huszt j., 1924), resident of Aknaslatina, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Fisel Andor Ernovics (Nagykanizsa, Hu, 1913) resident of Budapest, writer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Fisel Margita Janusivna (Tatabánya, Hu, 1914) resident of Budapest, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Fiser Vilhelm Jakubovics (Guradobra, Ro, 1904), resident of Nagyvárad, accountant, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Fiser Imre Morovics (Zalaegerszeg, Hu, 1905), local resident, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Fiser Karol Bernatovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1904), local resident, cook, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Fiser Margarita Vilmosivna (Ártánd, Hu, 1898), a resident of Nagyvárád, a housewife, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Fiser Tibor Franciszkovics (Birtin, Ro, 1913) resident of Nagyvárád, car driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Fiser Sarolata Moricivna (?, Hu, 1901) resident of Nagyvárád, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Fligelman Karoly Aronovics (Velika Kopanya, born in Nagyszőlős j., 1916) is a local resident, the war broke out and the convict disappeared, the NKVD terminated further investigation. He was rehabilitated in 1992.

Fogel Juda Szimkovics (Rahó, 1918), local resident, watchmaker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Frailih Herman Joszipovics (Priszlip, Mizshirja j., 1919), local resident, shopkeeper, member of the CZCP between 1928-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Frank Grigorij Gnatovics (Budapest, Hu, 1918), inmate of forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Fried Emanuil Bernatovics (Szerednye, Ungvári b. 1922) local resident, driver's assistant, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Fried Samuel Henrikovics (Munkács, 1908), local resident, worker, CSKP member between 1929-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Fried Tiberij Gnatovics (Nagyvárád, 1909), local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Friedmann Anna Gejzivna (Nagyvárád, 1915), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Friedmann Izidor Ickovics (Repinne, Mizshirja j., 1912), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Friedmann Jan Mihajlovics (Velikij Rakovec, born in Ilosva, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Friedmann Jene Henrihovics (Ercsi, Hu, 1916) inmate of forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Friedmann Jozsip Gnatovics (Nagyvárad, 1904), local resident, worker of the “*Karmen*” factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Friedmann Oleksandr Adolfovics (Nagyvárad, 1909), local resident, worker of the “Favorit” factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Friedmann Oleksandr Solomonovics (Szilce, Ilosva j., born 1919), local resident, hairdresser, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 25, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Friedmann Samil Jakovics (Ungvár, 1913), resident of Kőrösmező, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Friedmann Sulem Solomonovics (Pilipec, Mizshirja j., 1921), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1940, rehabilitated in 1964.

Friedmann Tibor Artemovics (Máriapócs, Hu, 1913), local resident, electrician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Friedmann Zoltan Velimovics (Gálszécs, Slovakia, 1916) resident of Budapest, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Friedfertik Rafael Mojszejovics (Szatmárnémeti, Ro, 1916), resident of Körösmező, university student, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Fruhtgarten Henrih Szimonovics (Kassa, Slovakia, 1917) resident of Prague, Czech Republic, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 24, 1941, rehabilitated in 1996.

Fuchs Emil Jakovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1888), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1956.

Fuchs Icik Moskovics (Kolocsava, Mizshirjai b. 1914), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1970.

Fuchs Ludvig Hermanovics (Bisztraterebes, Ro, 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Fuchs Olena Samuilivna (Danyilovo, Huszt j., 1920), local resident, officer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Fugen Matyas Hermanovics (Körösmező, born in Rahó, 1920), local resident, blacksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Furmann Laslo Judovics (Nagyvárad, 1915), local resident, hairdresser, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1956.

Furmann Sandor Judovics (Nagyvárad, 1898), local resident, car driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Füredi Oleksandr Josipovics (Nagyvárad, 1920), local resident, car driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

G

Glück Ivan-Uleksandr Ignacovics (Lippa, Ro, 1910) local resident, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 24 January 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Glück Ludvig Samuilovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1915), local resident, weaver, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Glück Oleksandr Abramovich (Verhnye Solotvina, Ungvár j., 1919), local resident, inmate of labour camp, Hungary, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 19 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1967.

Glück Pavlo Grigorovich (Debrecen, Hu, 1907), resident of Nagyvárad, waiter, non-party, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 25 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Glück Rozalia Samuilivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1907), resident of Nagyvárad, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Goer (Rout-Houer) Bernat Samuilovich (Beregszász, 1907), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP since 1930, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 27 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1967.

Goldberg Hersh Izrailovich (Skotarske, Volóc j. 1922), resident of Hukliv, Volóc district, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Goldberger Bernát Davidovich (Ungvár, 1919), resident of Hukliv, Volodok district, labourer, member of the CZCP in 1935-1937, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Goldberger Martin Morovics (Visnya Ribnica, Szobránc district, Slovakia, 1912), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 4 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1968.

Goldberger Yakiv Davidovich (Ungvár, 1921), local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 25 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Goldstein Martin Mihajlovics (Peka, Marostorda, Ro, 1913), resident of Kolozsvár, turner, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Goldstein Mihajlo Benovics (Budapest, 1920), resident of Máramarossziget, mechanic, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 3 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Goldstein Mendel Jakubovics (Pálosremete, Máramaros county, Ro, 1920), resident of Nagyvárad, worker in a textile factory, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 24 January 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Goldstein Mihajlo Solomonovich (Budesti, Ro, 1911), local resident, driver at a car park, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 31 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Goldstein Samson Davidovich (Budapest, 1919), local resident, blacksmith, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 3 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Goldstein Szirena Samuilivna (Bánffyhyunyad, Ro, 1915), resident of Nagyvárad, hairdresser, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Gottesman Herman Godelovich (Priborzhavske, Ilosva j. 1920), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Gottesman Móric Makdelevich (Bukovinka, Munkács j. 1920), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP since 1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 27 September 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Gottesman Nándor (Jakov) Herskovich (Obava, 1916), local resident, machinist, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Grinberger Jozsip Arminovics (Szamator, Slovakia, 1912) resident of Nagyberezna, house-painter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Gross Georgij (Jurij) Gyulovics (Nagyvárad, 1926) local resident, waiter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Gross Gyula Gnatovics (?, 893) resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Gross Nandor Ludvikovics (Szamos, Ro, 1916), resident of Brassó, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Grossman Andrij Dezidorovics (Nagyberezna, 1924), resident of Ungvár, university student, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Grossman Herman Lajosovics (Vonyigovo, born in Técső, 1924) local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Grossman Fiser Lejbovics (Vonyigovo, Técső j., 1915), local resident, merchant, member of the CZCKP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Grossman Pal Pilipovics (Pomáz, Hu, 1924) was an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army at Kőrösmező, a member of the HCP between 1936 and 1940, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced him to 3 years on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Grossman Zigmund Martovics (Kőrösmező, Rahó j., 1917), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Grunbaum Jolana Gaborivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1910), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1970.

Grunstein Josip Hermanovics (Magyarlápós, Ro, 1922), local resident, cabinet maker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Grunstein Jakiv Davidovics (Bisztrica, Máramaros district, Ro, 1919) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Grunstein Natan Izakovich (Chinagyevó, 1916), local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Grunwald Mor Henrihovics (Kiskunmajsa, Hu, 1919) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1992.

Gruzenberg Karlo Jozsefovics (Siófok, Hu, 1924) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Guhfelder Arpad Ferdinandovics (?, Slovakia, 1916) resident of Csikszereda, sawmill worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Guhfelder Leontina Simon-Murivna (Gyergyótölgyes, Ro, 1909), local resident, dentist assistant, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Guttman Dora Solomonivna (Lecovicja, Munkács j., 1922), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Guttman Mikola Minasovics (Munkács, 1916) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

H

Haimovics Mojszej Harmanovics (Iza, 1916), local resident, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, rehabilitated in 1968.

Haimovics Oleksandr Bernatovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1895), local resident, waiter, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Haimovics Olena Bernativna (Felsővisó, Máramaros vm., 1908), resident of Nagyvárad, waiter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Haimovics Solomon Gancevics (Repinne, Mizshirja j., 1919), local resident, blacksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Haizler Izidor Moskovics (Kisvárdá, 1917), resident of Kanora in Volovec j., , worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Halper (Galpert) Martin Illics (Kassa, Slovakia, 1915), local resident, electrician, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from 1937, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hammerman Herman (Munkács, 1921) local resident, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Hanc David Adolfovics (Ungvár, 1917), local resident, shop-keeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Hanc Etela Davidivna (Kanora, Volóc j., 1923), resident of Rahó, maid, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hanc Jakub Ickovics (Dubove, Técső j. 1917), local resident, woodcutter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hanc Roza Lazarivna (Nanfalva, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1922), resident of Rahó, maid, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hanc Salamon Mozesovics (Borsa, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1922), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hardos Vladislav Oleksandrovics (Budapest, 1912), a local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Haskel Iljas Lazarovics (Rusze Pole, born in Técső, 1924), local resident, gardener, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Haskel Lejba Alfredovics (Nagyszőlös, born in Técső, 1924), local resident, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Hart Mor Izrailovics (Nagyberezna, 1915), local resident, worker, SZKP member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 3, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1963.

Hauer Pavlo Bertalanovics (Nagytapolcsany, Nyitrai vm. Slovakia, 1916) local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, member of the Social Democratic Party from 1936, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Havslíh David Herskovics (Máramarossziget, 1916), resident of Kőrösmező, merchant, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Hegyesi Béla Armenovics (Nagyvárad, Ro. 1919), local resident, conscript soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Heiht Oleksandr Benjaminovich (Oroszkő, Máramaros vm. Ro. 1917), local resident, baker, non-party member, was sentenced to 3

years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1991.

Helb/Gelb Ignac Salomovics (Onok, Nagyszőlőkö j., 1917), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Helman David Izakovics (Bogdan, Rahói j. 1902), local resident, butcher, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Henrik Gottesman Izrailovich (Strabichovo, Munkács j. 1917), local resident, inmate of a labour camp of the Hungarian army, member of the CZCP from 1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 February 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Henzlovics Sari Abramivna (Csornoholova, Nagyberezna j., born 1917) resident of Nagyberezna, housewife, CZCP member between 1921-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Herber Ferenc Martinovics (Nagyvárad, Ro. 1911), local resident, electrical engineer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 3, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Herman Oleksandr Vilhelmovics (Csík, Ro. 1919), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1969.

Herman Perl Abramovics (Nankovo, Husz j. 1919) resident of Verhnij Sztudenij, Mizhgirja district, locksmith, CZCP member in between 1930-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1990.

Herskovics Arnold Izakovics (Csinagyjevo/Szentmiklós, Munkács j. 1913), local resident, teacher, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 27, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1989.

Herskovics Dezső Adolfovics (Kalnik, Munkács j. 1915), local resident, baker, member of the CZCP in between 1933-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Herskovics Henrih Josipovics (Szolotvino, Técső j., 1909), a local resident, tailor, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Herskovics Izik Abramovics (born in Hanicsi, Técső j., 1909), local resident, blacksmith, member of the CSKP since 1935, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Herskovics Livija Andrijivna (Budapest, 1920), a local resident, seamstress, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1970.

Herskovics Matilda Martinivna (Bukovinka, Munkács j., 1910), resident of Szentmiklós, teacher, (see wife of Arnold Herskovics), non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Herskovics Moric Ignacovics (Ungvár, 1904), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP in between 1920-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Herskovics Mózes Martovics (Bedevlja, Técső j., 1919), local resident, baker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Heruj Stefan Oleksandrovics (Budapest, 1918), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Hirsch Oskar Aladarovics (Szilágy, Hu, 1919), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Hirsch Tereza Izrailivna (Cluj, Ro, 1912) resident of Bucharest, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hlejzer Pinkas Lejbovics (Mogilov, Kamenets-Podolsk j., Ua, 1912), a resident of Kolochava, carpenter, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1970.

Hlik/Gluck Ferenc Martinovics (Szamosújvár, Ro, 1905) resident of Budapest, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Hoftman Alter Ajzikovics (Drahova, Huszt j. 1915), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Ferenc Karlovics (Budapest, 1917), a local resident, worker, member of the Social Democratic Party, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Jevhen Adolfovics (Mizshirja/Ökörmező, 1925), resident of Vonigovo, Técső district, student, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Jevhen Lipotovics (Huszt, 1919), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Hoftman Jevhen Nuhimovics (Huszt, 1919), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Joszif Sajovics (Kusnyica, Ilosva j. 1911), local resident, worker, non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, he was rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Olena Davidivna (Drahovo, Huszt j., 1919), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hoftman Viktor Jozsakovics (Iza, Huszt j. 1922), local resident, hairdresser, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Hrinbaum, (Grinbaum) Vladislav Mikolajovich (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1914), local resident, watchmaker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Hrinbaum (Grinbaum) Gnat Hermanovics (Kolocsava, Mizshirja j., 1902) resident of Huszt, printer, typesetter, member of the Social Democratic Party, 1930-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Huber Jozsip Mihajlovics (Budest, Máramaros district, Ro, 1920), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Huber Haszkel Mojlehovics (Szolotvino/Aknaszlatina, 1922), resident of Rahó, tailor, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1965.

Hunder György ²¹³ (1921(?)) in accordance with Article 80 of the Criminal Code of the USSR was convicted by the Special Council of the NKVD for invading the Soviet border and as a Hungarian and German spy. He was rehabilitated in 1962.

Huszár Olga Rezseвна (Baja, Hu, 1920) resident of Budapest, factory worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

I

Icik Jakub Gnacovics (Veljatino, Huszt j., 1916), resident of Huszt, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ickovics Jozef Murovics (Kecskemét, 1915), a local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 9, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Ickovics Samuel Sajovics (Krive, Técső j., born 1917) an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Ilkovics Marjan Gnatovics (Humenne, Slovakia, 1917), a resident of Nagyberezna, non-partisan, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 3 years on May 17, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1989.

²¹³ His name was left out from the collection RI ZO (2003). See the list of rehabilitated: *Kár-pátaljai magyar GULAG lexikon, 1999. pp. 49-50.*

Illjas (Elias) Cecilija Farkasivna (Szasovo, Nagyszőlös j., 1920), local resident, nurse, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Ingber Lejba Mihajlovics (Budest, Máramarosi vm., Ro, 1919), local resident, tailor, non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1992.

Inger Lina Lejbivna (Botoromu, Ro, 1919), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Izrael Eniv (Enuj) Rudolfovics (Budapest, 1920), local resident, baker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992..

Izsak Jene Jusovics (Somogyváros, Hu, 1915) local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

J

Jakob (Jakub) Emanuil Enceevics (Nyírbátor, Hu, 1908) inmate of a Hungarian forced labour camp, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 12 December 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Jakobovics Bernat Aronovics (Toruny, Mizshirja j. 1919) resident of Huszt, labourer, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 10 June 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Jakub Ferenc Zoltanovics (Szigetvár, Hu, 1919) Hungarian army labour soldier, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 19 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Jakubovich Etus Izidorivna (Chornoholova, Nagyberezna j. 1919), local resident, seamstress, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Jakobovics Josip Iszakovics (Glod, Máramaros district, Ro, 1919), inmate of a labour camp in Hungary, non-party member, sen-

tenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 19 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Jakobovics Tibor Izrailovich (Munkács, 1921), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Jakobovich Jakiv Samuilovics (Técső, 1912), local resident, electrician, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 21 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Jankovics Jankel Davidovics (Drahovo, j. Huszt j., 1919), local resident, farmer, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Jankovic Simon Davidovic (Drahovo, Huszt j. 1916), local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Jasovics David Mojsejovics (Rokoszovo, j. Huszt j., 1915), local resident, printer, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment by the Special Council of the NKVD on 2 July 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Jonas Imre Mikolajovics (Budapest, Hu, 1915), resident of Békéscsaba, teacher, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

K

Kacz Aron Samuilovics (Csornoholova, Nagyberezna j., 1917), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 20, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Kacz Benedek Mendelovics (Szaplonca, Máramarossziget district, Ro, 1919), local resident, car driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Kacz David Smulevics (Szaplonca, Máramaros vm., 1919) local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Kacz Herman Samijlovics (Sztuzsica, Nagyberezna j., 1913) local resident, farmer, non-partisan, crossed the border before the war, disappeared, was rehabilitated in 1993.

Kacz Marton Solomonovics (Munkács, 1917) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Kacz Mikola Ludvikovics (Leveles, Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Kacz Mojsej Smilevics (Gyula, born in Nagyszőlős j., 1919), resident of Hetenya, weaver, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kacz Moric Gnatovics (Velika Revica, Slovakia, 1917) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Kacz Wolf Jankelevics (Drahova, Huszt j., 1916) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years on December 11, 1941 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1968.

Kahan Jakiv Judovics (Bedevlja, Técső j., 1917), local resident, baker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Kahan Jozzip-Herman Movszejovics (Vonyigovo, born in Técső j., 1917), local resident, brewer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1966.

Kajzer Istvan Bertalonovics (Budapest, 1912) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 10 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Kastl Uljana Francivna (Temesvár, 1981), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Katcz-Berkovich Abram Hermanovich (born in Izki, Mizshirja j., 1916) resident of Verkhniy Studenny, unemployed, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 10, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Katcz Lazar Lajosovics (Velika Kopanya, born in Nagyszőlös j., 1918), local resident, baker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kaufman Gere Ferencovics (Budapest, 1920), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Keller Rudolf Hermanovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1918) local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Keller Sifra Simonyivna (Nyizsnya Jablonka, Lvov region, Ua, 1895), resident of Ungvár, housewife, non-party member, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 18, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Kenigsberg Josip Mojszejovics (Szolyva, 1916), local resident, worker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Kirsblum Hejda Izidorivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1922), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Kjures Stefan Arturovics (Budapest, Hu, 1917), local resident, textile factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Klajn Samuel Gnatovics (Hudlovo, Ungvár j., 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Klanberger Jankel Moskovics (Lug, Nagyberezna j., 1901), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Klar Dezsev Jakovicz (Szerencs, Hu 1914), resident of Budapest, worker, member of the Social Democratic Party, was sentenced to 5

years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1964.

Klar Uljana Sigizmundivna (Budapest, Hu 1921) resident of Budapest, printer, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Kleiman Bejla Gnatovics (born 1919 in Bisztrica, Munkács j.,) resident of Nelipino, Szolyva district, carpenter, member of the CZCP since 1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Kleiman Jakob Smojlovics (Nelipino, born in Szolyva j., 1914), local resident, dental technician, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kleiman Soma Mendelovics (Nelipino, born in Szolyvai 1919), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP from 1936-1937, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Klein Abraham Jakubovics (Nagyszőlös, 1910), local resident, university student, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 27, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Adalbert (Bejla) Samuilovics (Alsófalu, next to Tarna, Hu, 1914), local resident, dental technician, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 18, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Klein Andrij Solomovics (Samobor, Croatia, 1917) resident of Budapest, printer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Arpad Tivodorovics (Burdofalu, Hu, 1908), resident of Nagyvárád, butcher, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, 1992.

Klein Bejla Gaborovics (Kaba, in Debrecen district, Hu, 1919) resident of Szombathely, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1977.

Klein Geza Gnatovics (Szilágysomlyó, Ro, 1896) resident of Nagyvárád, hairdresser, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Gnat Abramovics (Budapest, 1918), a resident of Huszt, tailor, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1969.

Klein Lota Kirovna (Chernyivtsi, Bukovina, Ua, 1896) resident of Marosvásárhely, housewife, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Magdalivna Davidivna (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1914), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Klein Manuil Haimovics (Sátoraljaújhely, Hu, 1917) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 16, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Margita Sandorivna (Oleksandrivna) (Hódmezővásárhely, Hu, 1914) resident of Budapest, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Klein Mozes Aronovics (Huszt, 1909), local resident, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992

Klein Oleksandr Moricovich (Miskolc, Hu 1920), local resident, electrician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991

Klein Pavlo Joszipovics (Holyjatyin, Mizshirja j., 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Klein Sandor Albertovics (Királyhelmec, Slovakia, 1911), local resident, entrepreneur, member of the CZCP between 1930 and 1933, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Kler Vilhelm Hermanovics (Görbeszeg, Slovakia, 1913), local resident, master tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Kocander Zoltan Samijlovics (Kiskunfélegyháza, Hu, 1918), local resident, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Kocsis Josip Benjuevics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1914), local resident, cinematographer, non-partisan, sentenced to 10 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1963.

Kohan Hilda Davidivna (Budapest, 1920), resident of Kőrösmező, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Kohan Jakiv Davidovics (Vonyigovo, Técső j., born 1922), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kohan Klara Samijlivna (Nagyvárad, 1917), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Kohan Oleksandra Vasilivna (Szędmerőc, Slovakia, 1922), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Konova Serina (Szirena) Szemenivna (Kraszna-Nadgorka, Czech Republic, 1919) resident of Budapest, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1970.

Kopolovics Zelman Samijlovics (Huszt, 1920), local resident, worker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Koppelman Sandor Abramovics (Ungvár, 1913), local resident, house-painter, member of the CZCP since 1937, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 29, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Koppel Mozes Davidovics (Kassa, Slovakia, 1916), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Kovács Georgij Josipovics (Budapest, 1916) was an inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, a Social Democrat, the Special Council of the NKVD sentenced him to 3 years on April 11, 1942, he was rehabilitated in 1991

Krajzman Mor Hermanovics (Volovicja, Ilosva j., 1917), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 21, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1992.

Krasner Bejla (Adalbert) Juzefovics (Sátoraljaújhely, Hu, 1917) resident of Budapest, baker, member of Socdem since 1933, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Kraus (Krauz) Jozef Sandorovics (Kiskunfalu, Hu, 1908), resident of Galanta, doctor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kraus Malvina Izidorovna (Oradja/Nagyvárad, Ro, 1921) local resident, weaver in the local factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Kraus Oleksandr Izidorovich (Baja, Hu, 1911), local resident, car driver, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kraus Vasil Ludvigovics (Bustina, Técső j, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Kraus Vilhem Izidorovics (Baja, Hu, 1908), local resident, architect and designer, HCP member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Kreps Jevgen Izidorovics (Kisvárdá, Hu, 1919) is a conscript soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

L

Laitman Erne Juzefovics (Eperjeske, Hu, 1917) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army a non-party member, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Laitner Oleksandr Bernardovich (Tasnad, Ro, 1919) was an inmate of a labour camp of Hungarian army, a non-party member, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 19 September 1942, rehabilitated in 1999.

Lazarovich David Izrailovich (Kopasnyava, Huszti j. 1921) local resident, student, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 10 February 1941, rehabilitated in 1991

Lazarovics Zoltan Majerovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1923) local resident, student, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 11 April 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Lebovich (Lebov) David Hersovics (Dibrova, Técsői j. 1916) Hungarian army labour soldier, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Lebovich Gedajlo Abramovich (Repinne, Mizshirjai, d. 1916), local resident, shopkeeper, member of the CZCP from 1936 to 1938, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 10 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Lebovich Hermina Moricivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1911) local resident, seamstress, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Lebovich Mendel Solomonovich (Nagyváras, Ro, 1905), local resident, watchmaker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment by the Special Council of the NKVD on 16 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Lefkovich Jonas Haslerovics (Ubla, Slovakia, 1920), resident of Nagyberezna, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Lefkovich Mikola Lepoldovics (Nagyvárad, 1900), local resident, waiter, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1993.

Lefkovich Moric Henrihovics (Ubla, Slovakia, 1912), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Leib Oser Mozesovics (Nagyvárad, 1918), local resident, leather worker, non-partisan, was sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1966.

Leibovich Josip Izrailovics (Szobránc, Slovakia, 1911) local resident, roofer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Leibovich Leopold Samuilovics (Rohod, Hu, 1917), local resident, weaver, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Leibovich Melanija Frojmivna (born Ljuta, Nagyberezna j., 1923), local resident, student, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Leibovich Regina Samuilivna (Rahó?, Hu, 1919), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Leibovich Roza Danilivna (Aknaszlatina 1879), a resident of Nagyvárad, a housewife, a non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 25, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Lembevskij Lejba Nihimovich (Zvenyigorodka, Kiyv district, Ua, 1890), resident of Ungvár, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1990.

Lengyel Samuil Julijovics (Lengyel Soma Juliusovics) (Munkács, 1914) local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP between 1932-1936 was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 1, 1941, he was rehabilitated in 1989.

Lender Armen Jakubovics (Budapest, 1919), inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by

the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Levi Bernat Izidorovics (Királyhelmece, Slovakia, 1909), local resident, worker, member of the CZCP, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Levi Lipat Juzefovics (Csáktornya, Hu, 1899), local resident, electrical engineer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Levi Oleksandr Adolfovics (Miskolc, Hu, 1920) resident of Budapest, turner, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Lisser Jozef Forkovics (Bistrica, Munkács j., 1919), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

List Adolf Hajmovics (Munkács, 1914), local resident, shop-keeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 24, 1941, rehabilitated in 1974.

Lövinger Dezsé Izrailovics (Budapest, Hu, 1918) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, Social Democrat, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Luger Majer Hajmovics (Modor, Slovakia, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Luf Tibor Juzefovics (Budapest, Hu, 1911) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 7, 1941 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1969.

Lundenburg Karol Juzefovics (Szombathely, Hu, 1907), local resident, welder, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

M

Mandel Elias Abramovics (?, Hu, 1914), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Mandlovics Solomon Lipatovics (Huszt, 1905), local resident, hotel manager, member of Social Democrats 1930-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Markovics Dezider (Beregszász, 1910), local resident, worker, non-party member, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Markovics (Markovec) Juzef Belovics (Kassa, Slovakia, 1910), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Markovics Mozes Yuzefovich (Kopasnyovo, Huszt j., 1922), local resident, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 25, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Marton Imre Davidovics (Koložsvár, Ro, 1919), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Marton Josip Bertalonovics (Micske, Hu, 1901), resident of Nagyvárad, waiter, non-partisan, died in the prison hospital before the sentencing, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Marton Klara Davidivna (Belényes, Hu, 1905), resident of Nagyvárad, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Marton Stepan Vilmosovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1921), local resident, editorial staff, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Mauskopf Nandor Saumilovics (Fancsika, Nagyszőlős j., 1907), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Mehner Andrij Farkasovics (Pribékfalva, Ro, 1905), resident of Budapest, waiter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Melcer Olena Davidovna (Munkács, Ua, 1897), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Melcer Rozália Volfivna (Munkács, Ua, 1923), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Melcer Wolf Abramovich (Chernyigiv, Ua, 1896), resident of Münkach, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Mendel Filip Aronovics (Alsóvisnyó, Slovakia, 1912) resident of Huszt, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Mendler Lipot Bernatovics (Gyorgyen, Ro, 1922) resident of Bucharest, cook, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Mermelstein Arnold Natanovich (Pavlovo, Szolyva j., Ua, 1920), resident of Solyva, printer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1940, rehabilitated in 1969.

Mermelstein Herman Mendelovics (Rakovo, Perecseny j., Ua, 1912) resident of Munkács, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Mermelstein Jevgen Emilovich (Packanyovo, Ungvár j., Ua, 1911), local resident, merchant, member of the CZCP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1966.

Mermelstein Juda Izraelovich (Veliki Bichskiv, Rahó j., Ua, 1919), local resident, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1965.

Mermelstein Matias Benjaminovics (Voloszjanka, Nagyber-ezna j., Ua, 1912) local resident, woodcutter, non-partisan, sentenced

to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Mermelstein Moric Hermanovics (Holubine, Ungvár j., Ua, 1919), a local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1962.

Met Abram Haimovics (Szoret, Csernyigiv region, Ua, 1888) resident of Budapest, paper factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1973.

Met Alfred Abramovics (Budapest, 1932) resident of Budapest, paper factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1973.

Met Dina Solomonivna (Holm, Lublin Governorate, Poland, 1886) resident of Budapest, housewife, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1973.

Met Magdalina Abramivna (Budapest, 1922), local resident, confectionery factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1973.

Met Oleksandr Abramovics (Budapest, 1918), local resident, photographer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1973.

Minskij Ernest Moricovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1918) local resident, turner, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Minskij Fegyir Rudolfovich (Cserna, Nagyszőlös j., Ua, 1916), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1967.

Mihaly Oleksandr Martinovics (Zorány, Ro, 1919), inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Monat Artur Davidovics (Szin, Hu, 1919), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 16, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Mosko Gnat Juzefovics (Nagyvárad, 1910), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Moskovics Berko Berkovics (Felsőboró, Slovakia, 1912) Ulica resident, woodcutter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Moskovics, Henrih Fromovics (Felsőboró, Slovakia, 1921), resident of Ulica, official, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Moskovics Lea Solomonivna (Huszt, Ua, 1922), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Moskovics Mozes Benjaminovics (Mermelsteinovics) (Drahova, Huszti j., 1912) resident of Buscsaháza, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Müller Izrail Izakovics (Kőrösmező, Rahó j., Ua, 1919), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Müller Jakiv Makszimovics (Vágújhely, Slovakia, 1910), resident of Kás, butcher, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Müller Jakub Martinovics (Tereszva, born in Técső j., 1911), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Müller Lajos Aronovics (Komorzány, Ro, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Müller Makszim Jakubovics (Huszt, Ua, 1920), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Müller Mor Jakubovics (Huszt, Ua, 1916), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Müller Roza Berkivna (Huszt, Ua, 1913), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, rehabilitated in 1965.

N

Nadler Bernat Mendelovics (Felsővisó, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1918) resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Nadler Laslo Oleksandrovič (Budapest, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Nadler Rozália Bernativna (Felsővisó, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1896) resident of Nagyvárad, cook, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuberger Yakiv Samuilovitch (Janov, Chortkivsky district, Ternopil region, Ua, 1895) resident of Vienna, electrician, member of Sodem, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neihs Lajos Juakimovics (Újpest, Hu, 1913), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neime Jakub Bernatovics (Rudno, Slovakia, 1919), resident of Raho, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuman Arnost Makszimovics (Dobsina, Slovakia, 1921), resident of Kőrösmező, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1965.

Neuman Aron-Icik Mendelovics (Szaplónca, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1913) local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuman Josip Josipovics (Ungvár, 1914), resident of Nagyber-ezna, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 21, 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Neuman Majer Mendelovics (Ruszká Mokra, born in Técső j., 1919) local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuman Vladislav Julijovics (Cegléd, Hu, 1917) resident of Győr, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Neuman Zoltan Hersovics (Nadvirna, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ua, 1912), resident of Kőrösmező, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Neuwirt Arpad Samijlovics (Budapest, Hu, 1902), local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuwirt Adolf Mihajlovics (Budapest, Hu, 1911), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Neuwirt Regina Jakobivna (Budapest, Hu, 1903), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Neuwirt Tibor Arpadovics (Budapest, Hu, 1925), local resident, electrician, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Nojovics Solomon Gnatovics (Bank, Slovakia, 1919) local resident, worker, CZCP member between 1937-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

O

Ostraiger Jozsip Petrovics (Illye, Ro, 1911) resident of Nagyvárad, shoe-factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ovics Zelman Marinovics (Csumalovo, Técső j., 1898), local resident, tailor, member of the CSKP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

P

Packer (Packer) Beris Solomonovich (Nagyiovo, Dolinszk j., Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ua, 1897), resident of Bustyahaz, worker, non-party, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Pajsekovics Abram Hermanovics (Lukovo, Ilosva j., 1920), local resident, high school student, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Perl Herman Lazarovics (Izakonyha, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Perl Szirena Bencionyvna (Alsóvisó, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1915), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Perlman Benjamin Mojsevics (Karászno, Slovakia, 1910), resident of Volosyanka, district of Nagyberezna, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 29, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Perlman Jakob Mavricovics (Karaszno, Slovakia, 1916), resident of Münkach, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Pinkasovich Aron Solomonovich (Negrovec, Mizshirja j., 1919), local resident, official, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 13, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Pinzler Gnat Benovics (Lumsori, Perecseny j., 1926), resident of Nagyberezna, tailor, member of the CSKP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Polak Herman Mojsevsics (Oroszkő, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1907), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Polak Mihajlo Moskovits (Gnilja, Lviv region, Ua, 1916), resident of Volosyanka, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Polak Viktor Mendelejvics (Romoli, Máramaros district, Ro, 1914), resident of Teresva, electrician, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Prais Jevhen Oleksandrovich (Ungvár, 1915), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Praisburger Georgij Ignacovics (Budapest, 1911), local resident, master goldsmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Pulak Lejba Jakovicz (Huszt, 1918), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Puliczzer Igon Julisovics (Berlin, Germany, 1920), local resident, hat-factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

R

Rais Jozef Gustavovics (Ungvár, 1906), local resident, unemployed, non-party member, sentenced to 15 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 23, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Rajzer Deziderij Leopoldovics (born in Rokoszovo, Huszt j., 1918) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rapoport Izak-Majer Josifovich (Rava Ruska, Lviv region, Ua, 1898), resident of Técső, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced to

5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 25, 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Rapoport Juzef Martinovics (Salánk, Nagyszőlös j., born in 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1991.

Refolovich Sari Josifivna (Dulovo, Técsői, born 1912), local resident, maid, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Reih Cecilia Lejbovna (Marosvásárhely, Ro, 1922), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Reih Leon Lejbovics (Marosvásárhely, Ro, 1923), local resident, plumber, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Reih Sara Leonivna (Lvov, 1897), resident of Marosvásárhely, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 21, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Reiner Vasil Izevics (Újpest, 1916), local resident, dental technician, Social Democrat, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Reiner Vilma Juzefivna (Újpest, 1920), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Reizmovics Izak Mozesovics (Tereszva, born in Técső j., 1916), local resident, woodcutter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Riderman David Julijovics (Szmerekovo, Nagybereznai b. 1911) local resident, farmer, member of the CSKP between 1926-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1970.

Rifeld Aron Juzefovics (Avasújváros, Ro, 1902), resident of Nagyvárád, cook, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Rozenbaum Izrael Simonovics (Izidor Simon Hersovics) (Munkács, 1911) local resident, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced

to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, rehabilitated in 1969.

Rozenberg Benő Moricovics (Gulács, Hu, 1916) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rozenberg Emil Izidorovics (Barcs, Hu, 1906) resident of Budapest, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Rozenberg Jevzen Juzefovics (Biharfélegyháza, Ro, 1923) resident of Nagyvárad, dental technician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Rozenberg Juda Zotovics (Tokaj, Hu, 1914) local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rozenberg Kalman Juzefovics (Volovec, 1908), a local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, rehabilitated in 1968.

Rozenberg Laslo Lazarovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1916), local resident, locksmith of the “Grinfeld-Artel” factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1966.

Rozenberg Lejba Mendelevics (Butelki, Lviv region, Ua, 1911), resident of Ungvár, worker, member of the CSKP between 1936-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, rehabilitated in 1968.

Rozenberg Oleksandr Murovics (Papfalva, Ro, 1911) resident of Nagyvárad, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1956.

Rozenblat Samuil Jozefovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1912), local resident, mason, non-party, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rozenblum Dezider Gnatovics (Lecovicja, Munkács j., 1914), local resident, merchant, Social Democrat, sentenced to 3 years by

the Special Council of the NKVD on October 25, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Rozencvejj Ludvig Davidovics (Kápolna, Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Rozenfeld Dezider Gnatovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1920), local resident, electrician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, and again on January 9, 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Roth Ernest Ludvigovics (Mélykút, Hu, 1915) resident of Nagyvárad, trade official, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Roth Ludvig Olekszandrovics (Budapest, Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Roth Olena Nandorivna (Szatmárnémeti, Ro, 1923) resident of Nagyvárad, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Roth Simon Juzefovics (Csongor, Munkács j., 1911), resident of Nagyberezna, merchant, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Roth Tibor Leopoldovics (Brassó, Ro, 1915) resident of Budapest, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Rotchild Julij Izidovics (Bisztratebese, Ro, 1915) resident of Nagyvárad, radio technician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rotchild Lázár-Jakob Hereonovics (Szaplonca, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1918) local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rotenberg Stefan Davidovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1921) resident of Nagyvárad, worker at a weaving factory, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Rozner Abram Haimovics (Kolcsino, Ökörmező j., 1916), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Rozner Bernar (Nyiznyi Vorota, born in Volóc, in 1910), resident of Nagyberezna, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992

Rozner Samuil Etelovics (Kolozsvár, Ro, 1909), resident of Miskolc, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Ruhein Vasil Szamijlovics (Rábadoroszló, Hu, 1914) local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Rutner David Haimovics (Kolodnye, Técsői b. 1921), resident of Técső, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Ruzenberg Tibor Arpadovics (Budapest, 1919), inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, Social Democrat, sentenced to 3 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1992.

Ruzenfeld, Abram-Lejb Majerovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1922) resident of Nagyvárad, electrical engineer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

S

Samuel (Bogdi) Viola (Marosugra, Ro, 1906) resident of Nagyvárad, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Samuel Moric Iljasovics (Verhnye Vogyane, Rahó j., 1910), resident of Nagyvárad, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Sarlinska Olena Samuilivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1900), resident of Munkács, cook, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Sarlinskij Gerbert Adolfovich (Berlin, Germany, 1915), resident of Munkács, car mechanic, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Segal Imre Jakovics (Szerednye Vogyane, born in Rahó j., 1916) inmate of a forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Segjui Arpad Moricovics (Vác, Hu, 1905) resident of Marosvásárhely, waiter, non-party, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Sender Ernest Dezsivovics (Szatmárnémeti, Ro, 1914) local resident, butcher, non-party member, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 24, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Senderovics Herman Pilipovics (Tereszva, born in Técső j., 1916), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Severopovszkij Nuhim Cidekovics (Nastecska, Vasilkovsky District, Kiyiv Governorate, Ua, 1891) resident of Huszt, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Silagyi Janos Oleksandrovics (Budapest, 1919), inmate of a forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Siller Juzef Gyulovics (Pomáz, Hu, 1918) inmate of a forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1990.

Simanovics Mor (Bilki, Ilosvai b. 1915), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Simok Jakiv Mozesovics (Nagyszőlös, 1915), resident of Miskolc, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 7, 1941 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1991.

Simon-Davidovics Paraszka Illivna (Fancsika, Nagyszőlösi b. 1911), local resident, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Simsovich Aron Gnatovich (Prituljani, Stropkov district, Slovakia, 1918), resident of Huszt, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Simsovics German Judovics (Vonyigovo, born in Técső, 1920), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Simsovics Emerik Francovics (Munkács, 1918), local resident, electrician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 20, 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Simsovics Iro Judovics (Vonyigovo, born in Técsői 1917), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Sipos Georgij Tivadarovics (Budapest, Hu, 1910), local resident, insurance agent, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1990.

Smilovics Jozef Masrovics (?, Ro, 1906) resident of Bucharest, car-body painter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Snajder Herman Davidovics (Nagybocskó, Rahói b. 1911), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Sobely (Cobel) Herman Juzefovics (Kőrösmező, Rahói b. 1906), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Solomon Olena Barnatyivna (Szombathely, Hu, 1904) resident of Budapest, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Spicer Anton Aronovics (Iza, Huszt j., 1910), resident of Stavne, Nagyberezna, teacher, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 29, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1990.

Spiegel Lejba Abramovich (Nelipino, 1921), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Spiegel Julius Adolfovics (Kassa, Slovakia, 1904) resident of Budapest, hatter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stark Mikola Albertovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1923), local resident, dental technician, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stark Oleksandr Davidovics (Szolnok, Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Stein Henrik Izidorovics (Nagyvárad, 1910), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 8 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Stein Herman Solomonovics (Velikij Bicskiv, born in Rahó, in 1920) resident of Máramarossziget, high school student, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 24, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stein Josip Abramovics (Rahó, 1918), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Steinberg Paraska Izrailivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1906), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Steiner Artur Arturovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1916), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Steiner Bernad Majerovics (Szilágynagyfalva, Ro, 1912) resident of Nagyvárad, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 25, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Steiner Ervin Lajosovics (Budapest, Hu, 1918), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Steiner Nandor Moricovics (Komárom ?, Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Steinmencz David Davidovics (Tereszva, Técső j., 1905), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP between 1921-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Steinmecz Imre Emilovics (Szatmárnémeti, Ro, 1917), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Stern Andrij Markovics (Jánosvágása, Slovakia, 1918) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Stern Herman Joszipovics (Borsa, Máramaros vm., Ro, 1923) local resident, photographer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Stern Herman Lazarevics (Szaszivka, Szolyva j., 1920) resident of Volovec, official, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 29, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stern Herman Markusovics (Jánosvágása, Slovakia, 1913), resident of Volovec, official, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 29, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stern Herc²¹⁴ (Tiszapéterfalva, 1922) was convicted by the Special Council of the NKVD for illegally crossing the Soviet border in accordance with Article 80 of the USZSZK BTK, declared a Hungarian and German spy, rehabilitated in 1962.

²¹⁴ His name was omitted from the collection RIZO (2003). See the list of those who were rehabilitated in: *Kárpátaljai magyar GULAG-lexikon, 1999. 98.p.*

Stern Herc Burjahovics (Petrova, Ro, 1922) resident of Veliki-yVardai in the area of Bihar, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Stern Zoltan Mojszejovics (Paszika, Szolyva j., 1919), local resident, student of the commercial academy, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1962.

Sternberg Jakiv Hermanovics (Munkács, 1922), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 1, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Sulten Robert Hermanovics (Orlova, Czech Republic, 1902), resident of Brno, chemical engineer, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 29, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Suskind (Suskind) Bejla Aronovics (Budapest, 1908) resident of Ruszka Mokra, Técső district, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Svarc Adolf Samuilovics (Munkács, 1916) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Svarc Cecília (Cilja) Aronivna (Nyizsnye Vorota, Voloveci b. 1922), resident of Münkach, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1965.

Svarc Ferdinand Hermanovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1901), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Franc Juzefovics (Nagydobrony, Ungvár j., 1913), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 13, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Svarc Franc Ludvikovics (Csurgó, Ro, 1904), a resident of Temesvár, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Svarc Istvan Oleksandrovics (Karcag, Hu, 1918) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Svarc Jevgen Samuilovics (Miskolc Hu, 1919) inmate of labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Svarc Jelizaveta Francivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1909), local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Jelizaveta Juzefivna (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1899), local resident, seamstress, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Kalman Oleksandrovich (Újlak, Nagyszőlös j., born 1910), resident of Nagyberezna, lawyer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 28, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Svarc Lazlo Morovics (Budapest, Hu, 1919), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Mozes Rivenovics (Packanyovo, Ungvár j., 1921), resident of Munkach, house-painter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Saja Bernardovics (Nizsnyij Vorota, born in Volóci, 1911) resident of Ungvár, carpenter, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Svarc Sandor Sandorovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1908), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc Tibor Samuilovics (Budapest, Hu, 1913) local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Svarc Vaszil Lajosovics (Kisvárad, Szobránci district, Slovakia, 1919) local resident, student, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Svarc Vladislav Arturovics (Nagyvárad, Ro, 1913), local resident, car mechanic, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svarc-Katz Etel Henzelievna (Nyiznyi Studenij, Mizshirja j., 1918) resident of Ungvár, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 2, 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Sveiger Marton Jakubovics (Dubove, Técső j., born 1920), local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Svimer Benjamin Simonovics (Cservenyovo, Munkács j., born 1915), local resident, merchant, member of the CZCP between 1935-1938, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Svimer Bernard Mojszejevics (Chervenyovo, Munkács j., 1912), local resident, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Svimer Jozsip Abramovics (Munkács, 1920), resident of Volovec, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Svimer Ljubov Izrailivna (Lipkanyi, Hotinsky District, Chernivtsi Territory, Ua, 1902) resident of Györgyszentmiklós, Romania, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Svimer Markus Solomonovics (Lipkany, Hotinsk district, Chernivtsi region, 1890), a resident of Györgyszentmiklós, Romania, a turner, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 31, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Svimer Marton Samuilovics (Cservenyovo, Munkács j., 1917), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

T

Tabak Oleksandr Izakovics (Bisztraterebes, Ro, 1919), inmate of forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Tabes (Tabizel) Giza (Gizella) Lejbivna (Ruszkij Potyik, Slovakia, 1923), local resident, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Teichman Ivan Markusovics (Rava Ruszka, Lviv area, Ua, 1901), resident of Oleksandrivka in the Hust district, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, rehabilitated in 1968.

Teller Ferenc Samuilovics (Tajna (Kis-), Hu, 1918) inmate of forced labour camp of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years on April 11, 1942 by the Special Council of the NKVD, rehabilitated in 1992.

U

Ungar Ferenc Jozefovics (Nyíregyháza, 1907) resident of Budapest, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

V

Vajner Blanka Ajzekivna (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1920), local resident, weaver, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 29 March 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Vajner Sulim Bencionovics (Vizsnyica, Chernivci region, Ua, 1918) local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 2 July 1940, rehabilitated in 1992.

Vágó Tibor Emanuilovich (Ungvár, Ua, 1914), local resident, medical laboratory assistant, member of the CZCP, sentenced to 5

years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 27 December 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Végh Mikola Salamonovics (Kassa, Sl, 1920), local resident, university student, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 27, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Vértes Etela Davidivna (Drahova, Huszt j. Ua, 1921), local resident, householder, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Volvovics Viktor Samuilovics (Kricsova, Técsői j. Ua, 1905) local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Volvovics (Volovics) Herman Hajmovics (Iza, Huszti j. Ua, 1917) local resident, worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 11, 1941, rehabilitated in 1968.

Vovrik Karlo Romanovics (Budapest, Hu, 1921), local resident, carpenter, member of the Social Democratic Party, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

W

Waldner Emerih Josipovics (Karcag, Hu, 1919), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Walerstein Vladislav Adolfovics (Budapest, Hu, 1914), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1991.

Walter Jakob Hajmovics (Szaplonca, Máramaros vm. Ro, 1916), local resident, textile factory worker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Wasserburger Emerih Juliusovics (Kiskőrös, Hu, 1919) resident of Vienna, plumber, member of the HCP between 1919-1941,

sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weicen Ivan Vaszilovics (Görbeszeg, Sl, 1919), a local resident, tailor, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Weinberger Emanuil Lipothovics (Munkács, Ua, 1915) local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 15 March 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Weinberger Herman Jakubovics (Bratislava, Sl, 1911), Prague resident, tailor, member of the CZCP 1936-1937, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 5 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1964.

Weisberger Herman Adolfovics (Görbeszeg, Sl., 1920), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weisman Markis Tobijasovics (Szobránc, Sl, 1905), local resident, builder, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Weiss Abram Majerovics (Izki, Mizshirja j. Ua, 1912), local resident, officer, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 31 May 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Weiss Abram Majerovics (Nyizhnij Vorota, Volovec j. Ua, 1917), resident of Nelipino, Szolyva j., barber, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 1 July 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Andriy Gnatovics (Chopivtsi, Munkács j., Ua, 1916), local resident, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 1 July 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Bence Samuelovics (Munkács, Ua, 1916), local resident, tailor, from 1936 member of the CZCP, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 25 October 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Weiss Emil Davidovics (Nagyberezna, Ua, 1916), local resident, watchmaker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1989.

Weiss Emil Leopoldovics (Runina, Sl, 1915), local resident, farmer, non-partisan, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 4, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Ernests Leopoldovics (Munkács, Ua, 1919), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 27, 1940, rehabilitated in 1965.

Weiss Ferdinand Hermanovics (Huszt, Ua, 1916), resident of Kőrösmező, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on May 17, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Gabor Abramovics (Uzsok, Nagyberezna j. Ua, 1919), resident of Ungvár, newsagent, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on 7 June 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Weiss Gnat Aleksandrovich (Budapest, Hu, 1916), resident of Ungvár, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Gnat Haimovics (Onok, Nagyszőlős j., Ua, 1920) local resident, farmer, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 10, 1940, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Herman Zigismundovics (Munkács, Ua, 1910), local resident, locksmith, member of the CZCP from 1934 to 1938, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Special Council of the NKVD on 26 June 1940, rehabilitated in 1989.

Weiss Izidor Aronovics (Szernye, Munkács j. Ua, 1909), local resident, carpenter, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 11, 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Izidor Solomonovics (Bisztricza, Sl, 1919), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 19, 1942, rehabilitated in 1969.

Weiss Jakiv Adolfovics (Turja-Poljana, born in Perecseny, 1922), resident of Nagyberezna, tailor, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on July 30, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Jolana Majerivna (?, 1919) resident of Nagyvárád, seamstress, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Jozsif Izraelovics (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1917), resident of Nagyvárád, confectioner, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, sentenced to 3 years again by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 9, 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Jozsif Mordkovics (Munkács, Ua, 1914), local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on October 7, 1940, rehabilitated in 1990.

Weiss Karlo Hermanovics (Kőszegpaty ?, Hu, 1922), local resident, worker, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 18, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Weiss Ladislav Izidovics (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1920), a resident of Nagyvárád, worker, non-party member, was sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on December 16, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Ludvig Samijlovics (Nagyszalonta, Ro, 1899) local resident, car driver, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 9, 1942, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on January 9, 1943, rehabilitated in 1991.

Weiss Mendel Jakubovics (Munkács, Ua, 1900), local resident, tailor, member of the CZCP between 1923-1928, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1940, rehabilitated in 1961.

Weiss Miklós Aronovics (Nagyvárád, Ro, 1909), resident of Nagyvárád, car driver-mechanic, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on September 5, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Oleksandr Jakubovics (Marosvásárhely, Ro, 1918), inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Oleksandr Markuszovich (Hliboke, Ungvár j., Ua, 1908), local resident, farmer, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 3, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1990.

Weiss Stefan Kalmanovics (Érmihályfalva, Hu, 1915), resident of Nagyvárad, shopkeeper, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1993.

Weiss Tivadar Mihajlovics (Budapest, Hu, 1911), local resident, artisan, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weiss Zsigmond Gejzovics (Dunaszerdahely, Sl, 1918), local resident, inmate of labour camp, soldier of the Hungarian army, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 11, 1942, rehabilitated in 1992.

Weksler Irina Mihajlivna (Szamosújvár, Ro, 1922) local resident, seamstress, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1991.

Wieder Ernest Julijovics (Munkács, Ua, 1922), local resident, car mechanic, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1969.

Wieder Izak Solomonovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1912) local resident, butcher, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Wieder Solomon Lazarovics (Rahó, Ua, 1919), local resident, watchmaker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, was rehabilitated in 1991.

Wolf Jakiv Martinovics (Kolocsava, Mizshirjai j. Ua, 1911) local resident, shopkeeper, member of the CSKP since 1936, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1970.

Wolf Lazar Lejbovich (Kolocsava, Mizshirja j. Ua, 1914) local resident, locksmith, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, rehabilitated in 1970.

Wolf Natan Bernatovich (Kolocsava, Mizshirja j. Ua, 1913), local resident, unemployed, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on November 29, 1940, was rehabilitated in 1992.

Z

Zaidler Zelman Hermanovics (Lubnya, Nagybereznai j. 1905), local resident, farmer, member of the CZCP between 1932-1936, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 5, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

Zihelman Mihajlo Jakubovics (Munkács, 1914), a local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1962.

Zilber Bela Davidovics (Máramarossziget, Ro, 1914) resident of Bucharest, tailor, non-party member, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on March 29, 1941, rehabilitated in 1992.

Zilberberger Gnat Juzefovics (Budapest, 1908), a local resident, shopkeeper, non-partisan, was sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on April 7, 1941, and was rehabilitated in 1992.

Zinger Abram (Munkács, 1921), resident of Ungvár, baker, non-partisan, sentenced to 3 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on February 10, 1941, rehabilitated in 1990.

2. Additional material for the chapter

After Hitler's Germany launched an undeclared war against the Soviet Union the Jews settled in the West experienced a new turn of events. Following a decision by the Soviet government 1.5 million Jews were resettled from areas under threat of occupation to the interior of the country.²¹⁵

Prisoners of Jewish and other nationalities were transferred from the prisons of Western Ukraine to the interior of the Soviet Union, and many hundreds of not yet convicted prisoners were evacuated from the Stanislav prison to prison camps in Ivanovo and other settlements in Ivanovo Oblast.²¹⁶ However, due to the rapid advance of the invading German Army, the NKVD guarding and security

²¹⁵ PREKUP ANIKÓ. P. 344.

²¹⁶ See KORSZUN, PAGIRJA, foreword to the compilers' collection of case files, ZVSZ, p. 20.

units did not have the time to evacuate completely the overcrowded prisons and prison camps in western Ukraine.

The dreaded elite units of the NKVD, which were chasing spies, terrorist groups and anti-Soviet elements, were replaced in Galicia by SS Sonderkommandos, Einsatzgruppen and action groups that continued to persecute Jews. A separate chapter in the history of the Jews is the atrocities and reprisals of the German “special units” in the prisons and camps of western Ukraine against defenceless Jews left there by the Soviet guards, and brutally massacred by them. According to survivors’ recollections, for example, from Stanislav’s central prison the Transcarpathian Ruthenian and Ukrainian prisoners were allowed to return home; several of them were arrested by the Hungarian gendarmerie at home (**F. F. Migyanka, Migyanka V. F /Siraki Luh/, J. J. Hiszem, J. F. Jaszinko /Vonyigovo/, M. V. Larion /Csumalovo/, M. M. Major, P. M. Kövesligeti, V. I. Ilko /Dulovo/, V. M. Krailo, M. V. Gorkavcsuk /Ruszká Mokrá/, J. A. Braj /Dubova/, I. Sz Filip /Nankova/** and others), and they were sentenced to several years in prison for crossing the border²¹⁷.

Jewish prisoners who were fit for work were subjected to forced labour. The prisoners were also guarded by pro-Nazi bandits and vengeful members of the militia, who had been recruited from among those Ukrainian nationalists who had escaped from Soviet captivity and, who later took an active part in the inglorious and shameful executions of Jews in Kamenets-Podolsk and in the genocide of the Polish-Jewish population in western Ukraine, but that is another story to which I shall return.

Some were granted amnesty, others were detained in camps

I discovered the names of Jews who had escaped to the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1943 and then were sentenced to forced labour in the first volume of the *Memory Book of Ukraine: Transcarpathia*.

²¹⁷ See: Реабілітовані історією. Закарпатська область. Книга перша. Упорядники: ДОВГАНІЧ О. Д., ХЛАНТА О. В., КОПСУН О. М. ВАТ „Видавництво Закарпаття”, Ужгород, 2003. p. 53.

²¹⁸ Following their fate, it also lists the names of Jews who were sent to labour camps and who were granted amnesty by the Soviet government in 1942 and given the opportunity to volunteer for the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, which was formed in the Soviet Union in the Orenburg district of Buzuluk. In the majority of cases, their wish was granted. They were all killed in action on the fronts of Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

The biographical data of the killed in action are listed in the following order: surname, personal name, patronymic, year of birth, social status (profession), participation in combat, military rank, circumstances and date of death, place of burial, and title of honour. If any information is unknown, it is omitted from the text. The source location of the processed data is divided into two parts. The first part contains documents and source works relating to the pre-WWII period, events and happenings in Transcarpathia. The second part is from archival sources: the Central Archives of the former Soviet Ministry of Defence (Podolsk, Moscow Region), the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region, the Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic and the Archives of the Czech Military History Institute of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, the records of soldiers of Transcarpathian origin, the Museum of Military History in Svidnik, Slovakia, and other institutions.

The documents found here, the photocopies of some of the documents taken and analysed, shed light on the sufferings (previously hidden) of thousands of ethnic Rusyns, Ukrainians, Jews, Hungarians, and Slovaks from Transcarpathia, who illegally crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in 1939-1941, and after having experienced the hell of the NKVD detention camps on Soviet territory, joined the Czechoslovak military units. All in all, the biographies of 7,000 fighters are known, who fought and were killed

²¹⁸ *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület*. The members of the editorial board: KEREC-SANIN VASZIL MIHAJLOVICS (chair), DOVHANICS OMELJAN DMITROVICS (assistant chair), GVARGYIONOV BORISZ OLEKSZANDROVICS (Secretary in charge al.) Translated from the Ukrainian into Hungarian: VLADIMÍR MIHÁLY, LAVER KATALIN, TIRKÁNICS GABRIELLA, FEJES JÁNOS. Ungvár, Kárpáti Kiadó, 1997. p. 648. Further on: *Ukrajna emlékkönyve*. 1967.

in almost 15 countries in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa during the years of the Second World War.

The names of the nearly one hundred Jewish volunteers who were granted amnesty and who were killed in various operations are listed below. It should be noted that only a few of them managed to reach the all-powerful Buzuluk conscription committee. Only those Jewish prisoners who had been proven to have Czechoslovak citizenship in Transcarpathia before 1938, who understood and spoke one of the Slavic languages, who did not engage in anti-Soviet activity and were sentenced to three years in prison for border offences only, were allowed to pass through the strict screening process of the NKVD officers and members of the Czechoslovak military mission and were allowed to put on the uniform of the Czechoslovak legionnaires. Between 9 May 1943 and 1 October 1943, the Czechoslovak brigade recruited from the GUPVI and GULAG camps consisted of 3,348 soldiers, 204 of whom were Jews.²¹⁹ Based on Czechoslovak archival documents and data received from survivors, it is highly probable that the number of Jews who hid behind some other nationality (Slovak, Czech, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Russian) and joined the brigade was much higher. Those who did not meet the conditions required by the committee were returned to forced labour camps. The Jews from Romania, Transylvania, the Highlands and other countries, who did not have Czechoslovak citizenship, who spoke no Slavic language and who were sentenced to 5-10-15 years, did not even get to the draft board; they were detained and their fate is unknown.

²¹⁹ *Ukrajna emlékönyve*. 1967. p. 54.

JEWISH SOLDIERS KILLED IN ACTIONS OF THE I. CZECHOSLOVAK CORPS FORMED IN THE SOVIET UNION

UNGVÁR

Ábrahám Viktor, father Izidor, worker (Ungvár, 1909-Pl, disappeared, 8 March, 1945.)

Feierstein Maximilián (Ungvár, 1909-Pl, Zindranowo, 6 Nov., 1944.)

Keszler Izsák, father Zelik, labourer (Ungvár, 1921-Ua, Kharkiv region, Sokolov, 8 March, 1943.)

Klein Vojtech, father Herman, official (Ungvár, 1919-Pl, Seroke, 25 March 1945.)

Szrulovich Lajos, father Vilmos, baker (Ungvár, 1925-Szl, Vrútky, 26 Apr., 1945.)

Weiss Melihar, father Izidor, tailor (Ungvár, 1910-Ua, Kharkiv region., Sokoliv, 8 March, 1945.)

MUNKÁCS

Hersmann Smul, father Zelman (Munkács, 1920-Pl, Duklai Pass, disappeared, Sep., 1944.)

Egrovics Zoltán, father Menyhért, worker (Munkács, 1919-Pl, Dukla Pass, disappeared, 9 Sep-1 Nov., 1944.)

Mermelstein József, father Ignác, farmer (Munkács, 1916-Sl, Dukla cemetery, 14 Sep., 1944.)

Neimann Hugó, father Solomon, actor (Munkács, 1912-Sl, Dukla cemetery, 16 Sep., 1944.)

Sajó Miklós, father Lajos, university student (Munkács, 1922-Cso, Turnov memorial cemetery, 10 Oct., 1945.)

Simon Ármin, father Moses, carpenter (Munkács, 1916-Szl, Dukla memorial cemetery, 15 Sep., 1944.)

Spigel Bernárd, father Henrik, the master (Munkács, 1916-Pl, Dukla cemetery, disappeared, 9 Sep. -1 Nov., 1944.)

Weiss Bence, father of Samuel, tailor (Munkács, 1916-Szl, Benediková, 23 March, 1945.)

BEREGSZÁSZ DISTRICT

Ickovics Tibor (Gát, 1913-Pl, Dukla Pass, disappeared, 9 Sept.- 1 Nov., 1944.)

Kahán Gyula, father Maximillián, merchant (Beregszász, 1910-Ua, Harkiv region, Szokoliv, in common grave, 8 March, 1943.)

Steinberger Herman (Muzsaly, 1923-Szl, memorial cemetery in Liptovszky Mikulás, 13 Apr. 1945.)

Weiss Mikulás, father Sámuel, baker (Bátyú, 1916-Szl, memorial cemetery in Liptovszky Mikulás, 30 March, 1945.)

HUSZT DISTRICT

Áronovics Mózes, father Martin, tailor (Horincsovo, killed in action at the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 9-23 Sept., 1944.).

Berkovics Bernát, father Martin (Rokoszovo, 1920-killed in action at Bila Cerkva in the fight for Kiev, between 12 Dec. 1943 – 1 Jan, 1944.)

Farkas Indrich, father Helmo (Szokirnica, 1913-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery of Liptovsky Mikulás, 11 March 1945.)

Farkas József, father Majer carter (Szokirnica, 1917-Szl, wounded in action and died in a hospital, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 10 Jan., 1945.)

Königsberg Sándor, father József technician (Huszt, 1918-Ua, wounded in the fight for Kiev, died in a military hospital, was buried in the village of Kozhanka, Fastinka district, 2 Jan., 1944.)

Kraus Ábrahám, father Jakab driver (Huszt, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 20 Nov., 1944.).

Mandlovics Sándor, father Leopold merchant (Huszt, wounded in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, died in a military hospital, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 1 Nov., 1944.)

Nuszovics Mihály, father Sajó, official (Nyizsnye Szeliscse, 1922- killed in action at the Eastern front, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 1 Dec., 1944.).

ILOVA DISTRICT

Holender Mózes, father Jakab shoe-maker, (Dorobratovo, 1909-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 1. Nov., 1944.)

Kágán/Kahán Mózes, father József driver (Liszicseve, 1911-Szl. killed in action on its territory, 30 Nov., 1944.)

Schönberger Herman, father Adolf merchant (Szilce, 1914-Szl. killed in action on its territory, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 17 Sept., 1944.)

MIZSHIRJA DISTRICT

Berger Martin, father Bernát driver (Szinerír, 1911-Szl, killed in action in Slovakia, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 11. Sept., 1944.)

Lebovics Hedajlo, father Ábrám merchant (Repinne, 1916-Szl, killed in action at, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky Mikulás, 3 Feb., 1945.)

MUNKÁCS DISTRICT

Feldman Dávid, father Jakab (Kuzmino, 1921-Pl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 11 Sept., 1944.)

Grosz Leopold, father Ábrahám (Klenovec, 1918-Pl, killed in action at the river Machnówka, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 13. Sept., 1944.)

Kleinberger Dávid, father Zoltán merchant (Kalnik, 1908-Ua, died in military hospital in Lvov, Liszacsivszk cemetery, 23 Dec., 1944.)

Kleinberger Leopold (Kalnik, 1919-Szl, killed in action for the height 824, 15 Apr., 1945.)

Stuhl Herman, father Izrael worker (Kalnik, 1923-Pl, disappeared in or near the village of Grzyce, 31 March, 1945.)

Weiss Vilmos, father Éliás merchant (Kljucsarki, 1912-Pl. died of his wound, Krosnoi voivodeship, memorial cemetery in Poljanka, 9-29 Sept., 1944.)

NAGYBEREZNA DISTRICT

Berhida Jankel, father Bernát (Ljuta, 1914-Szl. Disappeared in this area, Nov., 1944.)

Leibovics Melánia, father Frojim (Ljuta, 1923-Ua, Kiev killed in action at Bila Cerkva, Dec. 1943.)

Moskovics Móric, father Ignác, university student (Nagyberezna, 1925-Szl, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky-Mikulás, 10 March, 1945.)

NAGYSZŐLŐS DISTRICT

Fridman Rudolf, father Sámuel (Tiszaújlak, 1914-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky Mikulás, 9-23 Sept. 1944.)

Grinberger Miklós, father Sámuel (Nagyszőlős, 1920 Szl., killed in action at Dukla Pass, disappeared, October, 1944.)

Kálmán Ábrahám, father Sámuel, baker (Hizsa, 1919-Szl, killed in action on its territory, 12. Feb., 1945.)

Lebovics Sámuel, father Ignác merchant (Nagyszőlős, 1918-Pl, memorial cemetery in Pszczyna, 25 March 1945.)

Salamon Jakab (Tiszaújlak, 1919-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky Mikulás, 13 Febr. 1945.)

Svéd József, father Dezső (Tiszaújlak, 1916-Ua, Harkiv region., Sokoliv, common grave, 8 March, 1943.)

RAHÓ DISTRICT

Bash Mendel (Velikij Bicskiv, 1909-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky Mikulás, 5 March, 1945.)

Ejzikovics Mendel, father Éliás cshoe-maker (Velikij Bicskiv, 1903-Szl, killed in action at Nizny Komárnik, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 1944. Oct. 9.)

Lieberman Zsigmond, father Ábrahám (Luh, 1919-Szl, killed in action at Zindranova, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 27 Nov., 1944.)

Vider Sámuel, father Salamon (Szrednye Vogyane, 1919-Pl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 27 Nov., 1944.)

SZOLYVA DISTRICT

Berger Martin, father Lajos merchant (Sztrojne, 1920-a killed in action on the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery in Dukla, 11 Sept., 1944.)

Hojasz Herman, father Herman agriculture worker (Kerecki, 1925-Pl, killed in action, Krosnoi voivodeship, buried in the village of Seroke, 24 March, 1945.)

Mermelstein Emánuel, father Natan geographer, (Pavlovo, 1916-Ua, killed in action during the bombardment of the Yekhnivka Station in Chernikhiv region, Nizhinski district, buried in Svitanok, 12-13 Oct., 1943.)

Steinberg Wolf, father Dávid butcher (Kerecki, 1909-Pl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 6 Nov., 1944.)

Weiss Herman, father Uleos butcher (Nelipino, killed in action at the Eastern Front, buried in Eichendorf, 28 March, 1945.)

TÉCSŐ DISTRICT

Bleh Antal, father Lázár, tinsmith (Szolotvina, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 20 Nov., 1944.)

Cik Ábrahám, market-man (Hanicsi, 1905-Pl, killed in action in the fighting for Strocín, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 24 Nov., 1944.)

Grinberger Jakab, father Wolf, worker (Kalini, 1911- killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 15 Oct., 1944.)

Ilovics Herman (Uhlya, 1909-Szl, killed in action, the memorial cemetery of Liptovsky Mikuláš, 4 March, 1945.)

Judkovics Izsák, father Judo, merchant (Neresznica, 1923-Pl, killed in action, Katowicei voivodeship, buried in the village of Pszczyna, 24 March 1945.)

Kacz Salamon, father Ézer cook (Novoborovo, 1919-Ua, killed in action in the fight for Kiev, 11 Nov., 1943. 11.)

Lebovics Szimka, father Martin (Bedevlja, 1919, killed in action at the Eastern front, buried in the memorial cemetery in Dukla, 1-2 Dec. 1944.)

Lebovics Simon, father Ábrahám worker (Ruszké Pole, 1911-Szl, killed in action, the memorial cemetery Liptovsky Mikuláš, 15-30 Jan., 1945.)

Müller Herman, father Mózes butcher (Szolotvina, 1920-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery of Liptovsky Mikuláš, 3 Apr., 1945.)

Müller Mózes, father Szeli, butcher (Bustino, killed in action at the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery in Dukla, 9-25 Sept., 1944.)

Neimann Salamon, father Mózes worker, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 16 Sept., 1944.)

Silber Mendel, father Ábrahám, tailor (Gyibrova, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 30 Sept., 1944.)

Zelikovics Bernát, father Lajos, house-painter (Técső, 1922-Szl, killed in action, memorial cemetery in Liptovsky Mikuláš, 23 March, 1945)

UNGVÁR DISTRICT

Felberman Móric, father Leopold, agriculture worker, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, 30 Sept., 1944.)

Kestenbaum Emil (Eszeny, killed in action in the fight for the Dukla Pass, buried in the memorial cemetery of Dukla, in October, 1944.).

VOLÓC DISTRICT

Neimann Wolf, father Herman (Verhnya Hrabivnica, 1902-Szl, Makovice, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 15. Dec. 1944.)

Reichmann Jenő, father Jakab (Szkotarszke, 1914-Pl, at Włodzimierz, Sl, memorial cemetery in Dukla, 10. Sept., 1944.)

The Antifascist underground, Jewish partisans deployed by the NKVD (1939-1944)

In the first volume of the Memory Book of Ukraine on Transcarpathia, among the underground members and partisans who participated in resistance from 1939 onwards, and were arrested and executed by the Hungarian authorities, several martyrs of Jewish origin were also recorded, in addition to Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks and other nationalities, who were commonly known as press-ganged Soviet agents. It is also a well-known fact that the NKVD's operational officers picked out from the prisoners in the Soviet camps those persons who were known to be reliable men of left-wing orientation, who had finished the anti-fascist courses – these underwent combat training supervised by the Soviet intelligence. During their mission in Transcarpathia, new comrades-in-arms were also recruited. When they were court-martialled, the charges against them were: having been active members of military reconnaissance and illegal groups fighting against the Hungarian state. They were also accused of spying for the Soviet Union and collecting data for Soviet intelligence on Hungarian military, garrisons, their number, equipment, command and fortifications built in the Carpathians, on the construction of the Árpád Line, railway bridges, stations, warehouses and other military objects.

The agents' work was launched in 1939-1941, with the couriers already carrying information back and forth across the Soviet-Hungarian border. Between 1941 and 1944, paratroopers were deployed, some of whom were tracked down by the authorities. The leaders of the groups were usually executed by courts martial or sentenced to life imprisonment. The members of the groups were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment; many were sent to Hungarian and then German concentration camps and died there. In all, 137 resistance fighters were sentenced to death, 44 of them (Russians/Ukrainians, Hungarians, Jews, Poles), 15 to life imprisonment, 15 to hard labour, and the rest to various terms of imprisonment. The first six, including three Jews working for

Soviet intelligence, were hanged in Ungvár on 31 July 1942. The last public executions took place on 17 June 1944 in Huszt, Nagyszőlős, Tekeháza, Feketeardó. In these settlements, seven Soviet intelligence service men of Jewish origin were also shot dead among the others.

Davidovics Dávid, father Mbrozij, resistance fighter, (Iza, Huszt j. 1913- the Germans tortured him to death as a political prisoner, 1944.)

Farkas Mór, resistance fighter, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Nagyszőlős ? - partisan, executed on the ground of a Hungarian court sentence, Nagyszőlős, 17 June 1944.)

Farkas Szerén, resistance fighter, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Nagyszőlős ? – 1886-partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Nagyszőlős, 17 June 1944.)

Háberman Sámuel tailor, Nagyberezna, 1899-Jaszinya/Kőrösmező, January 1942.)

Jakubovics Herman-Henrih, father Farkas, resistance fighter (Nagyberezna ?- partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Ungvár, 31 July 1942.)

Dr. Leisman Jenő M. underground, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Nagyszőlős, 1891-partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Nagyszőlős, 17 June 1944.)

Schönberger Dávid, father Izidor, resistance fighter (Nagyberezna ?- partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Ungvár, 31 July 1942.)

Schwarz Mór resistance fighter, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Nagyszőlős ? – 1890-partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Nagyszőlős, 17 June 1944.)

Spicer Mózes, father József, tailor, resistance fighter, (Iza, Huszt j. 1921- the Germans tortured him to death as a political prisoner, 1944.)

Weiss Mendel, father Mózes, resistance fighter, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Tekeháza – 1896-partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Tekeháza, 17 June 1944.)

Weiss Sámuel, resistance fighter, member of the Pataki partisan detail (Feketeardó – 1896-partisan, executed on the basis of a Hungarian court sentence, Feketeardó, 17 June 1944.)

Jewish volunteers of the international brigades killed in action (1937-1939)

The first volume of the Memory Book of Ukraine on Transcarpathia contains, *inter alia*, the biographical data of the military Jews who were volunteers of the International Brigades and defended Republican Spain against the fascist conspirators – General Franco’s Falangists in 1937-1939. Among the 42,000 fighters of the International Brigades, recruited from 54 countries, there were 2,170 Czechoslovak volunteers and 79 young Rusyns/Ukrainians, Hungarians and Jews from Transcarpathia who had previously emigrated to Western countries in search of work.²²⁰ Among them we find **Lajos Grósz** from Beregszász, **Samuel Klein** from Csépe, **Menyhért Reisman** from Nagyszőlős, **Béla Svarc** from Halábor and others who went to Spain from Belgium. But there were some who set off directly from Transcarpathia. Most of them fought in the Rákosi squadron or in the Dimitrov battalion, on the fronts of Aragon, Estremadur, Catalonia and Madrid. In January 1938, an obituary of **Izidor Ébert**²²¹ from Ungvár, one of the first to die a heroic death, was published in the *Munkás Újság (Workers’ Newspaper)* in Ungvár. After the defeat of the republicans, the members of the international brigades from Transcarpathia were transferred from Spain to be interned in France. Later, some returned home, but many, especially demobilised veterans of Jewish origin, stayed in the West because of the persecution of Jews and became soldiers of the *Eastern Czechoslovak Battalion* formed in 1940.

Of the 79 “Spanish” volunteers from Transcarpathia, 16 were killed in action, and about half of them were Jews:

Izidor Ébert (Ungvár),

Ferenc Loc, father József (Beregszász, 1897),

A. Günzenberger (Munkács),

D. Estreicher, (Munkács),

Samuel Klein (Csápe),

Samuel Köstenbaum (Tiszaújlak? - Spain, killed at the Ebro River, ?),

Lajos Reisman (Tiszaújlak? - Spain, killed at the Madrid River, ?),

Joseph Schwarz (Tiszaújlak? - Spain, killed at the Madrid River, ?).

²²⁰ *Ukrajna emlékkönyve*. 1967. p. 62.

²²¹ *Munkás Újság*, 1938. január 23.

Jewish soldiers of the Eastern Czechoslovak Battalion killed in action (1940-1945)

In the database of the Memory Book of Ukraine on Transcarpathia, it was possible to collect the names of Jews who emigrated from Transcarpathia to the West or fled and joined the Eastern Czechoslovak Battalion during the Second World War. Among them we find names of Jews who participated in the Spanish civil war, and also in the formations which, at the call of the Czechoslovak National Committee, were established in 1940 in the Middle East, North Africa and France. More than 11,000 of these people took part in action. In June 1940, they became known in France as the 1st Czechoslovak Infantry Division, and together with the French army they fought decisively against the Nazi invaders. The fierce summer battles saw some 400 Transcarpathian participants, 40 of whom were killed in action or who vanished untraceably.

Between 1940 and 1943, they were reorganised as the Eastern Czechoslovak Battalion and continued their fight in the Middle East and North Africa. A total of 618 Transcarpathian men took part in the war operations in the desert.

In 1943-1944, some 4,000 soldiers from the scattered Czechoslovak units were finally gathered in England and recruited into an armoured brigade. Their ranks included a large number of Transcarpathian Jews. e.g.

Bogaradcsaner Imre (Kőrösmező/Jaszinya),

Bogaradcsaner Max (Kőrösmező/Jaszinya),

Bogaradcsaner Salamon (Kürösmező/Jaszinya),

Kohan Josip (Beregszász),

Lebovics Bernard (Leipzig),

Osterraicher Jozsif (Munkács),

Osterraicher Karl (Munkács),

Osterraicher Ludvik (Munkács),

Smoljovics Jozsif (Úrmező/Ruszké Pole),

Smoljovics Zelman (Úrmező/Ruszké Pole) and others.

On the 28th of October, 1944, they joined the fight at Dunkirk on the 2nd Western Front with the British Army. **Ludvik Davidovich** (Bustyaháza) and **Salamon Herskovich** (Beregszász) were among the

victims of the heavy fighting around the town. In the Memory Book of Ukraine, we can read the note of a Czechoslovak officer, **V. Mendel** to the wife of Corporal **Jakab Marvan (Mermelstein)**, born in Solyva, who joined the Czechoslovak Corps in Palestine in 1942 at the age of 28, and was killed at Dunkirk in action: "Dear Mrs. Marvanova. I have to inform you of the sad news of the death of your husband, Corporal Jakab Marvan, who was killed in the battle of Dunkirk on the 28th of October, 1944. Please accept my sincere condolences. I can only confirm that Corporal Marvan was a good soldier and loved by all his comrades. It is a pity he cannot return with his comrades to his free country." The compilers of the collection discovered in the archives "Marvan's soldier's book, which he always had with him close to his heart. An enemy bullet had pierced the document and the warrior's heart. The pages, soaked with hot blood, were torn."²²² In the context of this tragic event, I think it is important to note that Jakab Marvan's father, **Merlmelstein Israel Dovics**²²³ (1899), who remained in Solyva, and all his close relatives were deported to Auschwitz in June 1944, and became victims of the Holocaust.

It was only on 9 May 1945 that the ten and a half thousand Germans who were encircled in the town of Dunkirk surrendered to the Czechoslovak brigade. The victorious corps left for Czechoslovakia on 12 May 1945, together with the Jewish survivors of the battles, who later settled in Moravia. Their deceased comrades are buried in military cemeteries in France.

Apfeldürfer Ernő (Munkács, 1920-Fr., disappeared at the river Loire in June, 1940.)

Avelender/Auslender Juliusz (Poroskovo, Perecseny j. 1915-killed in action in France, 1940.)

Cservinszkij Petro Boriszovics (Novoszelica, Perecseny j. 1914-Fr., killed in action in France at the river Loire, June, 1940.)

²²² Memorial book of Ukraine. 1967. pp.68-69.

²²³ See: Книга скорботи України. Закарпатська область. Том V. Перечинський район, Рахівський район, Свалявський район. Голова редколегії: І. О. Герасимов. Ужгород, 2007. Р. 400.

Davidovics Lajos, father Ábrahám, worker, (Bustino, 1915- killed in action in France, buried in the Memorial Cemetery Nazdar of Nivelles, 5 Nov., 1944.)

Eisenberg Sámuel, father Móric (Beregszász, 1906-Fr., killed in action in France, 11 June, 1940.)

Eszner Miklós, father József, shoemaker, (Nagyberezna, 1910-Fr, killed in action in France, 15 June 1940.)

Fridmann Áron, father Salamon, merchant, (Kusnica, Ilosvai j. 1904-Fr., killed in action in France, buried in Montpellier, 21 June, 1944.)

Gelb Ábrahám (Rokoszovo, Huszt j. 1920- killed in action in France, 14 June, 1940.)

Herskovics Salamon, father Meliher, film cameraman, (Beregszász, 1917-Fr., killed in action in France, 12 Dec.1944.)

Kacz Leopold, father Meliher, tanner, (Holubine, Szolyvai j. 1917-Fr., wounded in action and died, buried in the cemetery of Cassel, 13 Oct., 1944.)

Lebovics Adolf, worker (Huszt, 1909-vanished into thin air in France on the battle-field, 17 June, 1940.)

Livenvirt Bernát (Loza, Ilosvai j. 1910- killed in action in France, 9 March, 1944.)

Majer Jakab (Szolotvino, 1905- killed in action in France, 14 June, 1940.)

Marvan (Mermelstein) Jakab, father Izrael, a butcher, (Szolyva, 1914-Fr., killed in action in France, buried in the military cemetery of Dunkerque, 28 Oct., 1944.)

Neimann Jenő, father Ádám, carter, (Munkács, 1901-Fr. disappeared at the river Loire on 14 June, 1940.)

Nidermann Lajos, father Ignác (Munkács, 1900-Fr., disappeared at the river Loire on 14 June, 1940.)

Schönfeld Imre (Munkács, 1915-Fr., Memorial Cemetery Nazdar in Nivelles, 15 Apr., 1945.)

Svéd Herman (Feketardó, 1904- killed in action in France, 15 Apr., 1945.)

II. THE SECOND “ACT” OF THE JEWISH GENOCIDE (1941-1942)

Additions to the deportation of Jews from Kőrösmező

After the Second World War, the history of the stateless (homeless) Jews deported from Hungary to Western Ukraine was a “blank spot” in Russian and Ukrainian historiography. This very sad story was not sufficiently well-known even among those who studied the history of the Holocaust. Before and after the fall of communism, the 1941 deportation of Jews from Kőrösmező, the German special units involved in the extermination of Jews, the role of the pro-German Ukrainian militia and other issues were the subject of numerous publications²²⁴. In addition to the publication of basic works, a research group named *Kőrösmező 1941* was formed in Budapest in

²²⁴ SZIRTES ZOLTÁN: *Temetetlen halottaink – 1941 – Kőrösmező, Kamenyec-Podolszk*. Budapest, 1966. MAJSAI TAMÁS: *A kőrösmezei zsidódeportálás 1941-ben.*, Iratok a kőrösmezei zsidódeportálás történetéhez 1941. In: Ráday Gyűjtemény évkönyve, Budapest, Dunamelléki Ref. Egyházkerület, 1984-85 (IV-V), 59-86, 195-237. p., Lásd még: MAJSAI TAMÁS: *A kőrösmezei zsidódeportálás 1941-ben*. In: *Remény* (Tel-Aviv) 1987/3. 12-37.), MAJSAI TAMÁS: *A Kamenyec-Podolszkij-i deportálás*. In: *Historia*, (16.) 1994/7. 26-29., MAJSAI TAMÁS: *A Kamenyec-Podolszkij-i deportálás*. In: *Menóra* [Torontó] 1994. december 16. 6., MAJSAI TAMÁS: *Kamenyec-Podolszkijra emlékezzünk*. In: *Élet és Irodalom*, (50.) 2006/25. (= szeptember 1.)

TAMÁS STARK: Hungarian Jewry during the crisis period and after the Second World War. In: *Regio - Minority, politics, society* 4th year (1993) No. 3, MÁRIA ORMOS: A Hungarian media leader: Miklós Kozma. *Hell in Media and Politics (1919-1941)*. Budapest, PolgART, 2000, ÁGNES SÁGVÁRI: *Studies from the history of the Hungarian Holocaust*. Budapest, Napvilág, 2002, etc.

2011 to continue data collection and analysis²²⁵. Over the past two decades, several researchers have worked on the 1941 deportees, but a comprehensive monograph on them has not yet been written and is still awaiting publication.

According to the research carried out so far, the “death march,” *known as pro-holocaust*, of stateless Jews deported from Hungary (which was very well organised) set out from Kőrösmező on the 1st of August, 1941. (Many of the deportees, however, escaped, saving their lives, and returned). The lives of others ended tragically in Kamenetz-Podolsk on the 28th of August, 1941.

Concerning the forced expulsion of stateless Jews, at the end of June 1941, the National Central Authority for the Control of Foreigners (KEOKH), headed by Ámon Pásztóy²²⁶, at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, decided for the first time that “non-national or stateless Jewish citizens”²²⁷ should be expelled from the territory of Hungary, so that Jews of irregular citizenship “*with the support of the authorities, start a new life in Galicia.*”²²⁸ In July 1941, for example, the number of those expelled from Ungvár by this time exceeded 250²²⁹.

²²⁵ J. JUHÁSZ ILONA: *Különvonatok és előholokauszt*. In: Új Szó, 2012. október 20. (Tárolt változat:

<http://ujsozso.com/napilap/szalon/2012/10/20/kulonvonatok-es-eloholokauszt>). Excerpt from the article: “In terms of research on the topic, the *Kőrösmező 1941* research group, established in 2011 within the framework of the Holocaust Documentation Centre and Memorial Collection, is also an important step forward, two of whose members - Ádám Gellért and János Gellért - continue the scientific research that began in September 2009. They systematically collect and organize domestic and foreign archival material related to the deportation from Kőrösmező in 1941, the Kamenetz-Podolsk massacres and the subsequent massacres, as well as Hungarian and international literature.” According to the plans of the Memorial Centre, in 2014 the scientific research results and the most important documents will be published in a White Book.

²²⁶ Ámon Pásztóy, the head of KEOKH, was sentenced to death by the people’s court in 1949 and executed in August.

²²⁷ Between 1939 and 1941, approximately 10,000 to 20,000 Jews fled to Hungary from the Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Germany and Slovakia. These people mostly hid with false papers, others were registered with the National Central Authority for the Control of Foreigners (KEOKH) under the Ministry of the Interior and were in internment camps or at large. In Transcarpathia, the kaftan and sideburns were the distinguishing mark, on the basis of which Orthodox and Hasidic Jews were gathered for deportation to Kamenets-Podolsk

²²⁸ July 12, 1941. 192/2 of 1941 issued on this day. r. s. VII. b. s. Ministry of the Interior decree stated that “in view of the current foreign policy circumstances, the possibility has opened that ineligible foreigners staying in the country [...] will be removed from the country in the near future.”

²²⁹ CSILLA FEDINEC: *HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIANS 1918-1944*: 2002. 379.P.

From July 8, 1941, the aforementioned governor Miklós Kozma²³⁰ played an active role in the implementation of the decree in the Carpathian region. Gendarmerie lieutenant colonel Endre Kricsfalussy-Hrabár²³¹, MP, gendarmerie major Zoltán Ághy, and Aristzid Meskó, chief of the Subcarpathian border police, played an active role in working out the technical details of the implementation.

The KEOKH (National Central Authority for the Control of Foreigners) opened an office in Munkács to carry out operational tasks in the region. With the help of official propaganda, which also deceived the population and covered up cynical lies, the Jews were forced to resettle, saying that in their new place of residence in Galicia they would receive the properties of the Jewish population retreating with the Red Army. Many fell for this story. Leaving their property to the state or to the stooges, they were allowed to take with them only 30 pengos per capita, three days' food, and some luggage.

Gábor Ajtay, the deputy governor of Máramaros Region, also openly joined the chorus of those who approved the deportation of stateless Jews, and on 8 July 1941 he stated in his appeal published in the press: *"There are more than 45,000 Jews living on the territory of Máramaros Region itself [...], who, or rather their predecessors, infiltrated the county from Galicia, Bukovina and Poland. In the town of Maramarossziget alone, the number of Jews exceeds 10,000. [...] Their relocation ['resettlement'] [...] is greatly facilitated by the fact that the Russians removed a large part of the population from the occupied territories."*²³²

The Jews of "non-formal citizenship" (refugees from Poland, Slovakia, Austria, Galicia) were deported (an unknown number of Gypsies also), with the cooperation of the authorities, first to Transcarpathia (to assembly camps in Munkács, Ungvár, Técső) and then in cattle cars on 15 July. From July 15 to August 12, they were transported to Kőrösmező to a military-run assembly camp, where

²³⁰ June 1941. Information from the Transcarpathian governor's office: "those elements who do not feel comfortable in Transcarpathia for political or popular reasons will soon be able to leave where they hope for a better living and find a homeland that suits their feelings."

²³¹ On the initiative of the NKVD, **Endre Kricsfalussy-Hrabár** was sentenced to death by the Special Court in Ungvár and executed in the fall of 1946.

²³² *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1941. július 8.

they were subjected to inhumane conditions (frequent starvation, lack of medical care, etc.).

The local Hungarian papers published several reports about the gendarmerie action to round up stateless Jews in Transcarpathia: *“The area around Ungvár County was overrun with deported Jews and their families brought in by the gendarmes. Some 1,200 deportees were sent to Kőrösmező and then directed from there to Galicia.”*²³³

In the Funeral “Book of Ukraine,” I found some shocking data in the list of those who died innocently in the World War in Transcarpathia. In Munkács, during a round-up operation, on 30 June 1941, the gendarmes simply executed the disobedient merchant **Leopold Sais** and his family consisting of seven members at home ²³⁴.

Here is the list of the victims (surname comes first):

Sais Dora Leopoldivna (Munkács, 1935- Munkács, 30.06.1941) schoolgirl,

Sais Herman Leopoldovics (Munkács, 1931- Munkács, 30.06.1941) schoolboy,

Sais Hilda Leopoldivna (Munkács, 1929-Munkács, 30.06.1941) schoolgirl,

Sais Leopold Jozsefovics (Munkács, 1896-Munkács, 30.06.1941) merchant,

Sais Rozalia Hersivna (Munkács, 1896-Munkács, 30.06.1941) housewife,

Sais Samuil Leopoldovics (Munkács, 1939-Munkács, 30.06.1941),

Sais Serena Leopoldivna (Munkács, 1921-Munkács, 30.06.1941.).

Similar incidents occurred in other settlements, where the gendarmes, perhaps to set an example, killed several Jewish people. In Ruszko and Orosztelke in Munkács district, 5 stateless Jews (3 women, 2 men) were executed:

Berger Sara (Ruszké-Ruszké),

Cukier Bejla Fiselovics (Ruszké, 1899-Ruszké, 1941),

Hozik Rima Mosivna (Ruszké, 1882-Ruszké),

²³³ *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1941. augusztus 11

²³⁴ See: KSZU ZO, I. 2002: p. 529.

Margulis Mendel Jefraimovics (Ruszke, 24.08. 1898-Ruszke),
Spatc Mircea Jelezerivna (Ruszke, 1898-Ruszke, 1941).²³⁵

With the involvement of the military units stationed in Kőrösmező (under the command of Chief of General Staff Henrik Werth²³⁶), the first relocation of about 18 thousand people (13 thousand of them from Transcarpathia and four thousand from other parts of the country) was organized²³⁷ from here in several waves to Galicia through the Tatar Pass. The “stateless persons” were transported to the Kamenetz-Podolsk area, about 100 km from Kőrösmező, which was already part of the operational area of the Hungarian army, which was cooperating with the German forces. As is known, the Hungarian Army troops crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border on 27 June 1941 and took part in the occupation of Galicia.

Groups of responsible Hungarian citizens also obtained knowledge of the inhumane action, which was carried out in secret. It was condemned by several Jewish organisations and several prominent public figures and politicians. Following the numerous complaints of the relatives of the deported persons, several of them (Károly Rassay,²³⁸ Margit Slachta,²³⁹ MP, Count György Apponyi,²⁴⁰ Count Erzsébet Szapáry, Dr. Imre Szabó, Chamberlain of Pápa, and others), forming the Investigation Committee of the Parliament, visited Kőrösmező. After the inspection, they began to protest vigorously to the Minister

²³⁵ See: KSZU ZO, 4. 2006: 4. pp. 486-489.

²³⁶ Chief of General Staff **Henrik Werth** was sentenced to death in absentia by the People's Court in 1948. He died in Soviet captivity in 1952.

²³⁷ TAMÁS STARK: Jewry in the period of emergency and after liberation (1939-1955). Budapest, Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1995. 42-56. p.

²³⁸ **Károly Rassay** (Orsova, 1886 - Pécel, 1958) was a distinguished lawyer, politician, member of the National Assembly and later of the Parliament, and State Secretary. In 1944 he was arrested by the Germans and taken to Mauthausen. After his return, he no longer took part in political life. He wrote his memoirs in the early 1950s.

²³⁹ **Margit Slachta** (Kassa, 18 September 1884 - Buffalo, USA, 6 January 1974) was the founder and superior of the Catholic order of women monks of the Society of Social Brothers. As a member of the Party of Christian National Unity (KNEP) she was the member of the National Assembly. In 1941, in the summer of that year she was the first to speak out against the order of the by the KEOKH aimed at the deportation of 'stateless' Jews from Hungary to Galicia, most of whom were massacred on 27-28 August near Kamenetz-Podolsk. In 1969, she was awarded the *Righteous Among the Nations* Medal by Yad Vashem. Source: <http://www.hdke.hu/tudastar/enciklopedia/slachta-margit>

²⁴⁰ **György Apponyi**, Count (1898-1970) Son of Albert Apponyi, MP as a Liberal Party member, anti-German politician; arrested by the Gestapo in 1944, deported to Mauthausen.

of the Interior, but unfortunately to no avail. On 9 August 1941, Minister of the Interior Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer²⁴¹ sent a telegram to Miklós Kozma,²⁴² the governor of Transcarpathia, ordering him to stop resettlement. Despite the clear order, the Hungarian army moved the ‘foreign’ or ‘stateless’ Jews gathered in Kőrösmező across the border. The local Hungarian press also informed the population that “*the Ministry of the Interior has informed the competent authorities in Transcarpathia that the deportations are suspended and those transported to Galicia can be returned to their homes.*”²⁴³

There were brave people among Christians, too, who did not support the Hungarian government’s anti-Jewish municipal measures. These dissenters were filtered out and punished by the police. For example, “*the court in Ungvár judged “Christian persons” who violated the Jewish law: gave countenance to Jews, got them hidden, had “illegal documents” for them.*”²⁴⁴

The deported Jews were received in a very unfriendly way by the Ukrainian population. Most of them protested vehemently against the Jews who had been sent to various settlements. Ukrainian anti-Semites often organized bloody pogroms, massacres, and tortures. For example, S. G. (Munkács, 1909), a resident of Ilosva, who had been deported to Western Ukraine with her husband and child, witnessed the murder of hundreds of Jewish men from Kőrösmező who sought refuge with their families in a church close by. The perpetrators were “young armed peasant boys” collaborating with the Gestapo.²⁴⁵

Ukrainians, who held extremist views, and Nazi henchmen also took their share of the pogroms, as evidenced by a deportee’s letter that was probably successfully delivered by a Hungarian soldier who sympathised with the persecuted. According to the deportee’s account, Jews crossing the Dniester were robbed by the local

²⁴¹ Interior Minister **Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer** fled to Austria and died of lung cancer in Vienna in 1948.

²⁴² **Miklós Kozma**, the governor of Transcarpathia, died of natural death in December, 1941.

²⁴³ *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1941. augusztus 11.

²⁴⁴ *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*, 1941. szeptember 1

²⁴⁵ Source: 2067. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság online gyűjteménye, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=2067>

population and many of them were thrown into the river. Quotes from the letter: “*There are groups roaming all over the countryside, robbed... 50-60 bodies a day float down the Dniester. Corpses are taken out of the Dniester daily, mostly young girls, violated.*”²⁴⁶

Facts and figures on the victims of the first deportations

The leadership of the 18th German Army that invaded the area demanded that the deportation of Jews from Hungary be stopped and that the Jews who had been deported be returned, but the Hungarian authorities did not comply. Finally, the German generalship of the region decided on the extermination of the Jews.

In Horodenka, Sotrumentz, Usechko, Gaishin, Stanislav/Ivano-Frankovsk in Galicia,²⁴⁷ near Chertkov, Nadvorna, Kolomeya and other settlements, the deportees, having been stripped, were shot dead by the troops²⁴⁸ of SS- Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln²⁴⁹ and thrown into bomb craters, the graves being excavated by the victims themselves.

The biggest massacre was carried out near Kamenetz-Podolsk on the Dniester²⁵⁰. The victims were escorted on foot to a killing site about 15 km from the city, where on 27-28 August 1941, in mass executions (including the local Jewish population), some 23,600 people were shot and murdered *en masse*²⁵¹. Eyewitnesses gave gruesome details of the massacres carried out. Some of the condemned, who had been

²⁴⁶ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. A kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: Kárpátalja (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1992. május, 10. sz. p.10.

²⁴⁷ In 2011, at the initiative of the *Wesley John* Ministers' Training College (WJLF) and its supporting church, the Hungarian Evangelical Fellows' Community (MET) a memorial plaque to the victims murdered in Stanislav/Ivano-Frankivsk in October 1941 was placed there, too.

²⁴⁸ The task of the German operational (Einsatzgruppen) groups was to pacify the occupied territories and execute communists, commissars, Jews, etc. captured during the campaign against the Soviet Union.

²⁴⁹ *Friedrich Jeckeln*, the commander of the gunmen who carried out the massacre, was tried by a military court in Riga on 3 February 1946, sentenced to death and hanged the same day.

²⁵⁰ See the Kamenetz-Podolsk massacre. In: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamenec-podolsz-kiji_tömegmészárlás (16-01-2015).

²⁵¹ TÓTH GÁBOR: „Az eltávolítás haladéktalanul végrehajtandó”. Deportálások Kárpátalján a második világháború idején. KMMI-Füzetek V. 2009. pp. 7-16.

herded to a pre-excavated pit, were merely wounded by the firing, and after their superficial burial, the earth moved as some of them were still dying. Since then, a number of authentic documents testifying to the bloody massacres by Nazi firing squads in Kamenetz-Podolsk and the region have been made public. An inmate of a labour camp from Tiszaújlak in Ugocsa (F.H., Toronya, 1909), who was a driver in a work unit, watched in passing by with his comrades, as Jews were led by the execution squad in Kamenyec-Podolsk. The Germans almost arrested them too. As he writes: “...but we managed to convince the Germans that we were not Jews and so we escaped. When we travelled back that way, there were no Jews left. At the same time, in every Ukrainian town, as we drove on, such as Proskorov, Vinnica, there too, before our eyes, the Jews were rounded up by the Germans and killed. They are buried in mass graves.”²⁵² On the whole, then, the five-digit death toll of the deportations from Hungary only in 1941 exceeded 15-16 thousand.”²⁵³

From the list of the World War dead in Transcarpathia in the 10-volume “Black Book” of Ukraine,²⁵⁴ which is closely linked to the tragedy, I have extracted the so far discovered, but by no means complete list of the victims of the first deportation, who died or were brutally executed in 1941 in the concentration camps and killing sites set up by the Nazis in Ukraine. The names and data are given in the order in which they appear in the original Ukrainian-language source but transcribed in accordance with the Hungarian language transliteration rules. (Surname comes first).

²⁵² Source: 447. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság online gyűjteménye, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=447>, A továbbiakban DEGOB.

²⁵³ See: Книга скорботи України. Закарпатська область. – Т. 1. Ужгород, вид-во „Карпати”. 2002. (Ukrajna gyászkönyve. Kárpátalja megye. – i. k., Ungvár, Kárpáti, 2002.), STARK TAMÁS: *A magyar zsidóság a vészkorszakban és a második világháború után.* In: *Regio - Kisebbség, politika, társadalom* 4. évf. (1993.) 3.sz.

²⁵⁴ See: Книга скорботи України. Закарпатська область. – Т. 1. Ужгород, вид-во „Карпати. in 2002, 2. in 2004, 3. in 2005, 4th in 2006, 5th in 2007, 6th in 2008, 7th in 2009, 8th in 2010, 9th in 2011, 10th in 2013 was published in Ungvár by Kárpáti Kiadó. In the processed literature, the bookkeeping data are published in Ukrainian. Hereinafter: KSZU ZO.

BEREGSZÁSZ:

Buehel Ajdi Simonivna (Beregszász, 1932-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) schoolgirl,

Buehel Volvi Simonovics (Beregszász, 1930-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) schoolboy,

Buehel Izu Simonovics (Beregszász, 1936-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) schoolboy,

Buehel Mortke Simonovics (Beregszász, 1939- Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Herskovics Bella Simonivna (Beregszász, 1890-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Klug Helena Felikszivna (Beregszász, 1920-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Klug Ica Felikszovics (Beregszász, 1930- Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) student,

Klug Rezsín Hermanivna (Beregszász, 1897-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Lajner Margit Haimivna (Beregszász, 1902-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Lebovics Zejev Leviovics (Beregszász, ?- Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

HUSZT:

Berkovics Malka Jakivna (Huszt,1867-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Katz Antal Reivenovics (Huszt,1886-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

Munkács:

Feffer Hava Bernagyivna (Munkács, 1906 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Feffer Leib Ichakovics (Munkács, 1939 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs Aser Izraelovics (Munkács, ? - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) merchant,

Fuchs Berncion Aserovics (Munkács, 1905-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs David Aserovics (Munkács, 1908 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) transport.agent,

Fuchs Dezso Aserovics (Munkács, 1908 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) merchant,

Fuchs Ester Aserivna (Munkács, 1910 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs Etel Aserovics (Munkács, ? - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs Zigmund Izraelovics (Munkács, 1870-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941), merchant,

Fuchs Olga (Munkács ? - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) official.

Gartenberg Edit-Ester (Munkács, 1924-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.30.),

Gartenberg Gizella, (Munkács, 1883, Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.30.)

Gartenberg Helena Hermanyivna (Munkács, 1919-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.30.),

Gartenberg Irina Hermanyivna (Munkács, 1913-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.30.) merchant,

Gartenberg Sara Hermanyivna (Munkács, 1908-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.30.) merchant,

Liperman Herman Elizerovics (Munkács, 1887- 1941) tailor,

Liperman Gizella Hanohivna (Munkács, ?-Ivano-Frankivszk, 1941) student,

Rabinovics Erzsebet Arminyivna (Munkács, ?-Ternopol, June, 1941),

Smuk Margit (Munkács, ? - Kamenyec - Podolszk, 1941) student,

MUNKÁCS DISTRICT:

Fuchs Aser Izraeliovics (Verhnya Viznyica, 1880-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs Fani Volfina (Csopivci, 1884-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Fuchs Fani Zajevna (Kolcsino, 1879-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Herskovics Bela Simonivna (Znyacevo, 1890-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Vinterstein Barent Mordehajovics (Kolcsino, 1922-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Weber Sara Abragamivna (Ruszké, 1922- Lviv. t. Rava Ruszka-1942),

NAGYSZÖLŐS DISTRICT:

Farkas Lea Volfina (Nove Szela, 1905-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Farkas Civia Gutmanivna (Nove Szela, 1910-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

ÖKÖRMEZŐ DISTRICT:

Haimovics Herman Slomovics (Vehrnyij Bisztrij, 1922-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Haimovics Pnina Mosevna (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1891-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Hoffman Sie Davidovics (Nyizsni Sztudenij, 1899-1941).

Klein Enzsela Jehudivna (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1930-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Klein Sara Oleksandrivna (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1901-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Klein Haim Jehudovics (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1933-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Klein Haja Jehudivna (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1928-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Lahmanovics Ichak Jozefovics (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1884-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Lahmanovics Lea Haimivna (Verhnyij Bisztrij, 1928-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

RAHÓ DISTRICT:

Slomovics Gitl Herselivna (Velikij Bicskiv, 1908-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Slomovics Samuel Sinajovics (Velikij Bicskiv, 1925-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

SZOLYVA DISTRICT:

David Sara Jozefivna (Poljana, 1860-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

UNGVÁR:

Fridman Avram (Ungvár, 1906-1942).

Klugman Anna Mihaelivna (Ungvár, 1929-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.27.) student,

Klugman Elvira Izraelivna (Ungvár, 1894.09.9.-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941.08.21.),

Klugman Margit (Ungvár, 1894-1942),

Levkovics Gitl Davidivna (Ungvár, ?-1942),

Rozenberg Hermen Userovics (Ungvár, ?-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Rozenberg Meir (Ungvár, 1921-1942),

Rozenberg Peter Andrijovics (Ungvár, ?-1942),

Rozenberg Rahel (Ungvár, 1920-1942),

Rozenberg Rivka (Ungvár, 1912-1942),

UNGVÁR DISTRICT:

Harbasman Ester Abragamivna (Korláthelmec, 1914-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941).

Man Jeno Fejvelovics (Eszeny, 1917-Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Zelikovics Rezel (Eszeny, 1896-1941),

VOLÓC DISTRICT:

Bronstein Bluma Abragamivna (Bukovec, 1909-1923),

Fait David Naftaliovics (Verhnye Hrabivnicja, 1878-1941),

Fait Zelman Mosevics (Verhnye Hrabivnicja, 1897-1942),

Fait Kalman Davidovics (Verhnye Hrabivnicja, 1907-1942),

Fait Haim Tobijovics (Verhnye Hrabivnicja, 1917-1942),

Fridman Sara Elijahivna (Szkotarszke, ? – Kamenyec - Podolszk, 1941),

Fridman Helen Elizerivna (Szkotarszke, 1911 - Kamenyec - Podolszk, 1941),

Gottesman Sai Mosevics (Huklovij, 1886. 01.21.-1942),

Hermel Hers Akivovics (Nyizsnyi Vorota, 1881 - Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941) baker,

Hrinberg Ester Menahemivna (Szkotarszke, 1916- Kamenyec-Podolszk, 1941),

Hrinberg Zejev Emanuelovics (Szkotarszke, 1910- Kamjanec-Podolszk, 1941),

Lipner Ignac Smulevics (Nyizsnyi Vorota, ? - 1942) merchant,

Majer Debora Mosivna (Volóc, 1937-1941),

Majer Etel (Volóc, 1913-1941),

Majer Jozef Mosevics (Volóc, 1938. 05. 18.-1941),

Majer Mose (Volóc, 1912-1941),

Majer Rahel Mosivna (Volóc, 1939-1941),

Majer Jakov Jozefovics (Volóc, 1938. 05.18.-1941),

Steinberg Lea Hermanyivna (Verhnyij Vorota, 1909- Hmelny-ickij ter., Kam.-Podolszk, 1941),

Safer Husta Leibivna (Szkotarszke, ? - 1942).

The local Galician Jewish residents were not spared either; the vast majority of them were sent to the gas chambers of the Belzec death camp. Some of the deported Transcarpathian Jews were held in various concentration camps, many of them perishing in these death camps. This is confirmed by the list of casualties in the above-mentioned "Black Book" in which the stateless victims from Transcarpathia who became known are also recorded.

IN WESTERN UKRAINE:

Stern Rahel Izraelivna (Szolyva, 1923-Nadvirna, Oct., 1942.),

Stern Rahel Strulivna (Szolyva, 1921-Nadvirna, Oct., 1942.),

Stern Strul Jozefovics (Szolyva, 1892-Nadvirna, Oct., 1942.),

Zauerbrun Tova Naftalijivna (Eszeny, ? – L.t. Rava Ruzska, Oct., 1942.).

IN AUSCHWITZ, POLAND:

Doft Bernard Izidorovics (Csinagyijevo, 1920-Pl, Nov, 1941.),

Doft Izidor Slomovics (Csinagyijevo, 1920-Pl, Oct.,1941.),

Doft Perl Izidorovics (Csinagyijevo, 1926-Pl, 1941),

Doft Helen Slomivna (Csinagyijevo, 1900-Pl, 1941),
Doft Sloma Izidorovics (Csinagyijevo, 1928-Pl, 1941),
Groner Rebeka Izrailovna (Eszeny, 1881- Pl, kt., 1942),
Grunfeld Adolf Nisanovics (Csinagyijevo.-Pl, Oct.,1942),
Grunstein Hers Adolfovics (Csinagyijevo. 1928-Pl, Oct., 1942),
Hakerman Hendl Izraelivna (Beregszász, 1882-1942),
Hausman Celesta (Beregszász, 1882-1942).
Kivint Szima Jozefivna (Szolyva, 1906-Pl, 1942),
Kivint Smuel Jozefovics (Szolyva, 1917-Pl, 1942),
Levkovics Zisl (Szolyvai j. Poljana, 1902- Pl, kt., 1942),
Rozner Mirl Jakivna (Halábor, 1925-Pl,1942),
Rozner Mirl Jakivna (Halábor, 1925-Pl, 1942),

IN TREBLINKA, POLAND:

Grinberg Zeldá Cvijivna (Poljana, 1914- Pl, Treblinka, kt., 1942).

From the testimonies of the survivors of the hell in Kamenetz-Podolsk

Of the 18,000 or so deportees no more than 2-3,000 managed to return to Hungary. From the written stories of the survivors, we know that many Jews escaped on foot, or in carts with the help of Polish, Ukrainian, Ruthenian and Hungarian farmers, or in Hungarian military vehicles. Some were hidden in the back of lorries or in the boot of cars for money, others out of pity²⁵⁵. There were, however, decent Hungarian officers and soldiers, too, who helped get the deportees back to Hungary, even at great risk. According to the research made by the international lawyer Ádám Gellért, some of them had to answer for this in court. Among many such cases was L. L. (Budapest, 1899), a medical technician who was ordered for front-line service in Galicia in 1941. It was there that he learned of the mass deportation of Jews without Hungarian citizenship to the Galician hell-hole in August and September. He tried to help them

²⁵⁵ Source: <http://haver.hu/category/holokausz/> (2015-01-16)

and managed to get two men across the border. *“He was discharged at Christmas and arrested at home on charges of “abduction of Jews” and spent three months in the military prison in Margit Körút.”*²⁵⁶

After studying the records on the website of the National Committee for the Care of Deportees, it can be said that only a few people managed to return to Transcarpathia alive from the Kamenetz-Podolsk hell. After their return, they were left alone until April 1944. Few survived the *“Endlösung, the second”* Nazi death camp in Transcarpathia.

Fanni Günzenberger (Ungvár, 1911), born in Ungvár, Hungary, had a large family (parents of Polish origin, 5 brothers and sisters, relatives), none of whom survived: ‘I managed to escape from Kamenetz-Podolsk before they shot so many Jews there. My way back was horrible, I only dared to go at night in the fields and deep ditches. During the day I hid in straw or a barn. I ate whatever edible plants and carrots and potatoes I could find in the fields and woods. For me, suffering in Germany was no longer a novelty or a surprise...’²⁵⁷.

Fanni Günzenberger made it to Ungvár this time, but a few years later she was deported again. The seamstress **S. S.** (Ungvár, 1925) lived with her family in Uzhok, and in 1941 she and her parents were deported to Poland as Polish citizens. Her four siblings were left behind. The camp in Poland, where her father was, was set on fire and burnt down. He and his mother came back and were in hiding all the time. Once they were caught and checked. His mother, two brothers and sisters were interned and in 1943 they were again deported to Rotsche in Poland. There they were released after two months and returned to Ungvár. In 1944, after the Germans came in, they were deported again, and this time she and only one brother survived the Holocaust.²⁵⁸

It also happened that **E. J.** (Podhering, 1921), a tailor from Munkács, was conscripted as an inmate of a labour camp, but his parents of Polish origin were deported in 1941, and since then he had never heard

²⁵⁶ Source: Forrás: 3031. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=3031>

²⁵⁷ Source: 594. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=594>

²⁵⁸ Source: 1344. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=1344>

of them again²⁵⁹. According to the testimony of **L. E.** (Ilkóc/Ijktivci, 1930), a seamstress from the district of Ilkóc, 1,000 Jews were taken from Ilkóc to Poland, so that in 1944, when the Germans came in, there were only a few Jewish families living there.²⁶⁰

The story of the four Jewish sisters, schoolgirls at that time, **Róza Adler** (1926), **Sarolta Adler** (1927), **Teréz Adler** (1928) and **Zsófia Adler** (1928) from Alsóapsa in the Técső district is an adventure story fit to be a novel. They were also trying to get home. However somehow, they lost their mother (**Adler Hermína**) and their three younger brothers (**Salamon, Isaac, Henzi**). Their story became well-known almost all over the world. They dictated their harrowing story after their escape from the death camps in Germany (Auschwitz, Rawensbrück, Barthe) in Budapest to officials of the National Committee for the Care of Deportees). The minutes of this meeting are kept in the Jewish Museum there. According to the sisters' account, in July 1941, about fifty families were rounded up near Alsóapsa on the pretext that they did not have citizenship. In fact, the authorities made no effort to find out the truth. Their father was on his way to Alsóapsa from Budapest to bring the citizenship cards. But when he arrived, his large family had already been deported. Róza, the eldest daughter, had a broken arm. They managed to hide some valuables in the plaster bandages with which they had bailed themselves out in Kamenetz-Podolsk. She wrote the following about those who had remained there for ever: *"Most of the Jews who were deported were shot and some were taken to the Stanislaw ghetto. Many were thrown into the Dniester, women had their breasts cut off, children were cut in two, and a great many people were buried alive."*²⁶¹

From Alsóapsa, too, **M. M.** (Alsóapsa, 1920), a young baker was taken to Poland in 1941 with his parents and four brothers and sisters, and after six months he and one of his brothers managed to escape and get home.²⁶² Another brave man was **J. B.** (Tiszaféregyháza, 1911), an artisan from Neresznicja (Lower Neresznice), who was

²⁵⁹ Source: 670. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=670>

²⁶⁰ Source: 722. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=722>

²⁶¹ Source: 129. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=129>

²⁶² Source: 593. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=593>

deported in 1941, but escaped back to his family (wife, three small children) after six weeks, but was caught and sent back by the Hungarian border guards. But his second attempt was successful²⁶³. According to the testimony of **M. S.** (Técső, 1923), a carter from Técső, the deportations of the Jews from Técső and the surrounding villages began in June and July 1941, since they were unable to show their citizenship papers. They were deported.²⁶⁴

A. R. (Szászréteg, 1922), a survivor of anti-Jewish measures, was a governess at her uncle's house in Técső when her relatives were deported to Poland, and she never heard from them again.²⁶⁵

In Bustyaháza, Técső district, *"seventy per cent of the entire Jewish population of the village was taken away, only the relatives of war widows and labour servicemen remained, the rest were all transferred to Kőrösmező on the border. They were all beaten up either by Hungarian or German soldiers; the elderly people were all shot and thrown into the Dniester. My mother was shot dead in front of my brother, but he managed to escape from the jaws of death,"*²⁶⁶ These events were recalled by a Holocaust survivor, **S. P.** (Bustyaháza, 1922), a local resident and dental assistant.

The Talmudist **D. B.** (Técső, 1920), who found refuge in Nagyvárad, wrote that there were 150 Jewish families in Ganya (Hanichi), Técső district, all of them hard-working industrious people, and in 1941, 45 families were deported from there. 10% of them never returned²⁶⁷. The entire family of a local stonecutter from L. S. (Kiskirva, 1927) in Técső district was taken to Poland; the father was killed and they returned home without him²⁶⁸.

A Polish Jewish teacher, **J. I.** (Majdan, 1894), who fled from the Germans in 1939 and settled in Majdanka with his family, lived through two deportations in the Ökörmező district: *"We lived there until 1941. When we were expelled from there as people of Polish origin, not only we but the whole Jewish community of the*

²⁶³ Source: 69. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=69>

²⁶⁴ Source: 450. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=450>

²⁶⁵ Source: Forrás: 502. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=502>

²⁶⁶ Source: 2830. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=2830>

²⁶⁷ Source: 739. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=739>

²⁶⁸ Source: 1177. Jegyzőkönyv, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=1177>

village was taken away, even those who had Hungarian citizenship. We wandered around for a whole year, and after a great deal of excitement and hardship, all the seven of us managed to come back."²⁶⁹ Of the seven members of the family of the teacher from Majdanka, who was transported from the ghetto in Nagyszőlös and released from the Auschwitz and Monowitz death camps in 1944, only he and one daughter survived the second deportation.

K. H. (Kőrösmező, 1919), born in Kőrösmező, Rahó district, was deported from the concentration camp set up in his home village to Galicia, together with five of his siblings and his father), as Jews of Polish origin: "There I was dropped off in a wheat field, from there I managed to flee across the Dniester and came back to Kőrösmező. Here I hid in the attic for nine months. Once a Ukrainian woman noticed that my sister cooked and baked too much and became suspicious. In the meantime, my mother died, and as the situation in the attic was becoming very dangerous, we went to Budapest..."²⁷⁰ In 1944 the above-mentioned K.H. was transported from the Budapest area to Auschwitz, from where he was sent to the labour camps of Buchenwald, Remmsdorf and Theresienstadt, and worked 12 hours a day until he was freed.

I. A. (Kökényes, 1924), who survived the Holocaust, was also deported via Kőrösmező to Poland, from where he was not allowed to return, and was taken with his family to a forest, where SS and Hungarian gendarmes shot at them. "*I managed to escape and quickly made my way up to Volóc, that is how I got back to Hungary. Unfortunately, my mum and my siblings were shot, I saw that with my own two eyes.*"²⁷¹

All the eight Jewish families were rounded up in Zolotarjovo in Huszt district – even though their citizenship was in order – and all were deported to Western Ukraine. The orphaned maiden **K.H. (Ötvösfalva, 1923)** never heard from her parents again, and escaped thanks to not being at home at that time²⁷². In 1941, most

²⁶⁹ Source: 2767. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=2767>

²⁷⁰ Source: 651. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=651>

²⁷¹ Source: 748. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=748>

²⁷² Source: 228. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=228>

of the Jewish families in Felsőbisztra, Huszt district, were deported to Poland, and only 10 families returned²⁷³. **Mária Jakubovics** (Alsószinevír, 1922), from a merchant family in Huszt, lived through the sad events of her home village's decimation, because there were a thousand Jews in Alsószinervír, but in 1941 many were deported to the other side of the Carpathians, and after that the number of Jews (a conservative estimate) was only 300²⁷⁴.

* * *

The first deportation of stateless Jews and the victims were not researched, or even discussed, during the Soviet period, it was strictly taboo. Only after the change of systems was it possible to commemorate the site of the Kőrösmező concentration camp with a memorial marker. In Budapest, the Wesley János Ministers' Training College (WJLF) and the Institute of the Shoah and Christian Studies, together with the Hungarian Evangelical Brotherhood, have long made it a matter of concern to cherish the memory of the victims. After 2006 they regularly commemorated the tragedy, and during their pilgrimage in 2009, they also marked the Kőrösmező railway station, the final stop of the deportees, with a memorial plaque²⁷⁵. The Wesley János Ministers' Training College in Budapest also made a noble contribution by erecting a memorial²⁷⁶ to the victims in the Park of Martyrs in Kamenetz-Podolsk²⁷⁷.

²⁷³ Source: 1097. Jegyzőkönyv, http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk_img_full=1097

²⁷⁴ Source: 588. Jegyzőköny, DEGOB, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=588>

²⁷⁵ In 2009, the memorial plaque in Kőrösmező was severely damaged by unknown perpetrators. On 28 August 2013, an Appeal for the creation of a memorial plaque to the 1941 massacre in Kőrösmező was published, signed by Péter Kirschner, President of the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association, and Prof. Dr. Szabolcs Szita, Director of the Holocaust Memorial Centre. See electronic version at: http://www.hdke.hu/files/csatolmanyok/Felhivas_2013_06_28.pdf (15-01-2015)

²⁷⁶ Lásd: Электронная еврейская энциклопедия: Каменец-Подольский. In: <http://www.eleven.co.il/?mode=article&id=11942> (2015-01-15).

²⁷⁷ MAJSAI TAMÁS: *Emlékmű és emléktábla az 1941-es magyarországi deportálás két ukrainai helyszínén: Kamenyec-Podolszkijban és Kőrösmezőn*. In: *Élet és Irodalom*, (53.) 2009/40. (= október 2.), Majsai Tamás: *Kegyelet, emlékezés és emlékeztetés*. A Wesley János Lelkészépző Főiskola és a Magyarországi Evangéliumi Testvérközösség a Kőrösmező – Kamenyec-Podolszkij-i deportálás 70. évfordulója alkalmával. In: *Népszava*, (138.) 2011. augusztus 27. (= 200. sz.; Szép szó melléklet.) 4.

The Kamenetz-Podolsk tragedy: the start of the Jewish genocide in Ukraine

It is imperative to note that processing the Russian and Ukrainian archival materials on the history of the persecution of Jews in Ukraine is not strictly the subject of this study, because the topic would deserve a monograph of its own. The mass executions at Kamenetz-Podolsk meant the beginning of the implementation of the plan attached to the German Barbarossa operation for the extermination of the Ukrainian Jews (rape of teenage girls, plundering of Jewish families, theft of their valuables, and their liquidation on the spot)²⁷⁸.

The subjugation of the “*inferior peoples*” and the largest massacre in the conquered area is linked to the 400m-long, 40-80m-deep ravine of Babi Yar in the Podolski district of the Ukrainian capital, in 1941. On 28-29 September 1941 (the beginning of the Jewish New Year), in response to a mandatory call by the German military leadership threatening the death penalty (families were lured into a trap with the promise of deportation), Jews from Kiev who had been gathered at the cemetery on the outskirts of the city were herded there on foot (regardless of age or gender) by executioners wearing the uniform of the German field police. The prisoners were stripped and escorted in groups of thousands to the killing site, then slaughtered incessantly for a day and a half (about 1,000 per hour) by the Einsatzgruppe 4A, a 150-man death brigade commanded by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel²⁷⁹. MG-34 heavy and MG-42 lightning machine guns were used to slaughter the helpless people. During these days, 33,771 civilians fell victim to the SS operation, which ordered the total extermination of the Jews of Kiev. Years later, the blood was still splattered on the ground in the pits. The massacre was the largest mass-murder under the auspices of the Nazi regime and its Ukrainian collaborators during the campaign against the

²⁷⁸ See more about the topic in: KRAUSZ TAMÁS: *Vázlatok a náci népiptás okairól és természetéről*. In: http://users.atw.hu/felelosseg/anyagok/EA_OK_Krausz_HONLAP.pdf (2015-01-15.)

²⁷⁹ Colonel Paul Blobel, commander of the 4A Sonderkommando, was later captured and hanged in 1951 by a Nuremberg court judgement in 1948.

Soviet Union, and it has been called “the largest single massacre in the history of the Holocaust” up to that particular date. It was only surpassed by the later 1941 Odessa massacre of more than 50,000 Jews in October 1941 (committed by German and Romanian troops), and by *Aktion Erntefest* of November 1943 in occupied Poland, of which there were 42,000–43,000 victims.

The Babi Yar researchers say that the number of victims between 29 and 30 September was much higher: in their estimate it exceeded the massacre of the Romanian troops in Odessa, where the pogrom in October 1941 claimed more than 50,000 victims. In 1942, mass killings continued systematically in Babi Yar, with the total number of victims participating in resistance, including communists, Ukrainian patriots and even gypsies, exceeding 100 000. According to other estimates, the total was 150 000, or even 200, 000. The exact number is not known, so research is ongoing²⁸⁰. According to the data we have, the Germans carried out a thorough purge. According to a report of the German military administration at the time, Kiev, the largest city in Ukraine, was one of the first to be purged of Jews. The census of 1 April 1942 tells us that, of the 352,139 inhabitants, there were 281,611 Ukrainians, 50,263 Russians, 7,874 Poles, 40 Gypsies, and 20 Jews.²⁸¹

In the summer of 1943, the Germans did everything they could to cover up the traces of the blatant crime, but news of the tragedy of Babi Yar had already spread around the world during the war; they who miraculously survived²⁸² reported on the Nazi atrocity.

²⁸⁰ НАХМАНОВИЧ, В.Р.: Буковинський курінь і масові розстріли євреїв Києва восени 1941. р. Український історичний журнал. – 2007. – №3 (474). – С. 76–97. or: <http://www.kby.kiev.ua/komitet/ru/history/art00044.html> (2015-01-16.)

²⁸¹ Бабин Яр (реферат), <http://www.ukrreferat.com/index.php?referat=43628&pg=2> (2015-01-16.)

²⁸² See: Anatoly Kuznetsov's documentary novel *Babij Yar*, which was first published in 1966 under the strong influence of Soviet censorship, in which it can be read in his documentary novel *Babij Yar*, which was also published in Hungarian, that the tragedy of *Babij Yar* still has a survivor, the crown witness Dina Mironovna Pronicheva, an actor in the city's puppet theater in person, who saw with his own eyes that some of them turned gray in minutes, while they undressed and went to the place of execution. Their children were torn from the hands of bitterly protesting mothers and thrown into the gorge like a log. Pronyicheva owes her life to the fact that she threw herself into the mass grave before the series of murderous bullets. He pretended to be dead even when one of the SS executioners walking on the piles of corpses stepped on his chest and arm and fired a bullet from his pistol into those who

In addition to the mass graves around Kiev, hundreds of Ukrainian Jews are buried in mass graves excavated in other provincial and district centres. In order to implement genocide effectively, the SS extermination squads in Ukraine were the first to use gas in “soul-suffocating” death trucks. Jews, collected in the course of a raid, were poisoned on their way, on the trucks’ sealed flatbeds. Hundreds of them were killed by carbon monoxide gas, without weapons being used, and then buried in the outskirts of a settlement. The death squads in Ukraine were also assisted in the killing by local anti-Semites and collaborators²⁸³. It is thanks to Nazi brutality that in the three years up to the end of 1944, some two million Soviet Jews lost their lives in the Soviet-occupied territories (Ukraine, Belarus, Baltic States, Russia), in addition to other war casualties. (Historians estimate the number of Soviet citizens killed at 27-30 million²⁸⁴, nine million of them soldiers, the rest civilians).

The Soviets were also “interested in silencing” the Holocaust

The notorious mass grave known now as Babi Yar was placed under a news blackout by the Soviet authorities after the war. In order to preserve “national unity” and the “Soviet family,” the Kremlin leaders were interested in “silencing” reports of the Holocaust, and they tried to erase its memory completely.

The “*wall of silence*” was broken down by a prominent member of the Russian creative intelligentsia, the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko,

were writhing next to him in their death throes. After night fell, Dina dug herself out of the corpses together with another little boy who survived...and then survived the hell of war. See also: „Бабий Яр” Роман-документ автор: АНАТОЛИЙ КУЗНЕЦОВ 2005 г. „Бабий Яр” 70 лет трагедии (Трагедия, история, память) author: ИЛЛЯ ЛЕВИТАС.

²⁸³ A series of NKVD reports confirms that S. Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, and his supporters collaborated with the Nazis in carrying out the Jewish genocide because they considered the Jews to be pro-Soviet elements. A series of facts and figures prove that Ukrainian nationalists also served in the SS extermination squads. They were involved in the massacre of tens of thousands of Jews and Poles in Lvov, Ternopil, Volyn, etc.

²⁸⁴ By comparison, the German blood loss between 1939 and 1945 was between six and 7 million.

in his 72-line poem *Babi Yar*, published in 1961 in an issue of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. He was the first to demand the erection of a monument to the Jews executed in Babi Yar.

Based on the poem, Dmitri D. Shostakovich wrote his 13th Symphony, which denounced Soviet anti-Semitism and was banned after its premiere in 1962.

How staggering these lines are from the poem of Yevtushenko:

*“Over Babi Yar no monument²⁸⁵. / Steep edge is cruel gravestone.
/ I am terrified. (...) / And hat in hand, / I feel / How slowly I grow
grey. / ... Like a palpable soundless scream, / Over the thousands
upon thousands of buried. / I – / Am each old man slaughtered here.
/ I – / Am each baby slaughtered here. / Nothing in me / Will ever
forget about this! (...) / The “International” / Let it thunder out, /
When forever will be buried / The last anti-Semite on earth. / There is
no Jewish blood in my blood. / But with a hardened malice I feel hate
/ For all anti-Semites, / Like a Jew, / And so – / I am a true Russian!”*

After Ukraine became independent, at the end of September 1991, the first official commemoration of the martyrdom of the more than 100,000 Jews of Kiev was held in the city to mark the 50th anniversary of the Babi Yar tragedy. On this occasion, the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, apologized to the country’s Jews for the sea of suffering they had endured.

²⁸⁵ The monument to Babi Yar was erected in 1976, but even then, only with the inscription “To Soviet citizens - victims of fascism”. The turnaround came with the change of the system. A new menorah-shaped memorial was erected in Kiev, and mourning ceremonies are now held annually, with the participation of US Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton in the last decade and Pope John Paul II in 2001. Recent urban planning plans to build a hotel complex on the site of Babi Yar have been blocked. Instead, in the summer of this year, it was announced that the Jewish community, with the support of the Russian-speaking diaspora, would build a memorial centre to pay homage not only to their own people but to all the victims murdered by the Nazis in Ukraine.

For more information, see <http://babyn-yar.gov.ua/>, http://1000years.uazone.net/babyn_jar.htm, (10-01-2015).

See Yevtushenko’s *Babi Yar* in Danila’s English translation: <https://lyricstranslate.com/en/babiy-yar-babi-yar.html>

III. THE THIRD “ACT” OF THE JEWISH GENOCIDE (16 April 1944 - 7 June 1944)

PLEADING ²⁸⁶

*Here is this poem, in which my heart is now silently pleading.
Listen, wait, do not judge me!
I have not ever done any harm, I swear, I have never cheated,
My eyes never looked with envy at something that was not mine.
I lived as sinlessly and nicely as I could,
I have never hurt the soul of my brothers.
A hundred sweet and melancholy folk-songs beat and sing in my heart,
I am good, I am faithful, oh, so believe me!
Just a moment, what shall I do, I'll confess,
Then I bow my head in supplication and humiliation.
In my childhood thus I laid my ears to the ground,
To hear the whisper of the fabled depth,
The heart of mother earth beats, so the great ones said,
I swear by the heart of the earth that I am innocent!*

²⁸⁶ This poem by an anonymous Jewish inmate of a labour camp was published in the *Kátpáti Igaz Szó* of Ungvár on 29 February 1992, by **Dr. Bán Kulin Bán**, a former acquaintance of mine, who was staying here during those months and who was also a guest of mine. According to his account, at the end of November 1944, in Szentgotthárd, he spent three days with bringing food to a Jewish inmate hiding in a cemetery. It was from him that he received the poem Pleading (Védőbeszéd). His note to the poem reads, inter alia: “Fortunately for me, I transcribed the manuscript (which I still have) at home, and so I was only caught the next day by the gendarmes, who beat me up to learn the whereabouts of my “Jewish friend”. Unfortunately, I still don’t know what happened to this poor man. But, even worse, I was not even able to find out whether the poem came from him or from someone else. Well, read it and experience it as I did almost five decades ago, and have kept it in my soul to this day.” A few years ago, globetrotter **Bán Kulin** was the victim of a robbery and murder on an island near Australia. Holocaust survivor **Ignác Naupaver** from Ungvár tells us that the poem by the anonymous author has become known among his fellow countrymen, read and distributed at commemorations.

*What fault have you found in me, what sin? Answer me!
What do you want me to be, tell me, what, what shall I be?!
I will work too, and respect the law,
I stand here with a broken soul, what shall I do, O my God?!
I said: man! And my heart beat warmly.
I said, "Brother! And I gave him my piece of bread
If you want a brave word, go ahead. I'm not afraid, I'll say it.
I'll give you the strength if you need it. My blood? I'll spill it!
Whatever sacrifice is needed, I will gladly make,
My work is done. I pray to the One God.
My prayer-book is old, but is written in Hebrew letters,
And my eyes spell them with faithful devotion though,
My father's father left it to me, Hungarian Jewish priests,
I swear by my prayer book that I am innocent!*

*Forgive me, wait, do not condemn me!
I say this, and other hundred and a thousand people say the same.
He pleads and pleads, and begs and begs, and his heart aches,
This dear land received him long ago as its child.
His fathers and great-grandfathers were buried here,
Here they stand, all of them, anxious and suffering,
And for them I cry, and my voice trembles,
Wait, hear me, wait, do not yet judge me!
A sinner may defend himself - let me also defend him,
I will bear witness. A hundred witnesses I have.
Speak for me, for my defence, thou old schoolfriend.
Thou knowest that this country is my whole world.
We sat on a bench and sang the National Anthem and the Szózat,
the Allocution,
You know that I'm loyal, you know it, you all know it!
Come here, my friend, my comrade and colleague,
And say: my flame burns unquenchably, too!
Testify for me: man, sky, sunshine, meadow, acacia.
Swear by me, little village, street, old house,
Dovecote, books, Kossuth picture, geranium windows,
By my motherland I swear that I am innocent!*

Actions to “de-Jew” Transcarpathia

When the Germans, without meeting any resistance, invaded Hungary on the 19th of March, 1944, which was a “*twist of fate*,” under strong pressure from Berlin, and with the assistance of Hungarian pro-German leaders of the armed forces, the gendarmerie, the police and the authorities, the “*de-Jewing*” of Transcarpathia also began. Thus the “*dual power machinery*” was set into motion, and thousands of Jews in the region could not escape their fate.

Under German supervision and with the executive organisation of the Hungarian gendarmerie, the ghettoization began on 16 April 1944, and the deportations, which involved 85-87 thousand Jews,²⁸⁷ ended on the 7th of June. The number of survivors, according to a conservative estimate, was 12-13 thousand.²⁸⁸ The history of the 1944 Jewish genocide in Transcarpathia was the subject of numerous studies, but a comprehensive monograph is still expected²⁸⁹. I will only add a few facts and figures to what has been written about the tragedy of the community so far.

Before deporting the entire Jewish population of Hungary, the authorities of the genocide intended the deportation to be primarily a “*kind of dress rehearsal*”. The executors of the Jewish law made careful preparations, and the verbal orders of the Minister of the Interior in Budapest were changed into written orders by the local officials (gendarme officers, sheriffs, mayors, etc.) and blindly carried out. One of these orders came from the district commander of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie Colonel Győző Tölgyessy²⁹⁰ at the Ungvár department headquarters, which **Dr. Hegedűs**, Chief Sheriff of Nagyberezna, with his own hand, posted as a written order for execution in every village between 10 and 11 April 1944. “1. / *Jews should get no fat ration. If it had been issued in advance for a longer period, it must be withdrawn.* 2./ *The trading certificate of every*

²⁸⁷ *Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. 191. p

²⁸⁸ *Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. 192. p

²⁸⁹ KARSAI LÁSZLÓ: *Zsidósors Kárpátalján 1944-ben*. In: *Múlt és Jövő*, 1991/3. Pp. 60-66. LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnék*. In: *Múlt és Jövő*, 1992/3. Pp. 87-92. Etc.

²⁹⁰ **Győző Tölgyessy**, Colonel of the gendarmerie fled abroad after 1945. See: <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/biografia/osszeallitasok/MKCsBK%20lista%201949-1950.pdf>

*Jew must be withdrawn immediately, except if there is no Christian craftsman of a similar profession in a village. 3./ Works by Jewish authors must be immediately removed from all public libraries. 4./ Jewish shops must be marked with a yellow star or a conspicuous and clearly legible "Jewish shop" sign. 5./ Jewish committees should be formed in all communities where Jews live, and they should be responsible for the conduct of the Jewish population. 6./ All Jews over the age of 6 must wear the yellow star on their outer clothing all the time. If they do not comply with this rule, they will be immediately arrested by the gendarmerie. Illegible signature, with his own hand, Captain. P.H."*²⁹¹

On the instructions of an adviser to the Transcarpathian governor commissioner, some of the points of the order for the deportation were later modified. According to these, "*after all Jews have been removed from Subcarpathia by the 24th of this month,*"²⁹² the withdrawal of fat tickets, trade certificates is superfluous, the marking of the Jewish shops, the formation of Jewish committees become irrelevant."

From the lines, it is clear that Transcarpathia was also overshadowed by the "*final solution of the Holocaust era.*"

But here you have the mournful event of April 1944 in the historian's factual presentation: "*The rounding up and concentration of the Jews in Transcarpathia and northeast Hungary was begun on Sunday, 16 April 1944, already the last day of Passover. The details of the anti-Jewish campaign in Transcarpathia and northeast Hungary were worked out at a meeting chaired by László Endre*"²⁹³ *in Munkács on 12 April. This fateful meeting was attended by the chief civil, police and gendarme officials of the towns, districts and counties of the areas concerned. The details of the operation for each county were worked out at meetings held shortly after 12 April,*

²⁹¹ "Official copy" from the chief bailiff of the district of Nagyberezna. 1880/1944, 1-page typed "Official copy" from the MZSKE archives, provided to me by President Béla Huber.

²⁹² The 1-page typed "Official Copy" of the letter of the Ministerial Counsellor of the Transcarpathian Governor's Commissioner addressed to the Chief Bailiff of Nagyberezna, file no. 102/1944, was made available to me by President **Béla Huber** from the MZSKE archives.

²⁹³ **László Endre** (Abony, 1 January 1895 - Budapest, 28 March 1946), racist politician, State Secretary for the Interior. In 1946 he was sentenced to death by the People's Court and executed. See: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Endre_László

attended by the mayors, police chiefs and gendarmerie commanders of the county concerned.

The local meetings were based mainly on László Baký's²⁹⁴ written instructions, and on László Endre's verbal information from Munkács. The task of the local meetings was not only to accept decisions on the placement and management of the local ghettos, but also on setting up committees and squads for the rounding up of Jews and teams specialising in the identification and confiscation of Jewish property. On the first day of the anti-Jewish operation, László Ferenczy²⁹⁵ and his Jew-elimination detachment arrived in Munkács to take charge of the regional headquarters of the ghetto builders, of the rounding-up and deportation campaign. As it became the custom all over in Hungary, the rounding up of Jews was begun in the villages. At dawn, the Jews were awakened by the gendarmes. They were usually given a few minutes to collect their most important clothing and whatever food was in the house, and then they were taken to the local synagogue. There they were stripped of their money, jewellery and valuables. Their "sealed" and later listed homes were soon ransacked and their livestock and poultry simply disappeared. A few days after being rounded up, the Jews were driven to the nearest collection camps, mostly to the brickworks of major cities, including Beregszász, Huszt, Kassa, Munkács, Nagyszőlős, Nyíregyháza, Sátoraljaújhely, Técső and Ungvár..."²⁹⁶

German marauders also actively participated in the Transcarpathian Jew-elimination campaign. Evidence is the fact that under

²⁹⁴ **László Baký** (Budapest, September 13, 1898 – Budapest, March 29, 1946) was a Hungarian politician between the two world wars, State Secretary of the Interior during the Sztójay government. In 1946, the people's court sentenced him to death and he was executed. See: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baký_László

²⁹⁵ **László Ferenczy** (Felsővisó, March 9, 1898 – Budapest, May 31, 1946) was a Hungarian gendarmerie officer, the liaison between the gendarmerie and the German Security Police (SD), which played a role in the deportation of Hungarian Jews during the Second World War, from the end of March 1944. Between 1940 and 1942, as the commander of the investigative division in Kassa, he captured and handed over to the Germans many Jews who wanted to invade the border. After the war, he fled to the West, but was captured by the Americans and handed over to the Hungarian authorities. He was executed in Budapest in 1946. See: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferenczy_László

²⁹⁶ RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: The Hungarian Holocaust. Budapest, 1989. Stored pdf version: Geographical encyclopedia of the Hungarian Holocaust. The Holocaust in Hungary: Historical overview. (Adoba Reader- (Zidók deport Kárp.Monográfia305.pdf): p. 55-58.

the leadership of Adolf Eichman,²⁹⁷ a Sonderkommando consisting of two hundred selected SS detachments arrived in Transcarpathia, which set up its headquarters in Munkács.

The official enforcers justified the “necessity of deporting the Jews” to the Christian population by saying that Subcarpathia had become a direct operational area and therefore had to be freed from the “unreliable elements.” Károly Lusztig, living in Ungvár, as a contemporary saw this concocted and “veiled” official proposal differently: *“Despite the unbridled anti-Semitic incitement campaign, the constant intimidation and threats, the majority of the non-Jewish population of Transcarpathia was shocked by the tragedy of their Jewish fellow citizens, and did not hide their sympathy. Even the local press, which was already completely fascist at the time, was forced to admit this.”*²⁹⁸ This also includes the fact that there were many successful and unsuccessful rescue attempts in the four historical counties of Transcarpathia, about which little has been said so far.

Ghettoization in Ungvár

On April 15, 1944, a meeting of 12 people took place in the office of the head of the police department of Ungvár, chaired by Dr. György Thurzó, the Hungarian royal chief adviser to the Hungarian police²⁹⁹. The meeting discussed “the question of the application of the Jewish law” in Ung district and surrounding area. The participants were Dr. László Megyessy prosecutor, representing the state defence centre, Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny (Munkács), Dr. Gyula Gyuris,

²⁹⁷ **Otto Adolf Eichmann** (Solingen, Germany, March 19, 1906 - Ramla, Israel, May 31, 1962) German SS chief officer, SS-Obersturmbanführer (lieutenant colonel), leading member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. One of the main organizers of Jewish deportations, he is often called the main executioner of the Third Reich. The top Nazi officer hiding in Argentina was captured, sentenced to death in Israel and hanged in 1962. See: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolf_Eichmann

²⁹⁸ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. A kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1992. június, 11. sz. 10.

²⁹⁹ A certified copy of the 2-page typed “Official Memorandum” No. 169/5-1944.biz. signed by the Head of the M. R. Police Headquarters in Ungvár, was made available to me by the MZSKE President Béla Huber.

head of the Ung Public Administration Branch, mayor Dr. László Megay, gendarmerie lieutenant colonel Sándor Pálffy³⁰⁰, and police lieutenant colonel Vitéz István Ághy, the head of the investigators' department. They all approved the ghettoization scenario in Ungvár, and the reorganization of the Jewish Council: Chairman: pharmacist Gyula László; members Illés Steinberger, Zsigmond Halmos, Jenő Rottmann; and Alex (Sándor) Fisghgrund. Their responsibilities included providing food for the ghettos, operating the Jewish hospital, managing the Jewish police, etc.³⁰¹

From the Reports of the Police Captaincy in Ungvár

The next day, the power machinery started up and with the involvement of the Jewish Councils from April 16, 1944, first in the countryside, then from April 20-27 in Ungvár,³⁰² the Jews were ghettoized. The command of the collecting camp in Ungvár – Károly Cosányi Hungarian Royal police inspector, deputy commander of the camp – informed the Hungarian Royal police headquarters in Ungvár in a daily confidential “*morning report*”³⁰³ (which frequently lasted until late at night) about the “*number of the Jewish detainees*” sent to them and how they were provided. Internal policing was to be ensured by 100 Jewish policemen, while a sufficient number of Jewish doctors were to provide medical care. He asked his superiors to organise night lighting around the camp to prevent individual

³⁰⁰ Gendarmerie lieutenant colonel **Sándor Pálffy** fled abroad after 1945. See: <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/biografia/osszeallitasok/MKCsBK%20lista%201949-1950.pdf>

³⁰¹ See: BRAHAM, RANDOLPH L. : The politics of genocide : the holocaust in Hungary. 2. ext. and transfer publishes. - Budapest: Belvárosi Kvk., 1997. - or also published under the title “A magyar holokauszt”. - Ford. TAMÁS ZALA et al. - The foreword was written by BEREND T. IVÁN. The source of the version that can be read here: NAGY PÉTER TIBOR-TROJÁN ANNA: Database created for Randolph Braham's Holocaust monograph. (Sociological databases No. 3, series editor TIBOR PÉTER NAGY, WJLF-CEU, Budapest, 2013). Archived detail: <http://mek.oszk.hu/11500/11506/html/oldalankent1/Braham567.pdf>

³⁰² See the call of the mayor of Ungvár published in Ruthenian (April 23, 1944), no. 227 case file (TSU/406-407). Original source: Karpatoruskij golosz, April 23, 1944.

³⁰³ Report of the commander of the Ungvár concentration camp dated April 19, 1944 169/11-1944. office No. 1-page typewritten certified copy of “Official Reminder”. Source: MZSKE archive

and group escapes, and asked that 100 Jewish police officers and a sufficient number of Jewish doctors provide internal policing and medical services. The Governor of Transcarpathia (Dr. Paul Tomcsányi, the Governor's Commissioner of the Transcarpathian Region, the Government Commissioner for the Military Operations Area) was usually informed by the Police Station in Ungvár. For example, a note on the state of the Jewish camp in Ungvár on 19 April says that "*6916 Jews were sent in.*"³⁰⁴ From the daily report of April 20, we learn that 21 groups (policemen, gendarmes, detectives, two city employees each) carried out the "*removal and dispossession work*" of the Jews and their transportation to the collecting camp.³⁰⁵ According to another detailed report dated April 21, "*the headcount of the camp was 9,159 people.*" The Hungarian royal police chief notes that **Farkas Friedmann** (1875), a resident from Újszemere, is in police custody for attempting to escape from the camp, wounded in the leg by a policeman on guard duty, "his condition is serious but not life-threatening", there is no other disturbance, those in the camp "*endure their fate with humility.*"³⁰⁶ A suicide attempt and a fatal escape are reported in the April 22 daily report. In the Ungvár area on April 20, "*9 Jews (**Rosenberg Dezső, Rosenberg Dezsőné, nee Weis Ilona** (Szent István u. 14.), widow **Lendvai Emanuelné, Lendvai Klar** (Széchenyi tér 26.), **Davidovics Ilona**, (Kapos u. 7.), **Klein Teodóra** (Kálvária u. 6.), **Friedlander Mór** (Szobránc u. 51.), **Blau Sándor**, (Margitszigeti u. 20.), **Lebovics Márkusz** (Csatorna u. 17.) made suicide attempts unsuccessfully.*"... "*On 21 April, in fear of being transported to the camp, **Fried Lajos, Fried Lajosné of 11 Kossuth tér and Herschkovics Árminné of 11 Kislonkai (?) u. made a suicide attempt, of whom Fried Lajosné jumped from the third floor, and died of her injuries in hospital.***" On April 21, a Jewish woman was shot while trying to escape from the camp,

³⁰⁴ Memo of the head of the Ungvár captaincy, 169/11-1944. office certified copy of 1-page typescript no. Source: MZSKE archive.

³⁰⁵ April 20 memo of the head of the Ungvár captaincy, 169/16-1944. office certified copy of 1-page typescript no. Source: MZSKE archive.

April 21 report of the head of the Ungvár captaincy, 169/23-1944. office certified copy of 2-page typescript no. Source: MZSKE archive.

³⁰⁶ Report of the Head of the Ungvár Precinct, 21 April, 2-page typewritten certified copy of the report, no. 169/23-1944. Source: MZSKE archive

she died on the spot. Her body was taken to the Jewish cemetery.³⁰⁷ Many of the detainees in the Jewish camp in Ungvár got “*military call-ups*” and were directed to their troop stations. “*Detainees of Christian race*” brought into the camp were escorted to the police station. Christians hiding Jewish property were placed under arrest. Money and valuables found on Jews during the search were confiscated. The silver relics buried by the religious community in the Jewish cemetery were excavated. Several of the Jews trying to hide were found. For example, István Lenger trainee detective, János Halmosi, Hun. Roy. policeman No 6125 arrested a Jewish man and two women in the attic of the at 4 Szent István út. One of the women (**Grünstein Béláné, nee Glück Magda**), a resident of the house, was slightly wounded by the trainee detective who took her to a Jewish hospital³⁰⁸.

In the report of April 23, it was also recorded that the 73-year-old widow **Mórné Gubiner, nee Jakubovics Pepi** from Koromlya village during transportation “*died of old age and was taken to the morgue of the Jewish cemetery in Ungvár.*”³⁰⁹ The daily report of 24 April says: “*The removal and transfer to the assembly camp will hopefully be finished today*” and with 12,732 persons “*the Jewish collecting camp in Felszabadulás utca is full, and therefore a new collecting camp*” was set up in Ungvár at 58 Munkácsi Mihály utca, in the former Glück’s woodyard, where 306 Jews of Ungvár were taken by 23 April. It is also reported that the 78-year-old **Márton Herschkovics**, a resident of Csicsér, died of old age and was taken to the Jewish cemetery in Ungvár. There is also information that “*a large crowd of curious people from the town of Ungvár was seen on the street in front of the camp, which made the job of the guards very difficult, and it often happens that Christians want to bring food and other objects for the Jews in custody.*” Because of the possibility of

³⁰⁷ Report of the Head of the Ungvár Precinct, 22 April, 3-page typewritten certified copy of the report, no. 169/25-1944. Source: MZSKE archive.

³⁰⁸ See, *ibid.*: Report of the Head of the Uzhhorod Precinct of Uzhhorod, 22 April, authentic copy of 3-page typescript, biz. no. 169/25-1944. Source: MZSKE archives.

³⁰⁹ Report of the Head of the Ungvár Precinct, 23 April, 1-page typewritten copy, no. 169/26-1944. Source: MZSKE archive

smuggling of prohibited and dangerous things, the chief of police banned “*private citizens visiting the camp.*”³¹⁰

At the close of the collection campaign, which ended on the 24th of April, we may learn detailed information from the summary report composed by Chief of the Police in Ungvár, Dr. György Thurzó, on April 25, 1944, which he sent to Dr. Vilmos Pál Tomcsányi, the Governor’s Commissioner in Subcarpathia³¹¹, who was just about to resign from his office. In this he reports in detail how the Jews were “removed from the region of Ung” and how they were “dispossessed.” He wrote, *inter alia*, the following: “*The number of Jews sent to the camp on Felszabadulás utca in Ungvár: 14,097 people; 8,717 people from the county of Ung and the area of the Ung Public Administration Authority; and 5,380 people from the area of the city of Ungvár. We transported 2,600 Jews from Ungvár to the Jewish collecting camp located in the lumber yard at 85 Munkácsi Mihály utca, so the total number of Jews in the Ungvár concentration camp was 16,697 on April 25, 1944 at 1 p.m. (...) Péter Farkas, Hungarian Royal detective listed 401 individuals out of the unreliable Jews, who were separated and placed in the VII barrack on the territory of the camp. Further selection of Jews dangerous to state security is underway.*”³¹²

The reporting Royal Hungarian Chief of Police further mentions the collection of food among the “*Christian population*”, the delivery of food to the Jewish camp, the prohibition of visits to the camp by certain “*Christian persons*” who had business connections with Jews, and the localization of contagious diseases. The soldiers and a non-commissioned officer of the 24/1 auxiliary battalion of the Hungarian station headquarters in Ungvár were included in the night watch duty. Dr. Endre László Vitéz, State Secretary for the Interior, visited both Jewish camps in the morning hours of 25 April

³¹⁰ Report of the Head of the Uzhhorod Precinct in Uzhhorod, 24 April, 2-page typewritten copy, no. 169/27-1944. Source: MZSKE archive.

³¹¹ On January 5, 1942, the Governor of Hungary appointed the Governor’s Commissioner of the Transcarpathian Region **dr. Vilmos Pál Tomcsányi**, the Hungarian Royal Privy Counsellor, retired Minister of Justice and a member of the Upper House to replace the deceased **vitéz Miklós Kozma**, from whom Lt. Gen. **András Vincze** took over the office in April 1944.

³¹² Certified copy of the 2-page typewritten report no. 169/30-1944 signed by the head of the police captaincy (Ungvár I. postafiók 21 c.). Source: MZSKE archive.

and found “*nothing to object to in the camps.*” By the end of April, 230 more Jews who had privileges previously, or were hiding, were rounded up, bringing the total number to 16,927.

After the operation to extract the Jews was finished, on 26 April, Mayor Megay held a situation assessment meeting with the participants involved in the management of the round-up of the Jews:

Dr. János Kossey, Deputy County Governor of Ung County,

Dr. Gyula Gyurits, Head of the Ung Administrative Office,

Sándor Pálffy, Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie Colonel,

László Oremus, City Councillor,

Theodor Dannecker, SS-Hauptsturmführer, Obersturmführer
Dehandel, Wetsal sturmoberführer,

Dr. Endre Szendrődy, City Deputy Registrar

Dr. Pál Rodó, City Doctor,

Dr. Vitéz György Thurzó, Hungarian Royal Chief Constable,

Imre Bója, King’s Police Inspector.

At the meeting, the political screening of the Jews in the camp, the collection of property, other valuables and hidden money found in the search, the inventory of Jewish properties and their assets, the distribution to the needy, the settlement of the Jewish council and its auxiliary staff in the camp, the work of the Jewish hospital and the Jewish kitchen, and the complete closure of the camp to visitors were among the topics of action. Henceforth, the officials appointed by the town “*are obliged to record the names and addresses of the senders of the dispatches, so that the pro-Jewish people could be observed...*”³¹³.

As regards the above estimates, I deem it important to note that they refer to the municipalities of Ung County and Ung Administrative District. Before the war, the former Ung County included 24 Hungarian settlements in the Nagykapos district, which is now part of Slovakia, and 41 Slovak and Ruthenian/Ukrainian settlements in the Szobránc district, which also belonged to the Ung Administrative District³¹⁴.

³¹³ Authentic copy of the report of the head of the Ungváre precinct of 27 April, 2-page typescript, biz. no. 169/30-1944. Source: MZSKE archive.

³¹⁴ See *Magyarország helységnevtára* (Nomenclature of Localities of Hungary), 1941: pp. 78-79, 96-98.

According to a table of my own construction, in 1941, there were 17,463 Jews living in the 114 settlements of the former Ung County (now Transcarpathia), which had 148, 796 inhabitants in 1944, including the four-year population increase. This is according to the total number of names published in 10 volumes of the “Black Book” of Ukraine – in the case of Transcarpathia, 17,832 Jews (110 of them inmates in labour camps) were victims of the Nazi genocide, and 20-30% of them survived the Holocaust.

Next, I aggregated the figures with my IT colleague, converted them exclusively to the settlements of the city of Ungvár, and Nagyberezna, Perecseny and Ungvár districts, situated in present-day Transcarpathia. As a result, I have obtained, perhaps, the most authentic statistical table so far. It can be considered authentic, since it is backed by concrete names, the vast majority of whom were victims of the Holocaust.

Table 8

Data on the Jew-extraction operation carried out in the Ung Administrative Office and Ung County converted to the present administrative units of Transcarpathia

№	Data on the anti-Jewish campaign carried out in the Ung Public Administration Office and Ung county, converted to the current administrative units of Transcarpathia City with county rights: 1 City: 113	Population, 1941 census, the 1941 census based on	Jews	Deportees named so far number of KSZU ZO 9 volumes between 2002-2011. it will happen based on its list	Number of failed work employees	Loss
1	UNGVÁR/UZSHOROD Attached settlements: Gerény, Alsódomonya, Ungdaróc, Radván	35,251	9,576	7 511	68	7,579 (-1,997)
	DOMANYINCI/ALSÓDOMONYA	1,296	47			
	HORJANI/GERÉNY	946	26			
	DRAVCI/UNG DARÓC	1,167	54			
2	CSAP/CSOP	3,498	359	277	3	280 (-79)

3	UNGVÁR COUNTY UZSGORODSZKIJ RAJON (61 settlements)	48,494	3,669	5,931	30	5,961 (+2,262)
4	NAGYBEREZNA COUNTY VELIKA- BEREZNYSZKIJ RAJON (31. settlements)	32,116	2,799	2,204	8	2,212 (-587)
5	PERECSENY COUNTY / PERECSINSZKIJ RAJON (21 settlements)	26,031	933	1,799	1	1,800 (+867)
ALTOGEHER:		148,799	17,463	17,722	110	17,832 (+466)

The aftermath was initiated by Police Captain György Thurzó and Mayor László Megay's announcement issued on the 26th of April, 1944, for the purpose of preventing sporadic escapes in and around Ungvár and for the purpose of collecting "notorious Jews" who had independently exempted themselves from the authority's regulations. It said: *"We call upon all members of the Christian national society of the city of Ungvár that if they become aware of such Jews, then immediately report them to the Hungarian Royal police authorities or hand these delinquents over to the nearest police station."*³¹⁵

The report also turned up that was sent by Dr. Károly Hiringer, M.D., Chief Medical Officer of the Hungarian State to Mayor Megay on the inspection of the *"Jewish concentration camp in the brick factory in Felszabadulás utca"*, planned for twenty-thousand people. The report said that participating in the inspection, among others, were János Bálint, Royal Medical Officer, Dr. Vilmos Závodnyik city doctor, Dr. Gábor Hízsai, the Royal Medical Officer of the Ung Administrative Office, György Alföldi, the city technical adviser, and **János Ortutay**, the chief of the city's fire-brigade. It was ascertained that there was only one water-pump in the camp with a capacity of 20 cubic metres of water which could be used for cleaning and cooking purposes which did not provide the desired supply, and the *"two latrines set up are not even sufficient to meet the needs of the present"*

³¹⁵ 1-page typewritten copy of the appeal of the Mayor of the city of Ungvár of 26 April 1944, entitled *Zsidók kitelepítésének folytatása* (Continuation of the expulsion of Jews). Source: MZSKE archive.

number which was just 4,000 people at present.” It was recommended that the above deficiencies should be remedied as soon as possible, as there was a risk of infection which could spread to the townspeople, since *“there were many germ farmers among the Jews.”* Furthermore, the author of the report considered it desirable to order vaccination against *“belly-typhus”*, to build a delousing room for the infected with head lice and body lice, to teach Jewish doctors to disinfest, to isolate infected patients, and to operate a Jewish health clinic within the camp. Finally, he *“respectfully requests the mayor to take the necessary measures”*.³¹⁶ Six days later, Mayor László Megay wrote a letter to the *“Hungarian Royal Minister of the Interior”* in order to speed up the deportation of Jews, in which he pointed out that in the camp *“epidemic disease may break out easily, which may possibly infect the whole town and its surroundings, and there will be no human power to prevent its spread.”* He therefore asks the Minister that *“the Jews who were collected in Ungvár and placed in camps be removed ASAP.”*³¹⁷ He attached to his letter the report of the chief medical officer quoted above.

Mayor László Megay was contacted in a letter by Dr. Gyurits, the head of the Ung Administrative Office, who asked Megay to continue to provide food for prisoners kept fourteen days, because, as he wrote: *“due to distance, I am not able to deliver any food that may be found in Ungvár.”* He suggests that in this matter he should contact Dr. Ferdinand Novy, the H.R. Chief Economic Inspector, who had previously stated that he could *“provide food necessary for Jews.”*³¹⁸

The names of the police officers who saved the lives of people, and of the lawyers who refused this policy, are already known, more or less. We also know from the special literature that for a time there was a secret courier service between the ghettos in Ungvár and various Jewish organisations. However, one of the couriers, the lawyer Dr. Ackermann from Ungvár, was arrested by the Gestapo. The documents

³¹⁶ A certified copy of the 2-page typewritten report “217/10-1944. tsz. fo.” signed by the Head of the Chief Medical Officer in Ungvár. Source: MZSKE archive.

³¹⁷ Authentic copy of the typed report of the Mayor of the city of Ungvár dated 24 April 1944, No 218/1944.tsz.fo. Source: MZSKE archive.

³¹⁸ Letter of the Head of the Ung Administrative Branch-Office dated 9 May 1944 “81. eln./1944.” 1-page typewritten report No. Source: MZSKE archives.

he had with him revealed, for example, that the deputy notary of Ungvár, Dr Szendrődy (Szendrői), whose job it was to supply food to the ghettos, “*was humane towards the Jews*”. The police adviser Dr. Török was also helpful. These officials, risking their lives, remained human in an inhuman environment. Among others, prominent Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto. Some were thus “*allowed to escape, others obtained travel permits, which they used to organise regular courier services between Budapest and Ungvár.*”³¹⁹

Thanks to the courier of the Jewish Council in Ungvár, Dr. Ackermann, the responsible leaders received a letter from the Jews of Transcarpathia begging for their lives. (According to the survivors in Ungvár it could have reached the secretariat of Governor Miklós Horthy). The “*Official copy*”³²⁰ of this letter was recently found in the Transcarpathian archives, and which I read³²¹ in 2014 at the Holocaust conference in Beregszász.

“OFFICIAL COPY!

of the confidential register No 169/9-1944 of the Hungarian Royal Police captaincy in Ungvár

Your Excellency,

*Councillor Vitéz General Thurzó Esq.,*³²²

Ungvár.

*We are writing this letter with the blood of our hearts. We cry day and night and beg the Almighty to give our Lords the power and will to save our lives. Hungary is a thousand-year-old state and not Mach Sanyo's Slovakia*³²³. *The Hungarian people have feelings, are*

³¹⁹ Hungary 1944. *Persecution-rescue*. Edited by: SZITA SZABOLCS. National Textbook Publisher – Pro Homine – 1944 Memorial Committee, Budapest, 16.1994. p.

³²⁰ The “heartbreaking” letter, written on behalf of the “Hungarian and Transcarpathian Jewry”, was found in the Transcarpathian State Archives by **Béla Huber**, President of the Hungarian Jewish Association of Transcarpathia, and was presented at the 2014 conference in Berehovo, and I thank him again.

³²¹ It turned out that another copy of the “Official Copy” in our possession has also been found in Budapest. GYÖRGY HARASZTI published the Carpathian document with an introduction and notes in the article *Past and Future*. From the note we know that the document was found and submitted to him for publication by **Dr. Ferenc Gáspár**, retired Deputy Director General of the Budapest Police. Source. Archived version: http://www.multesjovo.hu/hu/aitdownloadablefiles/download/aitfile/aitfile_id/1787/ (16-01-2015)

³²² **Dr. György Thurzó**, police superintendent of Ungvár.

³²³ Mach Sanyo, was the Minister of Interior of the independent Slovak State in 1944.

chivalrous, they weep with us. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people are mortal enemies of Bolshevism, which crushed religion, which for us is not and cannot be life. The Jews are disciplined, faithfully obey the orders of the Government. During the occupation, we thought unceasingly of our thousand-year-old homeland, we spoke and acted in Hungarian. At the time of liberation, we wept and danced with joy, we wanted to be loyal soldiers of our sweet homeland. The overwhelming majority of Jewry never did anything against our sweet homeland. Take our property, make us work, but leave us in our homes and save our lives. Treat us at least like animals, feed us, spare our lives. The Creator and the World will hold our suffering and our lives to account. The Leaders of Hungary, the Hungarian people, the Hungarian sacred land are responsible for us. Hungarians and Jews are equal children of the Creator. The Hungarian people are not pagans. Let them also think of their own families, their dear parents and their sweet children, let them take the trouble to see how old dying men and women and little crying children are taken from the villages, hungry and ragged, into the open air, in the cold nights. Please, look how all the indigenous Christians, Hungarians and Ruthenians alike wring their hands and beg to heaven, as they see innocent Jews, Hungarian citizens, being transported along the road in the most barbaric way. Why not shoot them all to death in their own homes, which would be much more humane. We know the situation is difficult, but the Jews are not to blame. They never committed anything against the state, if it happened in the past, let the state punish the perpetrators, but not the innocent. Please, think of the exhortations and prayers of the Holy Father of Rome,³²⁴ the Nuncio,³²⁵ the Archbishop³²⁶ and the entire High Priesthood, who pray unceasingly for us Jews. Think of the curses and blessings, please! Of the tears that fall every moment in the Minaj utca camp³²⁷ for mercy and help. Please, make sacrifices, think of the thousand-year-old Hungary that never dared think of us in

³²⁴ Pope Pius XII.

³²⁵ Angelo Rotta

³²⁶ Jusztinián Seréd

³²⁷ The village Jews of Ung-vidék were ghettoized in the Moskovics brick factory, which was on Minaji Street, colloquially known as the „Minaj Street Camp”, in addition, the townspeople were gathered at the Glück lumber yard, there was no other camp.

such a horrible way, of making us living dead. Our Christian brothers and sisters see with their own eyes how suckling children, the old, sick people on crutches are dragged away, and shed tears with us. Re-settle us after the war in a humane way, if that is what you wish. Let us go from our sweet beloved homeland, in which we have lived for a thousand years, but until then let us be human, let us worship our Creator, our sweet Hungary, for which we too have starved a lot. Have mercy on us, have mercy on us, so that we may take our relatives, our parents, our children, who were transported here from the villages and who are threatened by the most terrible contagious diseases, and live here. Have mercy, have mercy today, every moment counts. We will pray for Hungary, its people, its governor, its leaders, their happiness, their health, S.O.S. S.O.S., S.O.S.

17 April 1944.

*With eternal loyalty and most humble respect
The Jews of Ungvár and Subcarpathia.* ³²⁸

For the credit of the copy:

Ungvár, April 20, 1944.

Signed and sealed in his own hand

NATIONAL LETTERS, K. SECTION

After the arrest of the Jewish lawyer Dr. Ackermann, the gendarme lieutenant-colonel László Ferenczy, who was responsible for the deportation of the Jews, arrived in Uzhhorod immediately. In his incident report dated in Mukachevo (29 May 1944) and addressed to the “Hungarian Royal Minister of the Interior”, he reported the following: “*The command within the camps and the*

³²⁸ According to RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM, the members of the Jewish Council of Ungvár formulated the petition on behalf of “the Jews of Ungvár and Subcarpathia”, but their action was unsuccessful. See *A magyar Holocaust*. Budapest, 1989. Archival pdf version: *A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája. A holokauszt Magyarországon: Történelmi áttekintés*. (Adoba Reader- (Zsidók deport Kárp.Monográfia305.pdf): p. 1241.

technical management of the placement will also be taken over in future by external groups of the German security police – under the leadership of a German officer. The external guarding and securing of the camps will be carried out by the Hungarian armed forces under orders of their own commander. The necessity of this solution is justified by the flagrant case I found in commanding the Ungvár collecting camp. For instance, the officer commanding the German external group there, in order to ensure smooth cooperation and because of not knowing the situation personally, had to tolerate the fact that the town deputy notary, Dr. Szendrődy, who had been delegated by the town mayor to the local committee to deal with the food supply and health conditions in the camp, had full authority and allowed the prominent Jews to leave the camp. This was assisted by some members of the police staff, too. Under these circumstances it was possible for some Jews, of particular prominence and wealth, to escape, and for others to obtain travel permits, with the help of which regular courier services were organised between Budapest and Ungvár. As a result, one of the Jews in the Beregszász camp received a telegram from Zurich, addressed to: “Beregszász, Téglagyár (Brick Factory)”. During the investigation carried out by the German security police, one of the couriers, the Jewish lawyer Dr. Ackermann from Ungvár was arrested and the courier mail and notes found on him were confiscated. According to the information found in the letters, Dr. Szendrődy, the municipal deputy notary, was in contact with the Jews, and Dr. Török, the police adviser in Ungvár was also mentioned. On the basis of the information from the German police investigation [sic!] I immediately went to Ungvár, where I found out that in the matter of travel passes issued to the Jews, Dr. Török, the police counsellor, was guilty of negligence, and that, because of his seriously objectionable conduct, Dr. Szendrődy, the municipal deputy notary, was not at all suitable to work in the camp. I have taken measures on the spot to the effect that the command of the camps and the administration of Jewish affairs should be taken over immediately by Lieutenant-Colonel Sándor Pálffy, while I had the town notary Dr. Szendrődy removed from his post in the

camp by the mayor. The investigation of the courier service was taken over by the German Security Police."³²⁹

The cited Ferenczy incident report shows very well that there were also humane officials in Ungvár. Dr. Szendrődy (Szendrői), the supply officer, and Dr. Török, the police adviser were such people. So, they were not allowed to continue their official activities and their cases were further dealt with by the German security service. Other pro-Jewish officials were also removed on the basis of denunciations. Lieutenant Colonel Ferenczy appointed Lieutenant Colonel Sándor Pálffy as the new commander of the ghettos.

According to another Ferenczy incident report (7 June 1944), "*re-taliatory proceedings*" were initiated against gendarme captain Dr. Endre Nagy, who hid his Jewish fiancée in his apartment and then married her in Budapest in church³³⁰.

In his report of 8 June 1944, Lieutenant Colonel Ferenczy also mentions that he had Dr. Lajos Tóth, a lawyer candidate from Ungvár, taken from his family "*for his statements denouncing the deportation of Jews and for his defamation of the nation.*"³³¹ He also notes that Lukács Gézané, a resident of Ungvár, was interned for "*hiding Jewish property*". Furthermore, an investigation was launched in the case of "*a machinist named Pálos, who was on duty at the Ungvár police captaincy*" and "*took photographs of Jewish consignments.*"

To the great satisfaction of those who supported the persecution of the Jews, after 34 days of suffering, between 17 and 31 May, the Jews from Ungvár and district were deported to Auschwitz in five transports.

Many died in the two ghettos or committed suicide. They were buried in the Jewish cemetery here. (At the initiative of Holocaust

³²⁹ See: *Vitéz Ferenczy* alezredes (16. sz. ügyirat. Biz. 1944. II/2. sz.) eseményjelentése a M. Kir. Belügyminiszter Úrnak, Budapest, Munkács, 1944. május 29.: Archival version: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvetele_az_1944_i.html

³³⁰ See: *vitéz Ferenczy* alezredes: A III. tisztogatási területtel kapcsolatos 1. sz. eseményjelentése a M. Kir. Belügyminiszter Úrnak, Hatvan, 1944. június 7. Archival version: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvetele_az_1944_i.html

³³¹ See more: *vitéz Ferenczy* alezredes: A II/3. számú tisztogatási akció 3. sz. eseményjelentése A M. Kir. Belügyminiszter Úrnak.
Tárolt változat: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvetele_az_1944_i.html

survivors a memorial was erected on the graves in memory of those who died in the ghetto).

The chroniclers also said that some of the town's population breathed a sigh of relief when the deportation operation was over, while others shed tears for the deported Jews.

Ghettoes in Munkács

The Bereg Administrative Branch Office organized several ghettoes in Bereg county, in Munkács and Beregszász. Mayor István Engelbreht, Deputy Mayor Vásáry, Colonel Fehér and other officials issued humiliating anti-Jewish measures and with the involvement of Jewish councils (chairman: engineer **Sándor Steuer/Steiner**, members: **Sándor Segelstein**, **Reisman**, **Sándor Kalus/Kalisch/Kalusch**, **Jakobovics**, **Meisel**, **Mermelstein**, **Mandel Áron**, **Bródy**, **Márton Rosenheck**, **Oszkár Klein**, **Ferenc Áron**, **János Morvai**, **Eisenstötter Mendel**) organized the local implementation of the anti-Jewish law.

From 16 to 18 April, Jews were directed to two ghettoes (commanded by Lieutenant Kiss) in Munkács, too. In the Sajovits brick factory, 14,000 people from the temporary ghettoes of the Bereg region villages (Ilosva, Alsóverecke, Solyva) were placed³³². (Unreliable persons were also kept in prison here). In the other, in a district of settlements bordering ten streets along the Latorca river, 13,000 Jews were collected. Fire-brigade chief Katrics directed the cordoning off of the ghetto quarter. On the territory of the ghetto Jewish police were organised. **Galpert/Halpert Tilda** (Munkács, 1923), a survivor, remembers these days in this way. *“In April 1944, the Roth plant where I worked was closed. All the Jews of Munkács were put into a ghetto. All the workers of the plant were deported. We did not have to move anywhere because our street was in the middle of one of the ghettoes. My sister Margaret and her son, who was nine years old at the time, were put in the other ghetto. We had no contact with each other at all because both ghettoes were fenced off and there were patrols along the fence. My mother and I and*

³³² Source: *Zsidók Kárpátalján, Történelem és örökség*, Budapest. pp. 2013. 258-264.

my youngest brother, Smil, stayed in our own house. We didn't know at the time that my three brothers had already died. My sister Serena was in Moscow, my brother Fisl in England. I don't remember exactly how long we were in the ghetto, but I think it was a few weeks [Jews in the city stayed in the ghetto in the Jewish quarter of the city for about 4-5 weeks - Ed.] We were not allowed to leave the ghetto, but there were no other restrictions. We were starving. Sometimes villagers who knew our family would bring us something to eat. After a while there was talk that we would be taken to a concentration camp. Then we were officially ordered to pack some food for the trip, but not too much. Then all the inhabitants of the ghetto were put into a brick factory. And there, in the yard of the brick factory, we spent I don't know how many days in the open air. From there we were driven to the wagons and taken to Auschwitz. We travelled in a crowded train for about a week. There was no food at all on the way. This was in April 1944 [Jews from Munkács were deported between 19 and 24 May in nine transports - Ed.] When we arrived at the concentration camp, we had no idea where we had arrived. I found out later that it was Auschwitz.”³³³ Between 14 and 25 May, in 8-9 transports nearly 27,000 people were taken away. According to the chroniclers, Podelcsak, the chief notary, József Bíró, the notary, Márton Zöldi, the gendarme lieutenant colonel and János Vass, the new police captain of Munkács³³⁴ were known as people who hated the Jews very much. **Reb Mojselé and his son** were tortured to death on trumped-up charges (using the blood of young girls to bake Passover Pascha). All the Jews were also in extremely poor conditions: poor food and poor health care. During the evacuation of the Jewish quarter and the transfer of the detainees to a brick factory, about half a hundred of those who hung back were shot, some of them in the rabbi's garden, the rest in the Jewish cemetery. Here too were both gloating and sympathetic Christian residents. More than ten people successfully escaped from the crowded brick factory ghetto. Many of the detained personalities, prisoners and cantors were tortured to death while being forced to hand over their stashed money. Because of

³³³ *Galpert Tilda* visszaemlékezése. (The recollections of Tilda Galpert) <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/galpert-tilda>

³³⁴ Lieutenant Colonel **Zöldi** was involved in the massacres of Újvidék (Novi Sad).

the unbearable mental terror, some committed suicide with morphine. On April 23, a typhus epidemic broke out and took its toll. There was uncontrollable looting and robbery in the city; people were looking for hidden valuables.

According to my self-edited table, in 1941 26,113 Israelis lived in the 142 settlements belonging to the former Bereg Administrative Branch Office and Bereg County with a population of 178,958, including the four-year population increase. According to available figures, 21,633 Jews (of which 147 were inmates of labour camps, the rest deported from the Munkács ghettos) became victims of the Nazi genocide. On 4,480 people no data are available; 20-30% of the deported are Holocaust survivors.

Table 9

Data on the extraction of Jews that took place in the Bereg Administrative Branch Office and Bereg County converted to the current administrative units of Transcarpathia

Nº	Data in the Bereg Administrative Branch and Bereg converted to the current administrative units of Transcarpathia City with county rights: 1 City: 141 Total: 142	Number of inhabitants, 1941	Jews (non-Christians)	Deportees named so far in KSZU ZO	Inmates of labour camps	Loss
1	MUNKÁCS/ MUKACSEVO Settlements attached to i: Munkácsváralja, Oroszvé, Várpálánka, Podhering, Klastromalja	31,602	13,488 (42,7%)	11,056	108	11 164 (-2 324)
	MUNKÁCSVÁRALJA	1,194	76			
	OROSZVÉ	2,905	909			
	VÁRPALÁNKA	1,505	146			
	KLASTROMALJA	436	26			
	PODHERING	2,062	210			
2	MUNKÁCS District/ MUKACSVSZKIJ RAJON (85 settlements)	83,782	5,033	3,844	14	3,989 (-1 044)

3	SZOLYVA District/ SZVALJAVSZKIJ RAJON (26 settlements)	34,612	4,051	5,047	20	5,067 (+1 016)
4	VOLÓC District / VOLOVECKIJ RAJON (30 settlements)	20,860	2,174	1,839	5	1,844 (-330)
ALTOGETHER:		178,958	26,113	21,786	147	22,064 (-2 684)

There were brave and philanthropic compatriots in Munkács as well, who protested against the gendarmerie perpetrators' villainy. The collecting of the Jews there was carried out by Gendarmerie Lt. Col. Ferenczy and his infamous anti-Jewish detachment, which never omitted to defile even the human dignity of the Jews. Ferenczy performed his task with such overzealousness that because of the encroachments of the gendarmerie and the rude "measures" of the gendarmerie, General Zoltán Álgya-Papp³³⁵ filed a complaint to the command of the VIII. Kassa gendarmerie district, to which Subcarpathia also belonged. However, what he achieved was only that Ferenczy was "replaced by a telegraph"³³⁶ and relieved of his duties with immediate effect, and General Fehér (Weisz), who was ordered home from the front, was appointed commander of the units of the Hungarian army stationed in Transcarpathia.³³⁷

Contemporary chroniclers also reported on attempts to escape, run away and hide. Even before the closure of the ghetto in Munkács, József Strausz and his wife hid and rescued the 11-year-old **Álmos Rubin** in their apartment. The boy was fate's pet indeed because

³³⁵ Álgya-Papp Zoltán Alsókománai (Budapest 15 March 1895 - The Hague 16 October 1987) Hungarian soldier. He served as a military attaché in several countries between the two world wars. He was one of the most courageous Hungarian generals of World War II, serving in his highest rank as commander of the V Corps. His activities during the World War were overshadowed by his participation in Operation Gypsy Baron and the deportation of Jews in Maramaros County. After his capture in 1945, the Soviet authorities sentenced him to twenty-five years of hard labour. After ten years in Soviet camps, he was released from the Budapest Collector's Prison thanks to the 1956 revolution and found refuge in emigration, becoming a missionary priest. Source. Wikipedia.

³³⁶ Magyarország 1944. Üldöztetés-embermentés. Szerkesztette: SZITA SZABOLCS. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó – Pro Homine – 1944 Emlékbizottság, Budapest, 1994.p.15.

³³⁷ CSANÁDI GYÖRGY: *Sorsfordító évek sodrásában. Fejezetek Beregvidék történelmi múltjából*, PoliPrint, Ungvár, 2004. P. 152.

his parents also survived the deportation³³⁸. After escaping under unknown circumstances, **András Wohl Jr.**, dressed in a cassock, found refuge in the Catholic high school of Szatmárnémet. His further fate is unknown.

There were Hungarians in this region, too, who courageously spoke up for their vulnerable fellow human beings. We can read about such cases in the Ferenczy summary of 21 May, which also discusses the events in Munkács and emphasises that the trainee detective József Kocsis, who was on duty in the Munkács police captaincy, was caught red-handed *“trying to let a Jewish girl out of the Jewish camp and at the same time trying to smuggle out documents and valuables taken from the Jews in the camp.”* He had the young detective arrested and *“proceedings against him were initiated.”* In his report, he also mentioned László Erney, a reserve artillery lieutenant stationed in Técső, who had “interceded” with the gendarme lieutenant colonel in order to free a Jewish woman *“who was about to be transported from the camp”* in Técső, and for this and other service offences he was reported to the reserve lieutenant, his “superior command”. In Munkács, he put **Géza Bíró**, a resident of Dés, under remand, who *“had written to the Government Commissioner complaining about the Jewish babies, sick and old people. The Government Commissioner handed the complaint over to me for processing. I have summoned the said person on 26 May for questioning in Munkács.”*³³⁹ According to local chroniclers, the gendarme lieutenant colonel’s henchmen beat **Géza Bíró**, a resident of Dés, half to death or even to death in Munkács for daring to harass the authorities with such a complaint.

The Ferenczy report of 21 May also mentions that “in Nyíregyháza and Munkács there was much use of weapons to prevent escape.”³⁴⁰ This report does not mention either that Jewish women and men who had escaped from the ghettos and were hiding in the woods near

³³⁸ Hungary 1944. *Persecution-rescue*. Edited by: SZITA SZABOLCS. National Textbook Publisher – Pro Homine – 1944 Memorial Committee, Budapest, 16.1994. p.

³³⁹ See details in: **Vitéz Ferenczy** alezredes II/1. számú eseményjelentését a M. Kir. Belügy-miniszter Úrnak, Munkács, 1944. május 21. Archival version: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvelete_az_1944_i.html

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

the settlements belonging to the Bereg Administrative District were executed in groups, but Soviet-Ukrainian historiography also omitted such an incident, as these people were not considered to be partisans involved in resistance. It was only in the years after the change of systems, after the turn of the millennium, that the compilation and publication of a list of Jewish victims and the publication of the “Ukrainian Black Book” series started. The fifth volume of the book contains data on Jewish persons, broken down by name, who were executed by gendarmes. The largest reprisals were carried out in September 1944, on the outskirts of the village of Ploszke in the Solyva district, in the Roztoka-Tisnyina vineyard. Of the sixteen executed eleven persons were women, five were men:

Goldstein Ajn Wolf Mordhovics (Ploszke, September, 1944),

Goldstein Berko Mordhovics (Ploszke, September 1944),

Goldstein Haja (Ploszke, September, 1944, housewife),

Goldstein Mordho (Ploszke, September, 1944),

Gottesman Ester Mordhivna (Ploszke, September, 1944),

Gottesman Fajga Icikivna (Ploszke, September 1944) housewife

Gottesman Guhla (Ploszke, September, 1944), the Jewish woman and housewife

Gottesman Hanna Icikivna (Ploszke, September, 1944) housewife

Gottesman Icik (Ploszke, September, 1944) agriculturer worker,

Gottesman Sangla Icikivna (Ploszke, September 1944)

Gottesman Villi Icikovics (Ploszke, September, 1944),

Gottesman Vudla (Ploszke, September, 1944, housewife),

Mermelstein Benjamin (Pavlovo, September, 1898-1944) forester,

Mermelstein Eva (Pavlovo, September, 1904-1944) housewife,

Mermelstein Lilia Benjamivivna (Pavlovo, 06.04.1928 -1944 September),

Mermelstein Manci Benjamivivna (Pavlovo, September, 1926-1944)

Mermelstein Maria Benjamivivna (Pavlovo, 24.08.1924. - September, 1944).³⁴¹

³⁴¹ See: KSZU ZO, 5. k. 2007: pp. 546-547.

On the „*Mezsi Roztoka*” accommodation road near Olenyovo belonging to the village council of Ploszke, the gendarmes shot down nine Jews from Pavlovo (5 women and 4 men) at a time.

They were:

Goldstein Fajga (Pavlovo, 1909),

Goldstein Hana (Pavlovo, 1905),

Goldstein Malka (Pavlovo, 1912),

Goldstein Pilja (Pavlovo, 1911),

Gottesman Abrum (Pavlovo, 1922),

Gottesman Ajsig (Pavlovo, 1910),

Gottesman Wolf (Pavlovo, 1924),

Mermelstein Bence (Pavlovo, 1900) merchant,

Mermelstein Eva (Pavlovo, 1896) housewife.³⁴²

Tragic cases of whistle-blowers and of those who were reported on occurred elsewhere. One of them was reported in a local newspaper of the time: “*A textbook example of hope and faith, and a miracle, was the discovery made in Munkács last week: two Jewish families were pulled out of a cellar in the ghetto, where 11 people were living walled up after the Jews had left,*”³⁴³ On the orders of the German security services they were transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Table 10
Data on the transport of Jews ghettoized in Munkács

Data on the transport of Jews ghettoized in Munkács (1 transport 45 cars, 1 car contained c. 49-70 heads)	1944. May 14-24.	Munkács-Kassa-Auschwitz main route	Town-county
1. transport	14 May	3 169	county
2. transport	18 May	3 629	county
3. transport	17 May	3 306	county
4. transport	18 May	3 025	county
5. transport	18 May	3 222	Town and county

³⁴² See: KSZU ZO, 5. k. 2007: pp. 530-532.

³⁴³ *Az Óslakó* 1944. július 16., - quotes: FEDINEC CSILLA: *A Kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918-1944*. Galánta-Dunaszerdahely: Fórum Intézet-Lilium Aurum, 2002. 420.p.

6. transport	20 May	3 026	town
7. transport	21 May	2 861	town
8. transport	23 May	3 269	town
9. transport	24 May	3 080	town
Altogether:		28 587	

Ghettoes in Beregszász

On the 16th of April, 8-10 thousand Jews from Beregszász and the surrounding area were collected in the brickworks of **Winkler Kont** in the town on the banks of the Vérke, then in the Vály brickworks and in the Weiss farm buildings near the town; (about a thousand persons from three villages were collected there).

The ghettoizing was carried out under the strict control of Gendarmerie Lieutenant Pál Fery (Feri).³⁴⁴ The chief commander of the ghettos was Lieutenant Colonel István Nagy, followed by Lieutenant Tibor Kecskési-Tollas (Kohlmann)³⁴⁵. The conditions in the ghettoes were extremely bad; many people spent the night in the open air, the water to drink was not provided, food and medical care were inadequate, etc. Here too, we know of one or two unsuccessful escapes, five of which were reported on by the Arrow Cross-minded residents, so the police took these people back to the ghetto.³⁴⁶

In the centre of the Bereg region, too, the intense persecution of the Jews began on 25 March 1944, when the Germans invaded BEREKSZÁSZ, and six days later the Gestapo arrived. On 1 April they set up the Jewish Council (**Dávid Weisz**, the president of the

³⁴⁴ Before coming here, he was an instructor at the gendarmerie school in Nagyvárád.

³⁴⁵ A gendarme lieutenant Kecskési, who treated the Jews humanely, was transferred to Tiszaújlak on 18 May 1944. In 1948 he was sentenced to 10 years in prison in a People's Court trial. In 1956 he escaped and later settled in Germany, he made a name for himself as a poet Tibor Tollas, and in 1991 he was rehabilitated and awarded a high state decoration.

³⁴⁶ RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: A magyar Holocaust. Budapest, 1989. Tárolt pdf változata: A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája. A holokauszt Magyarországon: Történelmi áttekintés. (Adoba Reader- (Zsidók deport Kárp.Monográfia305.pdf): p. 258. (RANDOLPH L.

In English: RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: The Hungarian Holocaust. Budapest, 1989. The Holocaust in Hungary: A Historical Overview (Adoba Reader- (Zsidók deport Kárp. Monográfia305.pdf): p. 258.).

Jewish community, Chief Rabbi **Salamon Hirsch**, Hasidic *Rabbi N. Steinmetz*, and the well-known **Péter Reismann**) to implement their decrees with the help of the Council. In the opinion of the survivors the day of the 5th of April was a most tragic day, on which the Jews of the city were obliged to wear the yellow star. “War widows and temporary defence widows were exceptions. The military commander of Beregszász, István Cserhalmi, was particularly exposed in this respect, and he tried desperately to have us stay here.

“Later it turned out that his intercession was useless. The Gestapo men arrested the two Chief Rabbis and took them away on the same day. Dr. Zsigmond Huber, who was a doctor, committed suicide. The spiritual decomposition had begun. It was not allowed to go to the street. Fear and insecurity knocked on the doors of houses. An order was issued to hand over one million pengő by 12 o'clock at night. Later, this deadline was extended by one day. Finally, after collecting the jewellery and gold, the requested amount was delivered to its destination. Hostages were taken.³⁴⁷ Sándor Fischer, Endre Schaar, Hermann Willinger, etc. They were taken to Auschwitz much earlier. There were very rich Jews in Beregszász, from all walks of life: doctors, lawyers, merchants, industrialists. (...) On 12 April, Easter Day, the churches were emptied and the inhabitants of the area were settled in them. Those who did not fit were put in the brickworks. On 13 April, the police began to evacuate Beregszász street by street (...) We were herded into the barrel factory for five days, but later we went to the brick factory. The Gestapo took people from there to work. They could buy some food in the meantime. The poorer people, or those who had run out of supplies, ate in the kitchen run by the Jewish Council. The food was very bad. There were rumours in general that we would beg to be taken to Kecskemét to work. Many of us hoped so. Meanwhile, a policeman helped some young girls to run away from the ghetto. On 12 May, 300 gendarmes invaded the Brickworks with machine guns. No one was allowed to leave the barracks for more than 5 hours. Early in the morning, an order was read that everyone was obliged to hand in their gold, sil-

³⁴⁷ Altogether 120 Jews were arrested, and the hostages were released after the ransom was paid only.

ver, money, and jewellery. Anyone who did not hand them in would be taken to Germany and executed. Everyone gave everything. Only those who refused to do so were abused. On 15 May, the first transport was made ready to go. This was done by putting the men in wagons at the Brickworks at 12.00 noon, and we were not allowed to take food with us except bread. Two sets of clothes and 3 pairs of underwear were allowed. They put 70-75 persons in a wagon...”³⁴⁸

The deportation of the Jews from Beregszász and the Bereg region took place on 16-29 May with four transports, one of which was attended by State Secretary László Endre, too.³⁴⁹

Table 11
Data on transportations of Jews from Beregszász
and the area of Bereg

<i>Data on transportations of Jews from Beregszász and the area of Bereg</i> (1 transport 45 wagons, 1 wagon there were c. 49-70 heads)	14-24 May, 1944.	En route Munkács-Kassa-Auschwitz, Birkenau	Note
1. transport	14-15 May	3 818	Young people fit for work
2. transport	18 May	3 569	County, town
3. transport	22 May	2 602	County, town
4. transport	27-29 May	860	Sick and old people mostly
Altogether:		10 849	

Tailor **K. H.** (Beregszász, 1894) remembers this day in this way: *“I left Beregszász with the first transport, on May 15, 1944. There were 71 of us in a wagon. The wagons were driven by Hungarian gendarmes with very rough equipment. The journey took three days to Birkenau ...”*³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ DEGOB, 18. sz. jegyzőkönyv, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=18>

³⁴⁹ Source: *Zsidók Kárpátalján, Történelem és örökség*, Budapest. 2013. pp. 258-264.

³⁵⁰ DEGOB, 17. sz. jegyzőkönyv, <http://www.degob.hu/index.php?showjk=17>

As to the above estimates, I deem it important to note that they refer to the settlements of the Bereg County and the *Bereg Administrative District* in 1938-1944. Before the war, 22 Hungarian settlements of the Vásárosnamény district, which is now part of Hungary, belonged to the former Bereg County, too.³⁵¹

As to my self-made and edited table, in 1941 there were 17,411 Jews living in the 85 settlements of the *Bereg Administrative District* and *Bereg County*, which once had a population of 139,320, including the four-year population increase. In 1944, according to the total number of names published in 10 volumes of the *Black Book of Ukraine for Transcarpathia*, 11,174 Jews (85 of them labourers) were victims of the Nazi genocide (deported from the two ghettos in Beregszász); 6,152 are not recorded; 20-30 % of the deported are Holocaust survivors.

Table 12
Data on the deportation of Jews in the Bereg Administrative District and Bereg County, converted to the present-day administrative units of Transcarpathia

№	Data on the deportation of Jews in the Bereg Administrative District and Bereg County, converted to the present-day administrative units of Transcarpathia Regional towns: 1 Settlements: 84 Altogether: 85	Number of inhabitants on the 1941 census	Jews in 1941	Named deportees so far (KSZU ZO)	Killed inmates of Labour camps	Loss
1	BEREGSZÁSZ/ BEREHOVE (Attached settlements: Beregárdó, Bulcsu, Tasnád)	19 373	5 856 (30,2%)	4 923	64	4 987 (-869)
	BEREGÁRDÓ	1 204	90			
	BULCSU (NAGY-)	964	11			
2	BEREGSZÁSZ District/ BEREHOVSZKIJ RAJON (38 settlements)	42 300	2 704	2 073	18	2 091 (-693)

³⁵¹ See: *Magyarország helységnévtára 1941*: pp. 13-14.

3	ILOSVA District/ IRSAVSZKIJ RAJON (46 settlements)	75 479	8 750	4 178	3	4 181 (-4 569)
ALTOGETHER:		139 320	17 411	11 174	85	11 259 (-6 131)

Chief Rabbi **Salamon Hirsch** of Beregszász was also martyred for his faith. Ferenc Pásztor, the R.C. parish priest of Beregszász and a Papal prelate wanted to save the Chief Rabbi from being deported to a concentration camp, but he refused his help saying that he wanted to share the fate of his followers³⁵².

Some of the prominent figures survived the Holocaust. One of them was **Sándor Jak (Jakubovits)** (Pesterzsébet, 1898), a journalist and poet, who lived in Beregszász and elsewhere, from a young age, where his first book of poems (*Neked írom. Beregszász, Haladás nyomda*) was published. From 1922 to 1938 he was the editor of the *Beregi Újság* (Beregi Newspaper). In 1944 he was deported to a concentration camp. He recorded his experiences of deportation in his work titled *Emberek a máglyán (People on the Pyre)* (Emlékezés, Budapest, 1959).³⁵³

Ghettoes in Nagyszőlős

In the centre of Ugocsa County, in “*the cosmopolitan little town*” of Nagyszőlős,” the factual history of the mournful events began on the 16th of April, when the Hungarian gendarmes started to ghettoize the area. In the ghetto, surrounding the synagogue and enclosed in four or five streets around the Magyar Sor, 12-14,000 Jews were detained, of whom an estimated 4,700-5,000 were residents of Nagyszőlős (the total population of the town was 15,000 at that time)³⁵⁴. As to the above estimates, I deem it important to note that they refer to the settlements of Ugocsa County in 1938-1944. Earlier, before the war,

³⁵² CSANÁDI GYÖRGY: *Régi beregszásziak*. Beregszász, 2001. p. 23.

³⁵³ *Kisebbségi ének a beregi rónán*, 1992. pp. 102-103.

³⁵⁴ Source: *Zsidók Kárpátalján, Történelem és örökség*, Budapest. 2013. pp. 258-264.

the former Ugocsa County included 15 Hungarian settlements in the Halmi district, which is now part of Romania³⁵⁵.

According to my self-made and edited table, in 1941 there were 9,451 Jews living in the 47 settlements of the former Ugocsa County with a population of 73,012, including the four-year population increase. In 1944, according to the total number of names published in the 10 volumes of the *Black Book of Ukraine for Transcarpathia*, 4,485 Jews (8 of them inmates in labour camps) were victims of the Nazi genocide (deported from the ghetto in Nagyszőlös); 4, 978 were not recorded; 20-30 % of the deported were Holocaust survivors.

Table 13

Data on action against the Jews in Ugocsa County, converted to the present-day administrative units of Transcarpathia

№	Data on the de-Jewing action in Ugocsa County, converted to the present-day administrative units of Transcarpathia Town: 1 Settlements: 46 Altogether: 47	Number of inhabitants, 1941 census	Jews according to the 1941 census	Named deportees, KSZU ZO (2002-2011)	Killed inmates of labour camps	Loss
1	NAGYSZŐLÖSI JÁRÁS/ VINOHRAGYIVSZKIJ RAJON (47 settlements)	73 012	9 471	4 485	8	4 493 (-4978)
	Altogether:	73 012	9 471	4 485	8	4 493 (-4 978)

The members of the Jewish Council (**Guttman Mór (Moshe)**, **Würzburger Emil (Mendl)**, **Friedmann Lipót (Lippe)** and **Eisenberger Márton (Mordechhay)** provided food for the locals, too.

It became known that **Baron Zsigmond Perényi** (1870-1946)³⁵⁶, former governor of Transcarpathia, president of the upper house of

³⁵⁵ See: *Magyarország helységnévtára 1941*: pp. 77-78.

³⁵⁶ **Zsigmond Perényi**, Baron (Budapest, 25 November 1870 - Budapest, 18 March 1946), Crown Guard, Member of Parliament until 1933, then Member of the Upper House, and during 1939-1940 Commissioner for the Governor of Transcarpathia. A statue of his grandfather, Zsigmond Perényi, unveiled in 1906, stood in the main square and restored in 1991, stands in front of the former county hall. The building now houses the Hungarian secondary school that bears his name. Source. <http://www.hdke.hu/tudastar/enciklopedia/ki-kicsoda?page=1&title=p>

the Hungarian parliament and his son, who owned estates in Ugocsa, “did their best to alleviate the suffering of the Jews in the ghetto by sending them food.”³⁵⁷ The humanity of Perényi is confirmed in a study by another Holocaust scholar³⁵⁸. It is reported that he delivered two wagons of flour to the ghetto in Nagyszőlős. (The baron was awarded a certificate by Yad Vashem for his humanity during World War II), Kálmán Bártfay (1886-1961), a Roman Catholic parish priest in Nagyszőlős, who was sentenced to 25 years in prison by the Soviets a few years later, did the same with the help of nuns.

Table 14
Data on the transportation of the Jews of Ugocsa, Nagyszőlős

<i>Data on the transportation of the Jews of Ugocsa, Nagyszőlős</i> (1 transport 45 wagons, in 1 wagon c. 49-70 persons)		
1. transport	20 May 1944.	3 458
2. transport 27 May 1944.		3 458
3. transport	3 June 1944.	3 415
Altogether:		10 331

Local brave life-savers organised escape attempts from the ghetto in Nagyszőlős. In this connection, there is a legendary story of the secret love affair of two young people from Nagyszőlős. They fell in love at a time when such relationships were considered ‘*racial vilification*’, persecuted by the law. In her epic documentary novel³⁵⁹, **Zsuzsa M. Papp** wrote the story of the **Aykler-Schröder** and **Weisz** families of Nagyszőlős. One is a Roman Catholic, the other is a Jew, both of whom consider themselves old Hungarians. The two families knew each other, but few would have guessed that in 1941 **Tibor Schröder** fell in love with the beautiful **Hedy Weisz** and, despite the Jewish laws in Hungary at the time, they secretly got engaged, vowing to marry after the war. The groom made an elaborate plan to free his bride from the ghetto of Nagyszőlős, but with her family

³⁵⁷ RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: *A magyar Holocaust*. Budapest, 1989. P.429.

³⁵⁸ See: STARK TAMÁS: *Holokauszt Kárpátalján. In: Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. p. 189.

³⁵⁹ ZSUZSA M. PAPP wrote a novel *Denied*. A true story of love. Documentary novel. Apostrof Publishing House, Budapest, 2010.

still in Hedy, he went back to her siblings after a time. Tibor's action is considered a heroic act, as **Tibor Aykler (Schröder)**, a Christian, rescued his fiancée, **Hedy Weisz**, who was raised in a Hungarian Jewish family and survived the ordeal of the death camp. She settled in Canada, but the turmoil of the war prevented them from being together. In 2011, a documentary film was made about the story, which was shown in Transcarpathia, too. The book and the film are a tribute and a memorial to those who suffered the pains of the Holocaust, the prison camps and the forced abandonment of their family home.

We know from **János Váradi-Sternberg's** research that the Nagyszőlős-born physician and publicist **Béla Neufeld** (1894-1962), *"belonged to Oszkár Jászi's 'Twentieth Century', to the guard of authors of Gondolat in Budapest and Korunk in Kolozsvár". He anticipated the deportation to Buchenwald, the death of his relatives and beloved ones, the devastation of the Jewish community of his hometown, and said prophetically: "The victory of fascist ideology in Germany is an egregious possibility"*³⁶⁰

It is a rare and remarkable achievement in Transcarpathia that the tragedy of the Jews of Nagyszőlős (32 % of the whole population of which 95 % perished) is commemorated in a four-language (Hungarian, English, Ruthenian and Hebrew) album³⁶¹. The pages tell the life story of the Weisz family from Nagyszőlős and their fellow Jews. The events of the past are recounted by the sisters and friends of **Sándor Weisz**³⁶², all of whom lived in Nagyszőlős and spent their childhood and youth there.

³⁶⁰ VÁRADI-STERMBERG JÁNOS: *Mementó. A nagyszőlősi zsidóközösség múltjából*. In: Kárptalja (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1991. május, p.10.

³⁶¹ *Nagyszőlős, a világ közepe* (Nagyszőlős, the centre of the world). (The commemorative volume is a collective work of Sándor Weisz/Jichak Livnat, self-published at no cost). Edited by MELINDA NAGY, Aposztróf Publishers, 2009. p. 196.

³⁶² **Sándor Weisz's** father was from the vicinity of Munkács, fought i WW I, was taken prisoner by the Italians, then was released and from 1924 he was the manager of the Perényi estate, the head of the local distillery. His mother was from Beregszász, religious and a Zionist. The family spoke Hungarian.

Ghettos in the Upper Tisza region

Most of the ghettos were located in the administrative district and county of Máramaros: 5,000 Jews were kept under armed guard in Iza (400 of them from Iza), 700 in the village of Szeklence-Száldobos, 11,000 in Huszt (6,000 of them from Huszt), 10,000 in Técső (2,500 of them locals).

Here I would like to mention that Jews from Máramaros were deported also to Mátészalka (from the districts of Csenger, Fehérgyarmat, Mátészalka in Szatmár county, from the district of Rahó in the district of Máramaros, from the district of Máramaros). Their number was 16,000. From Aknaszlatina 5,000. In Mátészalka, the ghetto was located next to the Szalkai factory and the Schreiber timber factory and connected by railway tracks.³⁶³

As to the above estimated figures, I think it important to note that they refer to the municipalities of the *Máramaros Administrative District* and *Máramaros County* in 1938-1944. Before the war, the former Máramaros County included 20 settlements in Aknasugatag district, 13 in Dragomérfalva district, 11 in Felsővisó district, 10 in Máramarossziget district, two in Técső district, and two in *Máramaros Administrative District*, which are now all parts of Romania³⁶⁴.

According to my own table, in 1941 there were 42,311 Jews in the 123 municipalities of the former *administrative district of Máramaros* and the *county of Máramaros*, which had a population of 266,890, including the four-year population increase. In 1944, according to the total number of names published in 10 volumes of the *Black Book of Ukraine for Transcarpathia*, 32,342 Jews (56 of them inmates of labour camps) were victims of the Nazi genocide (deported from several ghettos). For 9,969 no data are available. According to a 1947 survey, 5,596 deportees survived the Holocaust and went home.

³⁶³ Source: *Zsidók Kárpátalján, Történelem és örökség*, Budapest. 2013. pp. 258-264.

³⁶⁴ See: *Magyarország helységnevtára 1941*: pp.1-42., 95-96.

Table 15
Data of the anti-Semitic action in the administrative district of
Máramaros and Máramaros County converted to the present ad-
ministrative units of Transcarpathia

№	Data of the Jewish persecution in the administrative district of Máramaros and Máramaros County converted to the present administrative units of Transcarpathia Regional town: 1 Settlements: 122 Altogether: 123	Number of the population according to the 1941 census	Jews according to the 1941 census	Named deportees so far, KSZU ZO, 2002-2011	Killed inmates of labour camps	Loss
1	HUSZT/HUSZT (Attached settlements: Zarisne, Kiresi, Csertyizs)	2 118	6 023	4 337	33	4370 (-1 653)
	CSERTYIZS/CSERTÉZ			2		-
2	HUSZT District/ HUSZTSZKIJ RAJON (33 settlements)	69 175	8 002	5 278	2	5 280 (-2 724)
3	TÉCSŐ District/ TJACSIVSZKIJ RAJON (40 settlements)	102 206	16 988	12 474	8	12 482 (-4 506)
4	RAHÓ District / RAHIVSZKIJ RAJON (20 settlements)	51 149	6 284	4 979	8	4 987 (-1 332)
5	ÖKÖRMEZŐ District/ MIZSHIRSZKIJ RAJON (29 settlements)	42 242	5 014	5 218	5	5 223 (+209)
Altogether:		266 890	42 311	32 286	56	32 342 (-10 006)

According to the records, because of his courageous stand, defending the weak, **Lajos Sicherman**, a member of the Jewish Council of Iza, near Huszt, was shot dead when he spoke out against the constant abuse of women at the ghetto headquarters. In Huszt, a wood merchant named **Winkler** was shot and killed during a search because a dollar hidden in his shoe was found, and others were shot and killed when valuables were found hidden in their possession. “Several people from the local ghetto tried to escape and join the partisans fighting in the nearby forest. Most of them were caught by the gendarmes while trying to escape, but those who did make it to the partisans were not always luckier. Some of the Jews who fled to them were shot

on the spot.”³⁶⁵ In Técső the main difficulty was the hostility of the local Ruthenian population, who sought out those hiding in the woods and handed them over to the gendarmes.”³⁶⁶ According to the survivor **Izsák Kepes**³⁶⁷ (Técső, 28 X. 1928), in Técső: “... *People were standing outside in the street. They were rejoicing and applauding. The bells were ringing in the Roman Catholic and Reformed churches. Just like on a holiday. One of my teachers, when we passed by his house, came out, and when he saw us, his eyes were full of tears and he hurried back into the house... He was the only one who expressed himself like that. The others were glad that the Jews had gone.*”³⁶⁸

On the completion of the gendarmerie cleansing operation on the present territory of Transcarpathia, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferenczy of the Gendarmerie reported to the Royal Hungarian Minister of the Interior on 29 May, in connection with the transport of Jews collected in the territory of the VIII (Kassa, Transcarpathia), IX (Kolozsvár-North Transylvania) and X (Hungary) gendarmerie districts, that “*since the beginning of the transports, a total of 184,049 Jews were transported, and 35 trains are still set to transport the remaining 110,000 Jews. The last transport will leave at 10.35 a.m. on 7 June of the current year... Loading and running of the trains has been uninterrupted so far.*”³⁶⁹ In one of his ‘last reports’ of 8 June 1944, he put the number of deportees from the three gendarmerie districts at 275,415. He notes that “*in the above area today, apart from mixed spouses and descendants, there are no Jews at all.*”³⁷⁰

³⁶⁵ *Zsidók Kárpátalján.* P. 263.p..

³⁶⁶ *Zsidók Kárpátalján.* P. 263.p.

³⁶⁷ **Izsák Kepes**, a survivor from Técső, as star witness, meticulously completed the famous Auschwitz album, including the identification of the photos, naming most of the deportees. (See footnote 218 (?)).

³⁶⁸ FENYVES KATALIN-KÖBÁNYAI JÁNOS: *Az Auschwitz album, ha magyar.* KÖBÁNYAI JÁNOS interjúja Jichak Gersonival (Kepes Izsákkal). Kedum Somron, 2004. július 4. 23-41. p. Forrás: http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/languages/hungarian/leson_plans/auschwitz_album1.asp (2015-01-16.)

³⁶⁹ See details: vitéz Ferenczy alezredes II/2. számú eseményjelentése a M. Kir. Belügyminiszter Úrnak, Munkács, 1944. május 29. Archived version: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvelete_az_1944_i.html

³⁷⁰ See details: vitéz Ferenczy alezredes II/3. számú eseményjelentése a M. Kir. Belügyminiszter Úrnak, Hatvan, 1944. június 8. Archived version: http://infovilag.hu/hir-28850-az_m_kir_csendorseg_reszvelete_az_1944_i.html

Randolph L. Braham³⁷¹ added to his table of the total number of deportees that Ferenczy's table later reports, however, gave a number (288,339) closer to that of Veesenmayer³⁷² (289 357). Of the nearly 290,000 persons, transferred into settlements in the territory of present-day Transcarpathia, it is estimated that about 90,000 Transcarpathian Jews were deported to the German concentration camps.

The “overwhelming majority of the exterminated were Jews” and not Ukrainians

We deem it an outrage and utmost irresponsibility that after WW II the national-communist leaders of Transcarpathia, based on the works written by untrained overzealous Ukrainian historians, spoke of and presented the Jewish victims of the “*Hungarian fascist rule*” as “*Ukrainian victims*” and thus deliberately distorted historical facts and stirred up hatred among the Slavic population and gross sentiments against the Hungarians of Transcarpathia. A flagrant example of this is the inaugural address delivered at the ceremonial meeting in Ungvár on the occasion of the “*45th anniversary of the reunion of Transcarpathia with Soviet Ukraine.*” The orator boasted that “*more than 183,000 people were thrown into prisons and concentration camps and some 115,000 were exterminated by the fascists...*” In these overblown figures there was not a single word that would suggest that “*the overwhelming majority of the exterminated were Jews.*” At the conference organized by the KMKSZ and remembering Stalinist wrongs in 1989, the Holocaust survivor Károly Luszig, the journalist and public writer of Jewish origin, informed the public

³⁷¹ **Edmund Veesenmayer** (12 November 1904 – 24 December 1977) was a high-ranking German SS functionary and Holocaust-perpetrator during the Nazi era. He significantly contributed to the Holocaust in Hungary and in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). Veesenmayer was a subordinate of Ernst Kaltenbrunner and Joachim von Ribbentrop, and worked with Adolf Eichmann. He was involved in dismembering Czecho-Slovakia in 1939, in the establishment of the Ustaše-run NDH puppet state following the April 1941 German invasion of Yugoslavia, and in the selection and installation of the 1941-1944 puppet regime of Milan Nedić in the German-occupied territory of Serbia. After World War II Veesenmayer was tried and convicted at the Ministries Trial; in 1949 he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, but was released after serving two years. (Wikipedia).

³⁷² See RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: *A magyar Holocaust.* Budapest, 1989. Tárolt pdf változata: *A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája. A holokauszt Magyarországon: Történelmi áttekintés.* (Adoba Reader- (Zsidók deport Kárp.Monográfia305.pdf): p. 71.

indignantly about this in his speech delivered in 1989, and asked rightfully also “*if this question was still up-to now taboo.*”³⁷³ **Sándor Weisz**, a survivor from Nagyszőlősz, who settled in Israel, shared his thoughts about this unfair phenomenon in a memory book in Hungarian, English, Ruthenian and Hebrew: “*A few years ago I acquired a bilingual (Hungarian and Ukrainian) photo album of Munkács. In the introduction, not a single word was written about the fact that in a certain period of time, Munkács lost almost 50% of its population. Not a word of this was mentioned. In this volume on Nagyszőlács I do not want to cry about the Holocaust. I would like the book to be about how something happened that was deliberately denied, silenced...*”³⁷⁴

The real loss of the Jewish ethnic group in Transcarpathia is estimated at more than 85,000. Before the Holocaust, the number of Jews practising the Judaic faith was 101,851 (11.9%); 80% of them were native Hungarian speakers. (Due to the strong anti-Semitic policy that was developed and practised in the Soviet Union, 80% of the Jews emigrated from Transcarpathia in the 1970s and 1980s.) In the yearbook of the Czech Academy of Sciences, published in 1992-1993, researchers put the number of Holocaust victims³⁷⁵ of Transcarpathian Jewry at 80-85 thousand. According to the list of casualties in volumes 1-10 of the Black Book of Ukrain for Transcarpathia, 87, 306 people (of whom about 2,000 were Ukrainians, Rusyns, Hungarians and other nationalities) were exterminated in Nazi camps and ghettos.³⁷⁶ Ignoring the reality of the religious-ethnic composition, in the Ungvár brochure published by the *Hesed Spira* Transcarpathian Foundation, Szabina Viron puts the number of Jews before the deportation at 140,000 (!), which is 30, 000 more than any other available statistics, and is considered an exaggeration. But the number of the Holocaust survivors in her opinion is also 7,000.³⁷⁷

³⁷³ KÁROLY LUSZTIG's presentation: „The victims of Stalinism in Transcarpathia.” International conference. Beregszász, 16 November, 1989. Emlékkönyv a sztálinizmus áldozatairól DUPKA GYÖRGY közreadásában. Ungvár-Budapest, Patent-Intermix, 1993. p. 220.

³⁷⁴ Nagyszőlős, a világ közepe. (a képes emlékkötet Weiss Sándor/Jichak Livnat gyűjtőmunkája, önköltséges kiadása), Szerkesztette. Nagy Melinda. Aposztróf Kiadó, 2009. p. 26.

³⁷⁵ Книга скорботи України. Закарпатська область. 1. Ужгород, видавництво „Карпати”, 2002. p. 10. p.

³⁷⁶ Книга скорботи України. Закарпатська область. 1. Ужгород, видавництво „Карпати”, 2002. p. 532.

³⁷⁷ SABINA MIRON: UZGOROD. MONUMENTS OF JEWISH HISTORY IN UKRAINIAN. UNGVÁR, M-STÚDIÓ, 2001, P. 20.

DATA ON THE RELIGIOUS JEWISH PERSONS, THEIR DEPORTATION, THEIR LOSS IN TRANS CARPATHIA 1941-1944

TRANS CARPATHIAN REGION ZAKARPATSKA OBLAST

(13 administrative units)

The authors of the special literature, studies and articles of various countries and nationalities that were published over the past seventy years were almost unanimous in their conclusion that the exact number of the people deported from Transcarpathia could only be estimated, and this estimate was of the order of ten thousand. However, the figures are rather contradictory: more realistic researchers say the number of Holocaust victims is 80,000, others 112,000, and some even 180,000, which seems to be an exaggeration³⁷⁸.

Opinions on the silence of Jewish victims

Between 1944 and 1991, official publications in Russian and Ukrainian (history books, monographs, yearbooks, collections of articles, educational and tourist guides, etc.), in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet-Ukrainian Transcarpathian region, consistently omitted the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, because of the sometimes covert, sometimes open persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.

In a book published in 1959 in 10,000 copies under the title *Soviet Transcarpathia*, just as a party ideological precaution, the fact that 183,000 of the “*working people*” of Transcarpathian Ukraine were arrested and deported to concentration camps between 1939 and

³⁷⁸ TAMÁS STARK, in his study on Hungary's losses in the Second World War (*Magyarország második világháborús veszteségei*) states that 324 026 individuals counted as Jews lived in the annexed territories (Carpathia and Northern Transylvania) according to the 1941 census. One third of these were inhabitants of Transcarpathia.

1944, of whom 114,000 were exterminated, is only attributed to the “*German-Hungarian fascist conquerors*,” to “*bourgeois nationalist fascism*.”³⁷⁹ In the rest of the censored printed matter in Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian and other languages, the majority of the victims are presented as the ‘*working people of Transcarpathia*’, who have no nationality or ethnic group. To a lesser extent, there are also writings, lectures, and articles in which the number of Jewish victims is attributed to the Ukrainians/Rusyns in Transcarpathia, or the losses of the Transcarpathian nations are conflated.

In the opinion of the prominent falsifiers of Soviet-Ukrainian historiography and deniers of reality, including the party historian V.I. Ilko of Ungvár, “*during the fascist occupation 183,395 Transcarpathian people were deported to concentration and labour camps, of whom 114,982 were tortured to death or executed*.”³⁸⁰

The authors of the major monograph on the Transcarpathian region, who were also members of the editorial board³⁸¹, represented the same standpoint and repeated the same data unchanged and totally hid the fact that it was the Jews and not the Soviet-Ukrainian people who were the victims of the genocide. As a source, they refer to the data of the Extraordinary Commission (Cherezvichaynaya Komissiya)³⁸² set up by the puppet government of Turjanica to assess

³⁷⁹ Советское Закарпатье. Справочник. Editorial board: D. SZ. BONDARENKO, P. I. BU-HANYENKO, E. V. VAS, N. V. KLIMPOTYUK, H. SZ. PASZTUSENKO, V. A. PAUK (secretary in charge), V. P. POLISCUSUK, V. P. RUSZIN, V. V. FESZENKO. Закарпатское областное издательство, Ужгород, 1957. pp. 32-33.

³⁸⁰ *A boldogság felé. Kárpáton túl vázlatos története*. Szerzői munkaközösség: M. V. ASZENTYEV, E. A. BALAHURI, I. M. HRANCSAK, O. D. DOVHANICS, V. I. ILKO, V. M. KERESANIN, K. O. KUCENKO, SZ. O. MISCSSENKO (a munkaközösség vezetője), N. P. MISCSSENKO, V. V. PALJOK, M. V. TROJAN, I. H. SULHA. Ukránból fordítás magyarra. Kárpáti Könyvkiadó, Uzshorod, 1975. 129. p.

³⁸¹ See: История городов и сел Украинской ССР. Закарпатская область. Editorial board: (SZEMENYUK N. N. (CHAIR), BALLA LÁSZLÓ, BODNÁR V. L., VASZINYUK V. M., HRANCSAK I. M. (assistant chair), DANKÁNICS V. I., KERESANYIN V. M., LUGAVAJA E. I., MELNIKOVA I. N., MISCSSENKO SZ. A., PITRA J. P., POPOVICS D. P., PRUNICA SZ. J. (secretary in charge), TIMCSSENKO I. P., (assistant chair), TROJAN M. V., HLANTA A. V., HUDÁNICS B. I.). Главная редакция украинской советской энциклопедии. Институт истории Академии Наук УССР, Киев, 1982. P. 58.

³⁸² In February 1945, at the suggestion of the NKVD, the People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine, with the involvement of its experts, set up an extraordinary commission to investigate crimes committed between 2 November 1938 and the end of November 1944, especially during the Hungarian-German occupation, and beyond the borders of Transcarpathia until the end of the WWII. The commission determined the extent of material damage and

Soviet victims and damage in the years 1944-1945 of the Second World War.

Károly Lusztig was an invited speaker at the international conference in Beregszász organised by the KMKSZ in 1989 to commemorate the victims of the 1944 internment of the Hungarian male population in Transcarpathia. He began his speech by saying that *“the fifties of the Soviet era were marked by Stalinist anti-Semitism,”* but there was hardly any change in attitude in this respect. As an example, he cited the fact that not long ago, at a celebratory meeting in Ungvár (1989!) to mark the *“the 45th anniversary of the reunion of Transcarpathia with Soviet Ukraine,”* the main party speaker again asserted that *“the six-year rule of the Hungarian fascists was a dark period for the region. More than 183,000 people were thrown into prison and concentration camps, about 115,000 people were exterminated... Do we need any comment?!... The topic, as 45 years ago, is still a taboo.”*³⁸³ We, the participants at the conference, took this as words of truth, an authentic message that the public writer Károly Lusztig, a Jew, courageously sent to the authorities and party historians who had been deliberately distorting history and facts.

Change of approach in independent Ukraine

The Memory Book of Ukraine appeared in the first decade of independent Ukraine in Hungarian, too. In volume 1, Transcarpathian Region, the change of approach is already seen through clearly.

In the preliminary study of the volume, the historian members of the editorial committee led by Vasil Kerechanin were bold enough to write down, even without mentioning data, that *“in the spring of 1944, the Hungarian authorities herded the entire Jewish population of Transcarpathia into ghettos and then deported them to concen-*

human losses according to the Soviet experts' tastes, to be used for propaganda purposes in the Sovietisation of Transcarpathia. Its distorted and unverified facts are still blindly quoted by some historians and politicians even today.

³⁸³ Egyetlen bűnük magyarságuk volt. Emlékkönyv a sztálinizmus kárpátaljai áldozatairól (1944-2946). Published by GYÖRGY DUPKA. Ungvár-Budapest, Petent-Intermix, 1993. pp. 219-221.

tration camps.”³⁸⁴ In a postface to the volume, Kerechanin gives, and explains in a unique way, both the old and new research data. I found it peculiar that he rewrote the data of the Extraordinary Committee of 1945 as a reliable source, without making any critical remarks: “*the Hungarian and German occupiers interned, imprisoned or deported to concentration camps more than 183,000 peaceful inhabitant; tortured to death almost 115,000 victims; 10,805 people from Transcarpathia lost their lives in prisons, many of them shot or hanged in public. In the distant concentration camps (Auschwitz in Poland, Dachau in Germany, Nyíregyháza and Sárospatak in Hungary, etc.) 104,147 Jews were tortured to death.*”³⁸⁵ To all this he adds a unique explanation saying that the “*recent data on the number of victims of the Jewish population in Transcarpathia was questioned.*”

I found it peculiar because, then, I also have a question: by whom was it questioned? He says this without giving any data. At the same time, he quotes real figures from the Yearbook No 3 of the former Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (89/91). In the opinion of the researcher Miroslav Karni (in ‘The human sacrifices of the Jews of Czechoslovakia in the years 1938-1945’) the total loss of the Jewish population of Transcarpathia is estimated at 80,000. He says that “*as a result of the deportation, 85,000 men, women and children were exterminated, most of whom perished in the gas chambers of the Auschwitz death camp.*” In connection with the figures in the article, he commented on the standpoint of the editorial board with the following words: “*Considering the number of the Jewish population known from the early 1940s, we believe that the figure of 80-85 thousand people tortured to death is close to the actual figure.*”³⁸⁶

In general, however, especially since the turn of the millennium, there has been a change of approach in the published Ukrainian special literature. And this change is closer to reality. In this respect, the work of such researchers as Alexei Korsun, Oleksandr Pahir, Roman Ofitsinsky and others, is exemplary. Earlier and more recent Ukrainian scholars, including Vasil Kerachanin, Mikhail Delehan, Pavlo

³⁸⁴ *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület 1.*, 1997. p. 21.

³⁸⁵ *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület 1.*, 1997. p. 638.

³⁸⁶ *Ukrajna Emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület 1.*, 1997. pp. 638-639.

Fedaka, and Vasil Hudanich, tried to reassess the erroneous conclusions of the Soviet-Ukrainian period and the distortions of communist propaganda. However, there are still contradictory judgements about the Ukrainian-Hungarian-Jewish common past and the representation of certain periods and personalities, and therefore further dialogue and joint research are needed. It can be seen as a step forward that Vasil Kerechanin and Omelyan Dovhanich³⁸⁷, abandoning the generalising, silencing and obfuscating attitude of earlier researchers, finally state concretely, broken down by concrete nationalities, that the overwhelming majority of the victims of the dictatorial regimes of 1938-1944, estimated at 114 982, were not the “*working people of Transcarpathia*.” The Nazi genocide affected mainly the Jews of Transcarpathia, with an estimated loss of 104,147 people. Of the recorded number, 10,805 victims are Ruthenians/Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Romanians, etc.

The series of memory books published since then reflect the commitment of Boris Gvardionov, the editor-in-chief of these memory books. He makes serious efforts to bring together the Ukrainian researchers in Transcarpathia in order to clarify the distortions of the common past. Elaborated with critical comments I list these works also in the bibliography.

Statistical figures on the Jewish population of the Bereg, Máramaros, Ung, Ugocsa counties and the administrative districts

With regard to the total number of inhabitants and the Jewish population of the Bereg, Máramaros, Ung, Ugocsa counties and administrative districts in 1938-1944, I consider it important to note that in reality there are two different sets of figures. One refers to the entire

³⁸⁷ See: ОМЕЛЯН ДОВГАНІЧ: Репресії угорського окупаційного режиму і закарпатський рух опору. In: Закарпаття під Угорщиною.ю 1938-1944 рр. Редактори: ВАСИЛЬ МАРКУСЬ, ВАСИЛЬ ХУДАНИЧ. Нью-Йорк –Чікаго – Ужгород. Гражда-Карпати. 1999. Рр. 165-181.

territory of the four counties of historical Hungary, the other to the present-day area of the Carpathian Basin “mutilated” by Trianon.

Unfortunately, researchers of the relevant special literature ignore this fact, conflate and discuss together the relevant statistical figures and draw erroneous conclusions from them. In other words, the territory of present-day Transcarpathia is not the same as the territory that existed administratively in 1938-1944.

Starting from the first point of view, in the 625 settlements of the historical “four-county” area of Subcarpathia (not coinciding with the territory of present-day Transcarpathia), which was reannexed to Hungary, there were an estimated 1,105,719 inhabitants, of whom 156,778 were Jews. For the sake of clarity, I deem it worthwhile to review the administrative, settlement structure and population distribution of the region on the basis of the 1941 census³⁸⁸, taking into account the very rich data available in Randolph L. Braham’s large monograph³⁸⁹, which is also available on the Internet. (I have indicated his estimates in brackets for the population figures).

I. In 1941, in the 263 settlements of *Bereg Administrative District and Bereg County* 46,156 Jews lived out of a total of 358,274 persons, their rate was **12.88 %**.

1.) 217 711 /215 890/ people lived in the 191 settlements belonging to the Bereg Administrative Branch-Office (District), 20, 799 avowed themselves to be Jews, which corresponded to 9.63 %.

Its districts were:

- * Alsóverecke with 4 notaries, in 32 settlements 21,640 (21,640) capitulation, in 28 villages 2,179 Jews lived.
- * Ilosva with 12 notaries, 52 településen 80,398 (78,228) capitulation, in 48 villages 9,300 Jews lived.
- * Munkácsvidék with 15 notaries, in 73 settlements 73,345 (73,731) capitulation, in 68 villages 4,776 Jews lived.

³⁸⁸ See: *Magyarország helységnévtára 1941*: 6. Bereg vármegye 13-14., 23. Máramaros vármegye 41-42., 36. Ugocsa vármegye 77-78., Ung vármegye 78-79., p. 1. Beregi Közigazgatási Kirendeltség 93-95., 2. Máramarosi Közigazgatási Kirendeltség 95-96., Ungi Közigazgatási Kirendeltség pp. 96-98.

³⁸⁹ RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM: *A magyar Holocaust*. Budapest, 1989.

- * Szolyva with 12 notaries, in 52 settlements 42,328 (42,291) capitation, in 9 villages 4,544 Jews lived.

2.) In 72 settlements of Bereg county 142,388 /14,2384/ people lived, of them Jews 25, 357 (17,81%).

In two country towns of Bereg county:

- ***Beregszász: 19,377 /19, 373/, of them 5,856 Jews (30,23 %),***
- ***Munkács: 31,591 /31,602/, of them 13,484 Jews (42,68 %).***

Its districts were:

- * Beregszász: 5 big settlements, 6 notaries, in 30 settlements 34,232 (34,214) capitation, in 30 villages 2,059 Jews lived.
- * Munkács: 1 big settlement, 5 notaries, in 20 settlements 28,013 (27,784) capitation, in 19 villages 2,083 Jews lived.
- * Vásárosnamény: 3 big settlements, 7 notaries, in 22 settlements 29,175 (29, 408) capitation, in 22 villages 1,871 Jews lived.

II. In the 159 settlements of Máramaros Administrative District and Máramaros County out of 487,961 persons 78,961 were Jews (187 converted to Christianity).

3.) In the 96 settlements of Máramaros Administrative District 271 215 people lived, of them 39 371 Jews.

Its districts:

- * Huszt. 5 big settlements, 9 notaries, in 29 settlements 91,478 (93,052) capitation, in 29 villages 14,334 Jews lived.
- * Ökörmező. 9 notaries, in 26 settlements 42,290 (42,502) capitation, in 25 villages 5,211 Jews lived.
- * Rahó. 4 big settlements, 3 notaries, in 12 settlements 59,471 (59,607) capitation, in 12 villages 7,730 Jews lived.
- * Taracvölgy. 1 big settlement, 12 notaries, in 32 settlements 77,976 (77,984) capitation, in 32 villages 12,096 Jews lived.

4.) In 61 settlements of Máramaros County 213 665 (212 816) capita live, 39,590 capita are Jews.

Its districts:

- * Aknasugatag. 7 notaries, in 20 settlements 30,767 (30 772) capitation, in 20 villages 2,702 Jews lived.
- * Dragomérfalva. 7 big settlements, 3 notaries, in 13 settlements 31,301 (32,361) capitation, in 13 villages 4,092 Jews lived.
- * Felsővisó. 9 big settlements, 1 notary, in 11 settlements 60,106 (60,120) capitation, in 10 villages 11,490 Jews lived.
- * Máramarossziget. 6 big settlements, 3 notaries, in 13 settlements 41,454 (41, 476) capitation, in 15 villages 7,082 Jews lived.
- * Técső. 4 big settlements 24,149 (24,164) capitation, in 4 villages 4,080 Jews lived.

5.) In the 155 settlements of the Ung Administrative Branch-Office 132,990 persons lived, out of them: Jews 8, 341 (10%). In Ung County out of 178,449 persons 20,903 were Jews, their rate was 12,88 %.

Its districts:

- * Nagyberezna. 6 big settlements, 13 notaries, on 65 settlements 55,329 (55,281) capitation, of them in 55 villages 3,624 Jews lived, of them 17 converted to Christian faith.
- * Perecseny. 5 notaries, on 19 settlements 27,832 (27,853) capitation, of them in 18 villages 1,008 Jews lived, of them 3 converted to Christian faith.
- * Szobránc. 8 notaries, on 41 settlements 24,318 (24,318) capitation, in 39 villages 1 588 Jews lived, 3 converted to Christian faith.
- * Ungvidék. 8 notaries, in 30 settlements 25,511(25,489) capitation, in 29 villages 2,121 Jews lived, 25 converts.

6.) In the 58 settlements of Ung County 45,459 people lived. Of them 2,986 were Jews. 1 plenipotentiary town (Ungvár: 35,155, of them 9,576 were Jews, 123 became Christians). The total population of the county: 80,614 (80,724) inhabitants, of which 12,562 were Jews, 155 were converts.

Its districts were:

- * Nagykapos. 5 notaries, in 30 settlements 16,957 (16,962) capitation, in 25 villages 1091 Jews lived, of them 15 converts.

- * Ungvár. 8 notaries, in 28 settlements 28,502 (28,911) capita-
tion, in 27 villages 1,895 Jews lived, of them 17 converts.

**7.) In the 48 settlements of Ugocsa County 81,35/81,138/ people
lived, of them 10,755 were Jews.**

Its districts were:

- * Halmi. 7 big settlements, 7 notaries, in 28 settlements 37,061
(37,149) capitaion, in 27 villages 3,732 Jews lived.
- * Nagyszőlős. 6 big settlements, 5 notaries, in 20 settlements
43,974 (43,989) capitaion, in 18 villages 7,023 Jews lived.

According to **the second point of view**, after the lost war, from November 1944, out of 686 settlements, 527 settlements of 13 districts and 5 towns with county status belong to today's Transcarpathia³⁹⁰. More precisely, after the 1944-1945 border changes, 159 settlements were transferred to the neighbouring countries. The 65 villages formerly belonging to Ung County and the Ung Administrative District were annexed to the Nagykapos (24 t.) and Szobránc (41 t.) districts of Slovakia.

The district of Vásárosnamény (22 t.) was detached from the former Bereg county to Hungary.

The district of Halmi (15 t.) was assigned to Romania from Ugocsa county.

The 57 settlements of the Máramaros County and the Máramaros Administrative District (Akna Sugatag j. /20 t./, Dragomérfalva j. /13 t./, Felsővisó j. /11 t./, Máramarossziget j. /9 t./, Técső j. /2 t./, Taracsvölgy j. /2 t./) were also assigned to Romania.

³⁹⁰ See: Закарпатська область. Довідник адміністративно-територіального поділу. Ужгород, Вид-во «Карпати». 1983. 5.

Table 16

Data as to the first and second point of view on the population of the Máramaros Administrative District and Máramaros County

Nº	Administrative units, settlements	Population, 1941 census	Number of Jews, 1941 census
1	Data on 625 settlements inhabited also by Jews of the four-county large Subcarpathian area reannexed to Hungary in 1938-1944.	1,105,719	156,778
2	Data of 507 settlements inhabited also by Jews belonging administratively to today's Transcarpathia	806,979	90,767

At the beginning of my book, I indicated that I deemed the 2002-2013 edition of the 10 volumes of the WW II death lists linked to the Transcarpathian part of the Memory Book³⁹¹ of Ukraine a historical milestone. Below I will make an attempt to clarify why. So, according to a table compiled by myself and for myself, in 1941, 90,767 Jews lived in the 507 settlements which formerly belonged administratively to the Transcarpathia of today and had a former population of 806,979 capitation, including the four-year population increase. In 1944, in the Black Book of Ukraine in the case of Subcarpathia, according to the total number of names published in 10 volumes (2002-2013), 87,861 Jews (of whom 408 were inmates of labour camps) became victims of the Nazi genocide, and there are no data on 2,906 people. The number of survivors, it is a conservative estimate, was 6,500-7,000. These figures are the closest to reality.

³⁹¹ On May 11, 1999, the President of Ukraine 494/99. s. according to its decree, all counties of Ukraine are obliged to publish II. named lists of World War victims.

Table 17
Data-sources of the Jews deported from Transcarpathia

№	Data-sources of the Jews deported from Transcarpathia	Number of the population, 1941 census	Number of Jews 1941 census	Deportees named so far	All the loss of the Jewish population	Holocaust-survivors (estimated)
1	Data on 625 settlements inhabited also by Jews of the four-county large Subcarpathian area reannexed to Hungary in 1938-1944.	1,105,719	156,778	157,000*- 180,000*	115,000*- 131,000*- 140,000*	12,000*- 25,000*
2	Special Committee established by the People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine, 1945	852,546	78,272	112,500 (183,395**)	104,177 (114,982**)	8,353- 10,000
3	Report of the Zakarpatszka Pravda on 7 May 1946	852,546	78,272	94,736	85,507	9,229
4	Data given in the year book of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 89/91 N 3.				80,000- 85,000	
5	Black Book of Ukraine, 2002-2013, names in 1-10 volumes				87,305	
6	My figures on the data of 507 settlements inhabited also by Jews belonging administratively to today's Transcarpathia	806,979	90,767	91,000- 94,500 (?)	87,453 (87,861)	6,500- 7,000

** The figures marked with an asterisk record the estimates of some Holocaust researchers*

*** In the aggregate data of the Special Committee (1945) formed by the People's Council of Transcarpathian-Ukraine (its estimates are far from reality and highly exaggerated), it indicates 183,395 people (of*

various nationalities: Ruthenian/ Ukrainian, Jewish, Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, etc.) in 1938. In 1944, they were arrested, convicted, and dragged to various concentration camps, of which, according to their estimate, 114,982 people perished (again, of various nationalities).

Strictly converted to 5 towns with county rights, 507 Jewish-inhabited settlements classified as 13 districts belonging to present-day Transcarpathia, I aggregated the numbers with my IT colleague. As a result, I received perhaps the most authentic statistical table so far, which can be considered reliable, since there are specific names behind it, the vast majority of whom were victims of the Holocaust.

Table 18

Data on the number of Jews living in the Transcarpathian administrative units and settlements

№	Administrative units, settlements	Number of the population 1941. Based on annual population	Jews, 1941 census	Named so far KSZU ZO based on its list	Killed	Loss
1	Towns with county rights (5)	105,521	36,897	28,104	276	28,380
2	BEREGSZÁSZ DISTRICT/ BEREHIVSZKIJ RAJON (38 settlements)	42,300	2,704	2,073	18	2,091
3	ILOVA DISTRICT/ IRSÁVSKIJ RAJON (46 settlements)	75,479	8,750	4,178	3	4,181
4	MUNKÁCS DISTRICT/ MUKACSVSZKIJ RAJON (85. settlements)	83,782	5,033	3,844	14	3,989
5	NAGYSZŐLŐS DISTRICT/ VINOHRAGYIVSZKIJ RAJON (47 settlements)	73,012	9,471	4,485	8	4,493
6	NAGYBEREZNA DISTRICT /VELIKO-BEREZNYANSZKIJ RAJON (31 settlements)	32,116	2,799	2,204	8	2,212

7	PERECSENY DISTRICT / PERECINSZKIJ RAJON (21 settlements)	26,031	933	1,799	1	1,800
8	UNGVÁR DISTRICT/ UZSGORODSZKIJ RAJON (61 settlements)	48,494	3,669	5,931	30	5,961
9	TÉCSŐIDISTRICT/ TJACSIVSZKIJ RAJON (40 settlements)	102,206	16,988	12,474	8	12,482
10	HUSZT DISTRICT/ HUSZTSZKIJ RAJON (33 settlements)	69,175	8,002	5,278	2	5,280 (-2 724)
11	SZOLYVA DISTRICT/ SZVALJAVSZKIJ RAJON (26 settlements)	34,612	4,051	5,047	20	5,067
12	RAHÓ DISTRICT/ RAHIVSZKIJ RAJON (20 settlements)	51,149	6,284	4,979	8	4,987
13	ÖKÖRMEZŐ DISTRICT/ MIZSHIRSZKIJ RAJON (29 settlements)	42,242	5,014	5,218	5	5,223
14	VOLÓC DISTRICT/ VOLOVECKIJ RAJON (30 settlements)	20,860	2,174	1,839	5	1,844
Altogether: 507 settlements, 5 towns with county rights:		806,979	112,769	87,453	406	87,990 (-2 724)

Table 19
Data on towns with county rights

Nº	Settlement	Number of Jews	Number Of Jews, 1941 census	Deportees named so far	Killed inmates	Loss
1	BEREGSZÁSZ/ BEREHOVE (Attached settlements: Beregdó, Bulcsu, Tasnád)	19,373	5,856 (30,2%)	4,923	64	4,987
	BEREGARDÓ	1,204	90			
	BULCSU (NAGY-)	964	11			
2	CSAP/CSOP	3,498	359	277	3	280
3	HUSZT/HUSZT (Attached settlements: Záracsne, Kiresi, Csertyizs)	2,118	6,023	4,335+2 4,337	33	4,370
	CSERTYIZS/CSERTÉZ			2		

	MUNKÁCS/ MUKACSEVO (Attached settlements: Munkác-sváralja, Oroszvé, Várpálánka, Podhering, Klastromalja)	31,602	13,488 (42,7%)	11,056	108	11,164
4	MUNKÁCSVÁRALJA	1,194	76			
	OROSZVÉ	2,905	909			
	VÁRPALÁNKA	1,505	146			
	KLASTROMALJA	436	26			
	PODHERING	2,062	210			
	UNGVÁR/UZSHOROD (Attached settlements: Gerény, Alsódомonya, Ungdaróc, Radvánc)	35,251	9,576	7,511	68	7,579
5	DOMANYINCI/ ALSÓDOMONYA	1,296	47			
	HORJANI/GERÉNY	946	26			
	DRAVCI/UNGDAРОС	1,167	54			
ALTOGETHER:		105,521	36,897	28,106	276	28,380

Subcarpathian Jewish inmates of labour camps on "mobile scaffolds"

According to some researchers' estimates³⁹², the call-ups to labour camps (service) in Transcarpathia were much more large-scale than elsewhere. This is also confirmed by the collection of surveys and memoirs of former inmates of labour camps (Ruthenian/Ukrainian, Jewish, Hungarian, etc.) conducted by members of the Ukrainian research team led by Roman Ofitsinski and Oleksiy Hritsak from Ungvár.³⁹³ A large part of such labour force was employed, among others, in the construction of the fortification system in the Carpathian Mountain (the Árpád Line) and on other parts of the Eastern Front. The soldiers of the "shovel army" were usually

³⁹² B. STENGE CSABA: 3.3. *Kárpátljai zsidók a honvédségben: fegyveres szolgálat és munkaszolgálat*. In: *Zsidók Kárpátalján*, 2013, pp. 249-256.

³⁹³ У рабстві: усні історії примусових робітників із Закарпаття 1939-1944 років. Упорядники, редактори: ОЛЕКСІЙ ГРИЦАК, РОМАН ОФІЦІНСЬКИЙ. Ужгород, ТОВ „ІВА”, 2013. 164.

deployed on the other side of the Carpathians, behind the front lines. As Károly Lusztig aptly put it, many of them were disposed of by the “mobile scaffolds”.³⁹⁴

Herman Singer (Nagyberezna, 1914), a former Soviet POW and inmate of a labour camp, got to the front in 1942. “I don’t know how many of us remained alive. Very few, I think. Perhaps one per cent. In those centuries, people died very quickly. Not only were the working conditions inhumanly difficult, but when we were digging trenches, the Russians were shooting at us all the time. We had no gun and you can’t do much with a shovel against bullets.”³⁹⁵

Jews from 82 settlements belonging to the administrative units and districts of Transcarpathia were called up for labour in the army. I thoroughly examined the list of the names of the victims of WWII in Transcarpathia published in 10 volumes by the KSZU ZO³⁹⁶, and according to the data I collected, 408 Jewish inmates of labour camps died on various fronts in the Hungarian army. Of course, these data are not definitive, and the compilation of a complete list will require extra research.

The data broken down by districts show the following: 122 deaths were recorded in the district of Munkács, 98 in Ungvár, 82 in Beregszász, 35 in Huszt and 20 in Solyva. An initiative was launched to have the names of the war victims from these settlements engraved in marble on the memorial wall of the park in Szolyva.

The following names and their related data (surname, given name, patronymic, place of birth, year of birth, date of death, place of residence) are given in the order and transcription as found in the original form in the WW II death records indicated in the footnote. I have identified the place names, I give their Ukrainian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Ukrainian versions, and I supply also the old and current names of the settlements.

³⁹⁴ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. A kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1992. május, 9. sz. P. 10.

³⁹⁵ Singer Herman visszaemlékezése: <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/singer-hermann>

³⁹⁶ See: KSZU ZO: 1. vol., 2002., KSZU ZO: 2. vol., 2004., KSZU ZO: 3. vol., 2005., KSZU ZO: 4. vol., 2006., KSZU ZO: 5. vol., 2007., KSZU ZO: 6. vol., 2008., KSZU ZO: 7. vol., 2007., KSZU ZO: 8. vol., 2010., KSZU ZO: 9. vol., 2011., KSZU ZO: 10. vol., 2013.

**THE LIST OF NAMES OF JEWISH
INMATES OF LABOUR CAMPS
KNOWN ABOUT SO FAR**

**BEREGSZÁSZ DISTRICT
BEREHIVSZKIJ RAJON**

ASZTÉLY/ASZTELY (LUZSANKA):

Rotfeld Naftali, father Sámuel (1911 – OF, unknown, 1943).

BADALÓ/BADALOVO:

Svarc Dávid, father Jehuda (1900–OF, unknown).

BÁTYÚ/ BATYOVO:

Falkowits Simon (1906),

Moskovits Herman,

Schwartz Adolf (1908),

Wieneser Móricz (1912)

BEREGSZÁSZ/ BEREGOVO:

Adler Jakab, father Edej (1911 – territory of UA, 1942),

Bálint Jaros (1910 – OF, Voronezh reg. Ostrogozhsk),

Bernstein Ernő, father Adolf (1902 – UA, 1943),

Brener Miklós (1915 – OF, 1943),

Berkovics Ignác (UA),

Berkovics László, father Vilmos (OF, 1942),

Borenstain Ernő, father Adolf (1910 – OF, 1942),

Brummer Andre, father Ferdinand (1923 – OF, 1942),

Engel Miklós, father József (1910 – UA),

Fajrstejn Berl, father Adolf (front, 1943),

Fridman Jenő, father Kálmán (1902 – Mikolayiv, 1943),

Fris Ernő, father Marton (1921 – UA),

Fridman László, father Dezső (OF, Nyikolayevka, 1943),

Friedmann Hermann (1916),

Friedmann Salamon, father Fisel (1912 – OF. front),

Gausman Gyula (1907– front, 1943),

Gausman Julius, father Ábrahám (OF),
Grünfeld Béla, father Henrik (OF, Voronezh, front),
Grünfeld Lazar, father Henrik (OF, Voronezh, front),
Grünfeld Miklós (1906),
Haleb Izrael, father Beno (1902 – UA, 1942),
Heimlih Sloma, father Karel (06.07.1911. – front, 1943),
Izrael Aladár, father Izrael (1908 – UA területén, 1943),
Jakobovics Géza, father Mosel (1910 – UA),
Jakubovics Mordehaj, father Elhanan (OF),
Junger Izo, father Herman (OF),
Kahan Marton, father Dávid (1900 – OF, 1943),
Kaufman Jenő, father Menyhért (1919 – UA),
Katz Lejb (1914 – front, 1942),
Katz Mansi, father Lajos (OF),
Kestenbaum Béla, father Adolf (1900 – front, 1942),
Klein Izidor (1907),
Klein Ernő, father Simon (1914 – OF),
Klein Jenő, father Simon (1907 – OF),
Klein Miklós, father Sámuel (1913 – OF, Voronezh, front),
Konc Zoltán, father Ludvig (1904 – front),
Konc Ludvig, father Ludvig (1893 – front),
Koplovics Jakab (1905 – OF),
Kroh Pál, father Izik (1911 – OF, bend of Don, front, 1943),
Langfeld József (1911),
Lazarovics Berl, father Izsák (1918 – OF, 1943),
Lebovits Lajos (1902),
Migali Ábrahám, father Antal (1909 – front, 1942),
Neumann Ignác (1912),
Rappaport Jenő, father Sándor (1911 – OF),
Rappaport Joel, father Sándor (1913 – OF),
Rappaport Cvi, father Sándor (1915 – OF),
Rosenberg Aron (1922 – UA),
Rosenberg Nahman, father Mosev (1914 – UA),
Rott Jankel, father Berlo (OF),
Rubin Izrael, father Majer (UA, Ivano-Frank. Reg, Kolomiya, front),

Rubin Majer, fathera Izrael (UA, Ivano-Frank. Reg., Kolomiya, front),
Rosenberg Jakab, father Mose (1903 – UA, front),
Rosner Lajos (1911),
Róth Móric (1914),
Rot Mór, father Menyhért (1918 – UA, 1943),
Rot Móric, father Herman (1913 – OF, 1942),
Swartz Miklós, father Mór (1915 – BK, Minsk, front, 1944),
Svarc Mirdi, father Mosev (1915 – OF, 1943),
Svarc Lajos-Ábrahám-Lejb, father Zsigmond (1905 – UA, 1943),
Sreter Haim, father Izrael (1919 – front, 1943),
Szántó Emerih, father Jevzsen (OF),
Weis Dudi, father Mózes (1920 – UA),
Weis József (1913),
Winkler Lejb, father Ábrahám (1919 – front, 1942),
Weis Izsák, father Henrik (1916 – OF, Kursk, Prohorovka, 1943),

CSETFALVA/CSETFALVA (CSETOVE):

Brumer Efraim, father Salom (1909 – UA, 1943)

GÁT/GATY:

Braun Herman, father Brant (1904 – OF, 1942),
Kallus Natan, father Ignác (1906 – UA, 1942).

MEZŐKASZONY/KOSZONY (KOSZINI):

Rott Ernő (died in UA),
Szapira Duved (died in Körösmező).

MEZŐVÁRI /VARI:

Weiss Dávid, father Haim (1904 – OF).

NAGYBÉGÁNY/VELIKA BIGANY:

Rott Jakob, father Haim (1905 – OF területén, 1943).

NAGYBORZSOVA/BORZSAVA:

Keszner Miksa, father Bencion (OF, 1943).

NAGYMUZSALY/MUZSIJEVO:

Citrom Frojim, father Hersel (1911 – unknown, 1943).

Fridman Julius, father Menah (1907 – OF, killed),

Kaszenbaum Jehuda, father Jangel (1911 – unknown, 1943),

Santer Herman, father Majer (1898 – OF, killed),

ILOSVA DISTRICT

IRSAVSZKIJ RAJON

BORÓD/BRID:

Ajzikovics Jakiv, father Oleksandr (1892 – UA).

ILOSVA/IRSAVA:

Tambor Ignác-Izsák (1905 – OF, Kursk, February, 1943).

LOZA/FÜZESMEZŐ:

Markovics József, father Dávid (1906 – OF, front 1942).

MUNKÁCS DISTRICT

MUKACSVSZKIJ RAJON

BARKASZÓ/BARKASZOVE:

Berman Zsigmond, father Majer (1917 – UA, front),

Lusztman Zalmán, father Jozef (1906 – Ukrajna, front, 1941).

BEREGRÁKOS/RAKOSIN:

Rót József, father Adolf (1912 – Sopron, front, 1943).

CSONGOR/CSOMONIN:

Klein Salman, father Dávid (1908 – UA, front, 1941).

MUNKÁCS/MUKACSEVO:

Ábrahám Aser, father Ábrahám (OF, Omszk, PW camp),

Agrovics Zelig, father Mendel (1919 – front, 1944),

Ajzenberg Izidor, father Adolf (1905 – UA, front, 1941),

Akkerman Gabi-Gdaliani, father Natan (26.07.1919. – UA, 1943),
Akkerman Vilmos, father Salamon (1916 – UA),
Akkerman Jenő, father Gyula (1913 – OF, Stalingrad/Volgograd),
Akselrod Izrael, father Haim (1919 – in the Carpathian mountains, 1943),
Auslender Mózes, father Eliag, writer (1911 – OF),
Auslender Jakiv, father Eliag (1911 – OF),
Bainberger Ernő, father József (OF),
Bajnagord Béla, father Majer (1914 – OF, Voronezh, 1943),
Berger Armin, father Pinhas (1913 – UA, 1944),
Berger Jenő, father Herman (1919 – front, 1943),
Berger Miklós, father Mose (1900 – OF, 1943),
Berger Strul-Izrael-Icik, father Simon (1911 – UA),
Berkovics Ezra (1919 – UA),
Blajer Jenő, father Tóbiás (1908 – OF, 1943),
Bettenstajn Gerson, father Salamon (OF, 1942),
Bettenstajn Tibor, father Izsák (1912 – UA),
Ejncvajt Károly, father Lázár (1915 – UA, Ivano-Frankivsk, 1942),
Ellner József, father Ábrahám (1915 – OF, 1942),
Engel Herman, father Adolf (1915 – UA, 1944),
Engel Herman, father Haim (1915 – UA),
Estrajher Egosu, father Abraham (1915 – OF),
Falikovics Herman, father Jákob (1902 – OF, Voronezh, front),
Farkas Lajos, father Ferenc (1911 – UA területén),
Ferstajn Sender, father Mosev (1913 – UA),
Fihler Smil, father Ábrahám (1900 – OF, PW camp),
Frid Sámuel, father Haim (1907 – front, 1942),
Fridman Jenő, father Ambnuel (1911 – UA),
Glansman Ernő, father Marton (1915 – UA, 1943),
Glansman Ernő, father Majer (1918 – front, 1942),
Glik Zejev (1914 – UA, 1942),
Gottesman Herman, father Egosu (1917 – OF, 1943),
Gottlib Béla, father Cvij (1906 – UA, 1943),
Gross Dantel, father Vilmos (1910 – UA, 1944),
Haustman Emil, father Lajos (1900 – front, 1942),
Helmer Miksa father Cvij (1917 – UA),

Honig Béla father Lajos (1919 – OF),
Hers Mendel, father Dávid (1900 – UA, Zhitomir reg., Korostenski district),
Herskovics Agaron (1920 – UA),
Herskovics Dávid (1920 – UA),
Herskovics Mordke, father Fisel (1907 – front, 1943),
Jakovovics Sioni father Mordehaj (1907 – OF),
Jakovic József, father Natan (1923 – front, 1943).
Kallus Zoltán, father Agaron (1910 – UA),
Kallus Dávid, father Haim (UA, 1944),
Kallus Izrael, father Bernar (1920 – UA, 1944),
Kastner Icu, father Zsigmond (1910 – OF, 1943),
Klain Benjamin, father Davidovics (1922 – UA, 1942),
Klain Gers, father Ábrahám (1909 – UA, 1941),
Klein Dezső, father Moro (1910 – OF, 1942),
Klain Mordehaj, father Ábrahám (1908 – OF, 1942),
Kleiman József, father Salamon (1925 – OF, 1944),
Kleiman Mose, father Salamon (1925 – OF, 1944),
Konigsberg Mose, father Ábrahám (1915 – UA, 1943),
Kallus Salamon, father Áron (1912 – UA, front),
Klein Jakob, father Markus (1904 – BR, Minsk, front, 1943),
Laitner Simon, father Vilmos (1913 – UA, 1943),
Litman Arnold, father Izsák (1913 – UA, Vinnitsa, front, July, 1941),
Litman Sámuel, father Izsák (UA, Vinnitsa, front, July, 1941),
Mejzlik Sámuel, father Mose (1904 – OF, 1944),
Morvai Joheved, father Nutej (1912 – front, 1942),
Rosenberg Herman, father Ábrahám (1917 – UA, 1944),
Rosenberg Herman, father Dávid (OF),
Rosenberg Izsák, father Mosev (1907 – OF, Siberia, PW camp, 1944),
Rozensajn Dov, father Marton (1915 – UA, 05.11.1942),
Rozner Ernő, father Móric (03.09.1907 – UA, 5. 11. 1942),
Rott Benjamin (1917 – OF, 1941),
Rotman Kálmán (1915 – front, 1942),
Rus Naftali (1902 – front, 1942),
Rupp József, father Mihály (1907 – UA, front, 1943),

Ruttner Sámuel (1902 – OF, front),
Schonfeld Sani, father Elij (1901 – OF),
Segal Simon, father Izsák (1909 – OF, 1943),
Sterenbah Jakab, father Elimeleh (1919 – OF),
Svarc Jakob (1904 – UA, front, 1942),
Szatmári Jakob, father Dov (1911 – UA),
Tejtelbaum Eliag, father Haim (1912 – UA, front, 1943),
Tejtelbaum Zejlík, father Haim (1919 – UA, front, 1943),
Ulman Rafael (1906 – UA, 1943),
Vahter Jefraim (1908 – front, 1943),
Vajzer Bernát, father Dávid (1913 – OF, Voronezh, front, 1942),
Vajzer Jeguda, father Eliezer (front, 1941),
Vajzer József, father Ábrahám (1914 – front),
Vajzer Natan, father Ábrahám (1914 – UA),
Vajzer Sándor, father Zejev (1910 – UA, 1943),
Vajzer Simon, father Jákob (1922 – UA),
Vehter Ferenc (1910 – UA, 1942),
Virthaim Sámuel, father Izsák (1910 – UA, 1942),
Volgendler Áron, father Haim (1923 – UA, 1942),
Waldman Dezső, father Jákob (1907- UA, Zhitomiri reg., Korostenski district, 27.04. 1943.),
Weis Zajev, father Jákob (1902 – OF, 1942),
Weis Sani, father Izidor (front, 1942),
Weis Haim, father Markus (1915 – UA, 1941),
Zelovics Mose (front, 1943),
Zilberstein Sándor, father Móric (1909 – OF, 1943),
Zinger Jossi, father Henrik (1915 – front, 1942),

BENEDIKIVCI/BENEDEKI:

Kahan Sámuel, father Mordehaj (1908 – OF, front).

VELIKI LUCSKI/NAGYLUCSKA:

Weis Béla (1922 – UA, 1943).

VERHNYA VIZNYICJA/FELSŐVIZNICE:

Weis Ignác, father Leopold (1912 – front, 1943).

IVANYIVCI/IVÁNYI:

Akkerman Herman, father Sámuel (1914 – UA, front, 1944).

KAJDANOVO/KAJDANÓ:

Antal Sándor, father Jozef (1915 – front, vanished).

KALNIK/BEREGSÁRRÉT:

Mermestein Menahem, father Eljaguv (1903 – UA, front).

KLENOVEC/FRIGYESFALVA:

Engel Izrael, father Agaron (1903 – Volin reg., Gorohivski district, Buzhani, front).

KOSZINO/KOCKASZÁLLÁS

Cukerman Haim, father Simhov (1901 – front, 1943).

CSINAGYIJEVO/BEREGSZENTMIKLÓS:

Fridman József, father Jakov (UA, front, 1942),

Oberlander József, father Jakov (1919 – UAa, front),

SCSASZLIVE

Weinberger Ignác, father Mátyás (UA, front, 1941).

NAGYSZŐLŐS DISTRICT

VINOHRADIVSZKIJ RAJON

KIRÁLYHÁZA/KOROLEVE:

Jakubovics Mózes, father Dávid (1912 – UA, front).

MÁTYFALVA/MATYIJEVE:

Salamon Elemér, father Ignác (1905 – UA).

NAGYSZŐLŐS/VINOGRAGYIV:

Fruhter Adolf (1912–1943).

SALÁNK/SALANKI:

Lebovics Mihály (1913),

Lebovics Mór (1920).

SZŐLŐSGYULA/GYULO (JULIVCI):

Izsák Dezső, father Sámuel (1901.06.03. – OF, bend of the Don).

DROTINCI / TISZASZIRMA:

Salamon Herman (1904 – OF, bend of the Don. November, 1942).

HIZSA/KISTARNA:

Mózes Ábrahám (front, unknown),

Spitz József (front, unknown).

NAGYBEREZNA DISTRICT
VELIKOBEREZNYANSZKIJ RAJON

NAGYBEREZNA/VELIKIJ BEREZNIJ:

Ajsner Izsák, father Mór (1911 – UA, 1942),

Gartenberg József, father Haim (1906–1942),

Markovics Fábián, father Sámuel (OF, Voronezh),

Markovics Sándor, father Sámuel (26. 02. 1914. – OF, Voronezh),

Stejnberg Lázár, father Ábrahám (1911 – killed in UA).

SZTAVNE/FENYVESVÖLGY:

Bernfeld Sámuel, father Sándor (1910 – OF, 1943).

SZTUZSICJA/SZTUZSICA:

Lefkovics Mose, father Sámuel (1910 – UA, 1942),

Lefkovics Reiven, father Sámuel (1912 – Nyíregyháza, 12. 04. 1943).

PERECSENY DISTRICT
PERECSINSZKIJ RAJON

TURJA PASZIKA/TURJAVÁGÁS:

Moskovics Móric, father Ferenc (1909 – Eastern front, 1943).

UNGVÁR DISTRICT
UZSHORODSZKIJ RAJON

BOTFALVA/BOTFALVA (PRIKORDONNE):

Herskovics Sámuel (1900 – front, unknown, 1942).

CSAP/CSOP:

Farkas Samu Jakob (1903 – UA, 1942).

Wajnberg Mojse Ábraham (1921 – Yugoslavia, 1943),

Zik Hers Slomovics (1919 – UA).

CSÁSZLÓC/CSASZLIVCI:

Klein Pinkas, father Izsák (1910 – UA, front, unknown, 1943).

GÁLOCS/GALOCS:

Moskovics Miklós, father Izrael (1908 – UA, front),

Slahter Mendel, father József (1900 – UA, front, 1941).

Zilberman Henrik, father Ábrahám (1912 – UA, front),

KORLÁTHELMÉC/HOLMEC:

Müller József (UA, front).

NAGYDOBRONY/VELIKA DOBRONY:

Moskovics Dávid, father Herman (1906 – UA, front, 1942),

Rozner Áron, father Fajse (1915 – UA, front).

NAGYGEJŐC/VELIKI GEJEVCI:

Klein Mendel, father Majer (1909 – UA, front).

PALÁGYKOMORÓC/PALAGYKOMOROC (KOMARIVCI):

Perl Sámuel, father Martin (1897 – OF, front, 1943).

PALLÓ/PAVLOVE:

Klein Áron, father Dávid (UA, front),

Klein Lajos, father Dávid (UA, front),

Klein Miklós, father Dávid (UA, front),
Martinovics Lázár (front, 1942).

SZEREDNYE/SZEREDNYE:

Mermelstein Elija, father Ábrahám (1918 – UA, front, 1943),
Rappaport Jenő, father Slomo (1918.12. 25 – UA, front, 1941),
Rappaport Márton, father Salamon (31.01.1916 – UA, Zhitomir reg.,
Radomish j.,
Potiyivka, front, January, 1943),
Rappaport Jákob, father Salamon (1917 – UA, front, 1943/44?),
Rubin Dezső, father Salamon (1914 – Yugoslavia, front).

VELIKI LAZI/NAGYLÁZ:

Berger Haim (1905 – UA, 1942).

IRLYAVA/UNGSASFALVA:

Braver Erix, father Leopold (1895 – OF. front),
Fogel Baruh–Hirs (1904 – UA területén).

KAMJANICJA/ÓKEMENCE:

Stern Mór (1909 – front, 1944).

LINCI/UNGGESZTENYÉS.

Inmates of labour camp (5): **Diamant Izsák**, father Sámuel (1911 –
OF, Eastern front, 1943).

NYIZSNYE SZOLOTVINO/ALSÓSZLATINA:

Kaufman Bumi, father Mosev (1916 – UA, front, 1943).
Sacs Sámuel, father Frojm (1914 – OF, front, 1943),
Slomovics Sabzi, father Menahem (UA, front).

RUSZKI KOMARIVCI/OROSZKOMORÓC:

Palkovics József, father Pinkus (Kárpátok, front).

UNGVÁR/UZSHOROD:

Adler Salamon (1910 – OF, front),

Adler Slamo, father Izsák (1911 – UA, front),
Auslender Marton, father Herman (1900 – OF, front),
Berkovics Herman, father Zsigmond (1911 – UA, front),
Biderman Ábrahám, father Dávid (1913 – UA, front),
Edelstejn Ernő, father Jenő (UA, front),
Edelstejn Miksa, father Jenő (UA, front, 1943),
Edelstejn Oszkár, father Jenő (UA, front, 1943),
Fantel Evraim, father Benjamin (1910 – OF),
Farbenlum Emil (UA),
Fejervir Adolf (1907 – UA, 1943),
Fisgrund Filip, father Aleksandr (OF, 1943),
Fisgrund Salom, father Egasu (OF, Voronezh),
Fisgrund Sámuel, father Haim (OF),
Frid Mano, father Áron (1893 – front, 1942),
Fridman Majer, father Mendel (1902 – front, 1942),
Fridman Sándor (1904 – front, 1942),
Fuchs Lajos, father Ervin (1907 – OF, 1943),
Fülöp Ábraham, father Mose (1912 – UA, front, 1943),
Fülöp Mordehaj, father Mosev (1912 – Csernovtsi reg., 1943),
Gross László (1914 – front, 1942),
Gross Lajos, father Berlo (1915 – OF, 1943),
Gross Mose, father Jakob (1911 – UA, 1943),
Grunstejn Artur, father Izsák (1917 – OF, front),
Glück István, father Lajos (1919 – UA, 1943),
Grunberger Zalman (1917 – UA, front),
Grunberger Jakob (1916 – UA, front),
Grunvald Eheskel, father Menahem (1912 – UA, front),
Grünvald Jekuzil, father Menah (1912 – UA, front),
Háber Andor, father Herman (1915 – OF, Voronezh, 1943),
Hauer Andor, father Herman (1902 – OF, Voronezh, front, 1943),
Haupt Sámuel (front),
Kalfater Ignác, father Ábrahám (1910 – UA),
Kestenbaum Lajos (1901 – UA, 1942),
Kalkstajn Herman, father Pinhas (OF, Voronezh, front, 1942),
Kestenbaum Mojse (1896. – front, 1942),
Klein Benjamin, father Ignác (1910 – UA, front, 1943),

Klein Pinhas, father Izsák (1910 – UA, front, 1943),
Klein Sándor, father Emanuel (1910 – UA, front, 1943),
Klugman Mihály, father Izrael (1893 – front, 1942),
Kraisler Géza, father József (1910 – front, 1942),
Kraus Izidor (1911 – front, 1941),
Kraus Ludvig, father Cadok (1910 – OF, front),
Lipman Arnold, father Áron (UA, Ivano-Frank. reg., Kolomiya, front),
Lipman Józsi, father Áron (UA, Ivano-Frank. reg., Kolomiya, front),
Mallerman József, father Dávid (1907 – UA, 1942),
Mermelstein Mihály (1910 – UA, 1944),
Mero Mikulas (1904 – front, 1941),
Polak Béla (1920 – UA, front),
Raisman Gábor, father Emanuel (1910 – OF, front, 1943),
Raisman Jenő, father Izidor (1902 – OF, Tambov, 1943.03.25.),
Ruenberger Jakob (1916 – UA, front),
Reisman Jenő, father Izidor (1902 – OF, 25. 03. 1943.),
Reisman Zoltán, father Emanuel (30.02. 1912.– OF, 1944),
Reisman Zoltán, father Arnold (1910 – OF, 1944),
Spigel Zolman, father Moris (1911 – OF, front, 1942),
Spigel Haim, father Mose (1911 – OF, Voronezh, front, 1942),
Stern Endre, father Lajos (UA, 01.03. 1943.),
Stern Andre, father Lajos (1900.08.06. – UA, 03.01.1943.),
Veres Béres–Berl. (1898 – UA, front, 1944),
Weinberger Adolf, father Nahum (1905 – front, 1942),
Weinberger Armin, father Nahum (1908 – OF. Voronezh, front, 1943),
Weis Efraim (front, 1942),
Weis Israel, father Efraim (1915 – front, 1943),
Weis Lulu, father Mose (1912 – front, 1943),
Weis Cvi, father Áron (1923 – front),
Weis Haim, father Efraim (UA, 1942),
Zajdenfeld Emanuel, father Jeremiás (UA, front),

TÉCSŐI JÁRÁS TJACSIVSZKIJ RAJON

AKNASZLATINA/SZOLOTVINA:

Adler Sabze, father Mendel (1913 – front, 1944).
Altman Nisan, father József (1915 – UA, 1942),
Kaufman Sloma, father Mosev (1919 – UA területén, 1943),
Zaks Sámuel, father Efraim (1914 – OF, 1943).

HANICSI/GÁNYA:

Berkovics Dávid, father Volf (1890 –UA, 1941),
Fogel József, father Baruhó (OF, 1943).

RUSZKA MOKRA/OROSZMOKRA.

Inmate of labour camp (1): *Steinmetc Mose* (1908 – front, 1942).

TERNOVO/KÖKÉNYES:

Ingber Bajnus, father Lejb (1904 – OF, 1942).

HUSZT DISTRICT HUSZTSZKIJ RAJON

HUSZT/HUSZT:

Apodi Miksa, father Henrik (OF, front, 1942),
Berner Cvi, father Majer (1913 – UA, front),
Faber Sándor, father Jákóv (1908 – OF, Don-bend, front),
Fuchs Sámuel, father Izsák (1917 – OF, front, 1943),
Glrzik Mózes, father Hedaj, (1913 – front, 1942),
Gross Dov, father Jakob (1905 – UA, front),
Gross Mose, father Janko (1911 – UA, front, 1942),
Grossman Menah, father Ábrahám (1942),
Grünfeld Dávid (1907 – UA, front),
Grünfeld Dávid, father Jákóv (1900 – UA, front, 1942),
Grünfeld Nahman (UA, front), Gurstejn Olekszander, father Sajo (OF, fro
Haimfeld Izrael, father Slomo (1920 – front, 1943),
Harstein József, father Mózes, (1913 – OF, Voronezh, front, 1943),

Harstein Salom, father Mózes, (OF, front),
Harstein Zelman, father Mózes, (1915 – front, 1943),
Herskovics Slomo, father Ábrahám, (1911 – OF, Donyec, Ilovajszk, 1943),
Hoffman Dov, father Ábrahám (1903–1942),
Holdinger Mózes father Ábrahám (1916 – front, 1944),
Kahan Sándor–Olekszandr–Osiás (1903 – UA, May 1945., Stugl Dávid (1916 – UA),
Kandel Haim, father Arje (1910 – Üzbekisztán, hadifogolytábor, 1942),
Katz Haeh, father Aser (1914 – UA, front),
Katz Jakob (UA, front),
Klein József, father Ábrahám (1907 – UA, front, 1942),
Lebovics Antal, father Mordehaj (OF, front),
Marton Imre, father Gyula (1920 – OF. front, 1943),
Rappaport Gyula, father Natan (1910 – UA, front),
Rosenfel Izsák, father Mózes (1912.09.20. – OF, front),
Sonfeld Maximilián, father Jozef (1903 – Zsitomiri ter., Davidki, 1943.04. 13.),
Szabó Mózes, father Aser (1901 – front, 1943),
Weinberger Benjamin, father Haim (1912 – UA, front),
Wizel Mihály, father Sámuel (front, 1942).

SZOLYVA DISTRICT SZVALJAVSZKIJ RAJON

SZOLYVA/SZVALJAVA:

Gronstejn Jenő (1898 – UA, front),
Klajn Jozef (1913.11.01.– OF, Orlov reg. Gluknovka),
Kurc Benjamin, father Zoltán (1921 – HU, front),
Kvint Ajzik, father Jozef (1913 – UA, front, 1942),
Rozenthal Sámuel (1905 – OF, front, 1943),
Spitcer Olekszandr, father Cvijo (1905.12.15. – UA, front, 1943).
Vajzer Bencion, father Jozef (1914 – UA, front),
Vajzer Izsák, father Jozef (1904 – UA, front),
Weis Bendi, father Jozef (1920 – OF, front, December, 1943.),
HOLUBINE/GALAMBOS:
Stejn Dávid (1912 – front, vanished).

NELIPINO/HÁRSFALVA:

Fridman Mose, father Slomo (OF, Siberia, POW camp, 1944),
Weinberger Ábrahám, father Slojm (1916 – UA, front).

PAVLOVO/KISPÁLOS:

Mermelstein Mendel, father Naftali (03. 08.1916. – Chernigov reg.,
Nizhin, front, 1943).

PASZIKA/KISHIDVÉG:

Sternbah Kálmán, father Eliezer rabbi, (1900 – UA, front).

POLYANA/POLENA:

Bernstejn Mose, father Litman (1917 – OF. front),
Gottgelf Haim, father Szimhov (1909 – front, 1942),
Pulman Lejbis, father Izrel (1918 – OF. front).

SZOLOCSIN /KIRÁLYFISZÁLLÁS:

Betovics Izrael, father Sámuel (1914 – OF, front).

SZTROJNE/MALMOS:

Liberman Salamon (1913 –front, 1942).

TIBAVA/HAVASALJA:

Sternsus Mordehaj, father Baruh (1913 – front, 1942).

RAHÓ DISTRICT
RAHIVSZKIJ RAJON

NAGYBOCSKÓ/VELIKIJ BICKIV:

Dub Atcuk, father Haim (1914 – front, 1943).

RAHÓ/RAHIV:

Fridman Mendel, father Jákob (1911 – UA, front).

BILIN/BILIN:

Kahan Edi, father Wolf (1920 – front, 1942),
Kahan Jago, father Wolf (1920 – front, 1942).
Kahan Jakob, father Haim (1911 – OF, front),

Kahan Motja, father Wolf (1918 – front, 1942),

VERHNYE VOGYANE/FELSŐAPSA:

Ajngorn Mordehaj (1909 – UA, at the river Dniester, front, 1941).

VODICA/KISAPSA:

Slomovics Haim, father Jozef (1909 – OF, Eastern front).

**ÖKÖRMEZŐ DISTRICT
MIZSHIRSZKIJ RAJON**

HOLJATYIN/TARFALU:

Lahmanovics Ábrahám, father Jakov (1914 – UA, front, 1943).

KOLOCSAVA/ALSÓKALOCSA:

Wolf Benő, father Mordehaj (1903 – UA, front).

SZINEVIR/ALSÓSZINEVÉR:

Ábrahámovics Icik (1917 – UA, front, 1943).

TORUNY/TORUNYA:

Bajzer Mordehaj–Haim, father Jehuda (1906 – UA, 1942)

Prizant Ábrahám (1907–1943)

**VOLÓC DISTRICT
VOLOVECKIJ RAJON**

VOLOVEC/VOLÓC:

Ickovics Mendel, father Zejda (1906 – UA, 1941)

Zeisler Herman, father Mózes (1914 – UA, 1943)

Zinger Slomo, father Mosev (1914 – OF, May, 1943.)

VERHNYA HRABIVNICJA/FELSŐGEREBEN:

Lebovics Alter, father Izsák (1914 – OF, front).

SZKOTARSZKE/KISSZOLYVA:

Fridman Dániel, father Jeliasev Talmudist (1906.11.24.–1943).

IV. THE FOURTH “ACT” OF THE JEWISH GENOCIDE (13. NOVEMBER, 1944 – 1991)

People who came home and left home

“Those few hundred former death camp prisoners who returned home could not find their place in the Stalinist-Khrushchev-Brezhnev regime’s policy-crippling national consciousness and culture, faith and religion. All but about half a hundred of those who remained left the city and the country.”³⁹⁷ This is how the historian János Váradi-Sternberg sums up his experience of the post-Holocaust reawakening of the remnant Jewry of Nagyszőlős after the Holocaust. This recognition of the situation applies also to Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Huszt and other smaller towns, too, sparsely populated by Israelis. The returnees did not expect such a welcome from the liberators with their Sovietising policy. More and more of the followers of Moses’ religion became disillusioned. There were two dilemmas they had on their mind: to stay and accept the new social system, or to change their religion, faith, culture and freedom and go away from home and live in another region, or country. The majority opted for the latter; those stayed who were tired of fleeing in fear of death all the time or having leftist ideas were ready to identify with the new system.

³⁹⁷ VÁRADI-STERMBERG JÁNOS: *Mementó. A nagyszőlősi zsidó közösség múltjából*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1991. május, p.10.

The execution of the plan failed only because of Stalin's death

Over the past seventy years, they who concerned themselves with the Jews of Transcarpathia asked many times the question: How many of them survived the various deportations, forced labour and other reprisals? Special literature answers the question variously; it gives data that cover the reality, data that are close to the reality and data that are far from reality or just false. Some say that the number of victims is 90,000, others state that 115,000 Jews were dispossessed and deported from their homes where they lived peacefully, then 80,000 or so Jews died, and the number of survivors is between 6,000 and 25,000.³⁹⁸ From the tables I constructed myself, it is clear that the number of Holocaust survivors of Transcarpathian origin is estimated at between 6,500 and 10,000. This figure includes the number of inmates of forced labour camps who managed to come back from the front.

As I have already indicated, there was no official mention of this during the Soviet period, and for about 45 years memory fell away. But these “*death lists*” were inevitably included, if necessary, without naming the Jews, in the statistics and agitation materials serving ideological purposes. Soviet-Ukrainian historians of Transcarpathia did not even ask what ethnic group was hidden behind the mass extermination of the “*Transcarpathian workers*” and why they were exterminated. Their interpretation was that the victims were all Rusyns/Ukrainians. And they thought that in this calculating way they could incite the Slav peoples against the Hungarians.

Károly Lusztig rightly asked and answered the question in one of his writings: “*What is the reason for this silence? After all, the extermination of the Jews of Transcarpathia was not the fault of the Soviet regime! But the practices of Stalinism were not so different from the methods of fascists either. Many small groups of people were*

³⁹⁸ TAMÁS STARK: *Magyarország második világháborús veszteségei* (Hungary's losses in the Second World War), cited above, mentions that the Jewish population of the annexed territories (Subcarpathia and Northern Transylvania) amounted to 65,000 on 31 December 1945. Nearly one third of them most likely was from Transcarpathia.

deported from their homeland, putting them at a risk of extermination.” Then, as an example, Lusztig goes on to cite a 1989 issue of the Russian newspaper Izvestia in Moscow, which “gave gory details of how thousands upon thousands of Chechens were murdered and burned alive in mountain villages in the winter of 1944 because there was no way to transport them. And this ‘heroic deed’ was carried out by the notorious KGB General Serov, who gained notoriety as the executioner of the Lithuanian and Hungarian people. Now the Chechen people (and who knows how many others!) can be added to the deadly list of his crimes. Under these circumstances, it was not advisable to talk about deportations and genocide. It would inevitably have given rise to unwelcome analogies. There is an apt Russian proverb which says that it is not decent to talk about rope in a hanged man’s house. And ‘decency’, no doubt, was respected by Khrushchev and Brezhnev, too. Besides, it has long been no secret that the Soviet Jews were also destined to suffer the fate of the Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush and other persecuted peoples. The so-called case of the Jewish doctors (end of 1952, beginning of 1953), accompanied by a relentless campaign of incitement, served this purpose. The execution of the plan failed only because of Stalin’s death”³⁹⁹.

The planned deportation of Jews was also described in detail by Yakov Etinger in his book *Stalin and X-Day*. Stalin wanted to give a signal for the mass deportation of Jews in the Soviet Union by arranging public show-executions in the main squares of the big cities. Former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Bulganin said this to the philosopher Yakov Etinger who elaborated the story of the 1953 anti-Semitic medical trials. The prelude to the nationwide crackdown, X-Day, was prepared in secret, but a few days before the pogrom began, the dictator died unexpectedly. The excerpts quoted below from the chapter *Stalin Prepares Final Solution* give an idea of the large-scale operation: “*In the mid-nineties, I received the testimony of Nikolai Polyakov. For many years, Polyakov worked for the state security services and later for the party centre. His recollections reveal that Stalin had already decided to deport the Jews in the late*

³⁹⁹ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. A kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1992. jún. p. 10..

1940s. A committee directly subordinated to Stalin was set up to lead the operation, with Suslov, the Communist Party Secretary as its chairman and Polyakov as its secretary. To house the deportees, concentration camp-like barracks were built at a forced pace in Siberia and the Far East. At the same time, lists of the people of Jewish nationality were made in the whole country to ensure that no one was left out of the deportations. There were two types of lists: the first was 'racially pure' and the second 'half-Jewish'. Personnel departments, housing inspectors, police and state security were involved in compiling the lists. Stalin had to justify the deportation of the Jews somehow. To this end, the editor-in-chief of the journal Philosophical Issues, D. Chesnokov, a doctor of philosophy, was commissioned to provide an ideological basis for the deportation. One million copies were printed by the Ministry of the Interior and then stored in the Ministry of State Security with the secret order that it should be distributed nationwide on "X" day. In his "work" entitled "Why the Jews must be deported from the industrial districts of the country", Chesnokov explained "scientifically" the historical inevitability of the deportation imposed by the Party and Comrade Stalin. Chesnokov proved that Jews "by their very nature" had always been enemies of the people and of socialism. Referring to Stalin and the experience of his comrades-in-arms, he claimed that in the 1920s and 1930s the main opposition to the Communist Party was made up of Jews."⁴⁰⁰

The nearly ten years between 1944 and 1953 were capped by Stalin's death. The events of the past nine years in Transcarpathia are an indelible "film-serial" of tragic events documented not only in the folk memory of local Hungarians, Germans and Rusyns, but also of the repatriated Jews.

Firstly, the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front, acting on the orders of the Kremlin leaders, adopted the Resolution 0036, which established the principle of collective guilt against the Hungarians and Germans of Transcarpathia. The resolution was executed by the NKVD units: men from the age of 18 to 50,

⁴⁰⁰ See details in: JAKOV ETTINGER: *Sztálin és az x-nap*. In: *Hetek*, 2000. 08. 05. (IV/32)
In: Hetek portál, http://www.hetek.hu/hatter/200008/sztalin_es_az_x_nap (2015-05-06)

whose only crime was their origin, were arrested and interned in the collective camp in Solyva.

I can prove with facts and data that dozens of Hungarian Jews who had returned home from the collapsed front were the victims of ethnic cleansing directed against Hungarians and Germans in Hungarian settlements⁴⁰¹, and later on, survivors who had been freed from German concentration camps were also collected as suspected spies and taken to Soviet labour camps as former Hungarian citizens. **Ernő Galper/Halper** (Munkács, 1923) was also captured and taken to Ungvár, but managed to escape from the convoy going to the Solya concentration camp with several others: *“I and several others were taken by train to Ungvár. There they put us in groups again and drove us somewhere. We were six in a group. When we came to a narrow street in the centre of Ungvár, we decided not to go any farther. At a narrow gate leading into a courtyard, we decided to run away, despite the danger. They might shoot us, but still, we would try. When we got to the gate, we ran one by one. The guards didn’t run after us because if they tried to catch up, the other prisoners would disperse, too. We got into an abandoned empty house. We found some food, moved in for two days, rested, recovered a bit. We really wanted to go home. We didn’t know who we would find at home and what was going on there.”*⁴⁰²

Although there are reports of NKVD officers collecting and checking the target persons, for example, of Captain Hiznyak, the commanding officer of the 88th Carpathian Border Division, in his 13-point daily order warns the operational officers that *“those who served in the German-Hungarian army with a military draft and are of Ukrainian/Rusyn, Czech, Slovak and Jewish nationality, should not be arrested in villages and towns or on their way home and taken to the camps.”*⁴⁰³

We have found several military reports from the Moscow archives which, ignoring the above-quoted order, interned Jews, too,

⁴⁰¹ 50,000 conscripts were taken to the Eastern Front, 50 % of them died, the rest were captured by the Soviets, only a few returned home from the GUPVI and GULAG labor camps, among them many hundreds of Subcarpathian Jews.

⁴⁰² Ernő Galpert’s recollections. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/galpert-erno>

⁴⁰³ See file N 252. (TSU/437).

along with Hungarians and Germans. For example, according to the NKVD military headquarters, the list of 21 November 1944 included 35 Jewish inmates of labour camps⁴⁰⁴, and up to the 2nd of December 82 out of the 20,242 prisoners registered were Jewish inmates of labour camps of the Hungarian army, and of the 4,280 prisoners released on 30 November 43 were Jewish prisoners of war⁴⁰⁵. An interesting fact is that it is not indicated that they were inmates.

According to the documents processed so far, at the beginning of February 1945, 2,448 debilitated, seriously ill Hungarians and Hungarian Jews over the age of forty-five got home from the Soviet death camps of Solyva and Sambor from among the 8,564 civilian internees, with the permission of General Mekhlis, a member of the Military Council of the 4th Ukrainian Front⁴⁰⁶.

In the preliminary NKVD statements, the number of Jewish prisoners interned in the collecting camp in Solyva (HGH camp No.2) was also indicated: in the statement of 5 January 1945, 140 Jewish prisoners were listed⁴⁰⁷; in the statement of 16 January, 130 persons⁴⁰⁸. Among the “*unlawfully arrested*” and those to be released there were 907 persons of Slavic nationality, 21 Jews, 6 Communists, and 44 industry experts who were released from the collecting camp between 6 and 31 January, 1945⁴⁰⁹.

By 15 January 1944, 6 Jews were released⁴¹⁰, then 13 on 21 January⁴¹¹, and only 21 by 30 January, making a total of 40, while the fate of 100 Jews is unknown.

According to the NKVD camp diary⁴¹², there were Jews also in the distribution camp (FHFT N-22) of Sambor, from where they were deported in cattle cars with their mates of Hungarian and other nationalities to labour camps in the interior parts of Russia.

⁴⁰⁴ See file N 72. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/146).

⁴⁰⁵ See file N 79. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/155).

⁴⁰⁶ See details in: DUPKA GYÖRGY – ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN: *A „malenykij robot” dokumentumokban*. Ungvár –Budapest, Intermix Kiadó, 1997. P.79. Further: DUPKA GYÖRGY – ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN: 1997.

⁴⁰⁷ DUPKA GYÖRGY – ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN: 1997. P. 89.

⁴⁰⁸ See file N 133. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/210).

⁴⁰⁹ DUPKA GYÖRGY – ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN: 1997. P. 82.

⁴¹⁰ See file N 132. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/208-209).

⁴¹¹ See file N 140. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/217).

⁴¹² See file N 144. (ZUN IDP 1944-1955/222).

Prisoners of Jewish origin in the GUPVI, GULAG camps

Jews languishing in the various Soviet camps were also burdened by the hard, bitter ordeal of survival. Their fate can be followed, even if sketchily, in documents in Russian and Hungarian entitled *Hungarian Prisoners of War in the Soviet Union* published between 1941 and 1953⁴¹³, in the Russian-language archival sources. Between 1941 and 1945, Hungarian and Jewish POWs were kept in 181 camps and 35 camp sections⁴¹⁴.

There were too many factors among the reasons for the poor physical condition of POWs of the different nationalities, so of the Jews, too, which resulted in an incredible high mortality rate, so there is no sense in trying to enumerate them; they all endured captivity in terrible, inhuman conditions.

The most blatant cases were noticed already by a group directorate of the NKVD. According to a report on an examination in POW camp No 81 in Grenovoye on 30 March 1943, the physical condition of the prisoners was described as follows: a) 8,567 persons were healthy (29%), b) 644 were ill, c) 17,594 had weakened health. The latter two figures total 71 %. It was clear that prisoners in the latter two categories would inevitably die, as health care, food and other conditions were not provided. The ethnic composition of this camp was also given. Of the 12 nationalities listed, the most populous groups were the Italians (9,273) and the Hungarians (7,280). The third largest group was the Jews, 4,474 persons. The report noted that they were all conscripts, wearing summer civilian clothes, and it is no wonder that the highest mortality rate was among them. *“To the testimony of inmates of labour camps, after three months of having been taken prisoner, about 40% of these units died” as a result of the strenuous marches and inadequate equipment for winter conditions*

⁴¹³ Венгерские военнопленные в СССР: документы 1941-1953 годов. Составители: Д. И Борисов и другие. Москва. РОССПЭН, 2005 - 543 стр. Hungarian edition: *Magyar hadifoglyok a Szovjetunióban. Dokumentumok (1941-1953)*. The volume was compiled by: VARGA ÉVA MÁRIA, VLAGYIMÍR KOROTAJEV. Moszkva-Budapest, ROSSZPEN-MKTTK, 2006. 447-490.p. Further on: MHSZ/2006/....

⁴¹⁴ MHSZ/2006/487-490.pp. See also the list of POW cemeteries: pp. 491-520

*(...) The battalion of the inmates of labour camps covered 1,200 kilometres in 28 days.*⁴¹⁵

All of them arrived in the camp between 24 January and 23 March 1943, walked 40-80 km in 5-8 days in cold weather, hardly ate anything (they were given a little to eat once or twice a day), with no health care, so it is no wonder that many died already on the way totally debilitated. In three months, 13,794 of the 26,805 people in this camp died and between 900 and 1,000 deaths were reported every day. The causes of death were: inadequate nutrition (no food at all for the first three or five days); lack of medicine and basic life-saving medication (dysentery, rash typhoid, typhoid fever, and other epidemic diseases raged uncontrollably); the POWs were housed in dilapidated horse stables, whose stalls could not be heated; the average temperature was around 6-7 degrees Celsius; the camp area was heavily contaminated with excrement, and disinfection was not possible. The vast majority of the detainees had pediculosis (the bath and disinfection chambers could not cope with the large numbers), and because of the lack of warm clothes the upper and lower limbs of the people froze. The Committee members deemed the improvement of living conditions the only way to reduce the death toll.

After WWII, conditions in most of the prison camps became more tolerable. The NKVD organized political brainwashing among the prisoners in order to recruit politically enlightened fighters for the national armies organised and controlled by Moscow, and to ensure a supply of reliable cadres in the countries of the Sovietised Central and Eastern Europe. There was also a demand to use reliable people in the Soviet Union, too, in certain important fields. For example, in order to increase the capacity of the Hungarian-language radio broadcast, editors and announcers were trained in the antifascist schools of the MVD re-orienting camp No. 27 (Krasnogorsk) and No. 165 (Yuzha, Ivanovo Oblast). One of the documents mentions the names of Hungarian POWs, including Jews, selected by NKVD officers, whom *“they did not get the goods on”* (**Puskás Béla Sándors** /Sarkad, 1914/, **Nemes János Károly** /Debrecen, 1921/,

⁴¹⁵ File N 26. MHSZ/2006/166-169.

Derdey (Gergely?) Béla Mavor? /Hódmezővásárhely, 1910), who were set free after the courses⁴¹⁶.

The following GUPVI report that was made on the “*number of Hungarian POWs who volunteered for the Hungarian division*” in accordance with the position on 11 January 1945 in POW camps, also has a Jewish aspect: 14 from the Vladimir, 3 from the Gorky N 74, 17 from the Chelyabinsk N 68, 17 from the Krasnogorsk N 27, 13 from the Kiev N 62, 3 from the Vinnitsa camp, 137 altogether from all the interior camps, 2 from the 3rd Ukrainian Front, 8 from the 4th Ukrainian Front, 10 from all the fronts, altogether 147 Jews were selected by NKVD interrogators.⁴¹⁷

Data on Jews are also available in the GUPVI registration documents: as to the status on 5 January 1943⁴¹⁸ and the nationality of POWs, there were 124 Jews; after 18 June 1945⁴¹⁹ there were 5016 Jews; 3,998 Jews were transferred to the Hungarian army on 2 November 1945⁴²⁰; and 4,148 Jews were transferred to the Romanian army on 2 November 1945. These were registered in the camps that were checked.

According to the status on 1 February 1946 and the nationality distribution, of 72,364 civilians interned in the 80 labour battalions of the NKO to do reparational work in 26 fields, there are data on 21 Transcarpathian Ukrainians and 24 Jews⁴²¹. In a survey that the Soviet Minister of the Interior sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR on 6 March 1947 we can read, *inter alia*, that there were 20,189 interned Hungarians in the MVD camps, special hospitals and labour battalions of the Ministry of War, placed in various areas of the Soviet Union. Moreover, there were 129 Hungarian Soviet citizens among the POWs, mainly of Transcarpathian origin. Of non-Hungarian citizens, such as Jews, 110 persons⁴²², could also be found among the interned prisoners. The table compiled on 19,293

⁴¹⁶ File N 62. MHSZ/ 2006/301-302.

⁴¹⁷ File N 70., MHSZ/ 2006/321-323

⁴¹⁸ File N 77. MHSZ/ 2006/333-335.

⁴¹⁹ File N 81. MHSZ/ 2006/341-342.

⁴²⁰ File N 84. MHSZ/ 2006/347-348.

⁴²¹ File N 86.MHSZ/ 2006/350-3351.

⁴²² File N 92. MHSZ/ 2006/364-365.

internees by their nationality, in accordance with the state of 1 April 1947, listed 102 Jewish men and 5 Jewish women⁴²³.

On January 28, 1949, the GUPVI prepared a list of prisoners kept in Soviet camps for Moscow, which was “*particularly important*” from the point of view of 15 indicators. According to nationality, 10,165 Jews were detained, of whom a total of 10,156 were deported, 4,5448 repatriated, 1,225 handed over to national corps, 22 transferred to GULAG camps, 51 released as Soviet citizens, 645 transferred to the register of internees, 3 in prison, 3 escaped, 14 otherwise unaccounted for, 3,645 dead, and 9 in camps (01.01.1949). There is a separate heading, “*Transcarpathian Ukrainians*,” in the table; hence we know that the Soviets deported 5,354 people (Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Rusyns) before 1949; 669 died, so 94 must have been still in prison⁴²⁴.

The *Repatriation* column contains mainly bundles of documents on repatriated prisoners released from the GUPVI camps. According to a GUPVI piece of information sent to the Kremlin leaders in May 1946, 1,225 of the 3,055 Jews were transferred to national units, 1,830 were set free, and 2,794 “*Carpatho-Ukrainians*” were set free to go home⁴²⁵. But we also know that the GUPVI clerks rated the severely intimidated interned persons of Jewish origin as “unknown nationality”; they declared themselves to be of Czechoslovak, Ukrainian/Rusyn, Slovak nationality. There are no reliable data on this.

The GUPVI’s survey of February 1947 on POWs who were released and sent home to the national volunteer military units between 1943 and 1946 is also very telling: among others, 54 out of 3,602 POWs of Jewish nationality were sent to the national volunteer military units in 1943, 1158 in 1944 and 13 in 1945 (a total of 1225); 1,703 were released in 1945 and 674 in 1946.⁴²⁶

On 23 May 1947, S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the Soviet Union, addressed a transcript to A. J. Vishinsky, Deputy Minister of

⁴²³ File N 93. MHSZ/ 2006/369.

⁴²⁴ File N 94. MHSZ/ 2006/371-373.

⁴²⁵ File N 110. MHSZ/ 2006/404-405.

⁴²⁶ File N 117. MHSZ/ 2006/421.p.

Foreign Affairs of the USSR, concerning the repatriation of “POWs and internees of Hungarian nationality but having no Hungarian citizenship” (16,620) and “POWs and internees of Hungarian citizenship but of other nationalities (8,811).” In the former group, 3,703 Czechoslovak citizens were considered to be of Hungarian nationality, while in the latter group 1,873 declared themselves to be Jews⁴²⁷. The question was: if nationality is not the same as citizenship and vice versa, to which country should the repatriated prisoners be sent? In a statement⁴²⁸ of the General Command for Prisoners of War and Internment (GUPVI) of the Ministry of the Interior of the Soviet Union of 1 January 1950, a total of 4,552 Jews (without specifying their nationality) were listed as released from the camps, so that in 1945, 1,703, in 1946, 674, in 1947, 911, in 1948, 1,260, and in 1949, 4 persons were repatriated from the labour camps to the address and country indicated by the prisoners. Unfortunately, the countries of destination were not indicated, so we do not know what percentage of this contingent consisted of Jews of Transcarpathian origin, but the list does include 5,017 “*Transcarpathian Ukrainians*” (presumably interned Transcarpathian Hungarians, Germans and Jews), of whom 4,427 returned home in 1945 and 590 in 1946. Regarding their nationality, 3,703 Czechoslovak citizens were listed in the first group, 1,873 people said they were Jews, and they were assigned to the latter group. The question was that if the nationality was not the same as the citizenship and vice versa, then to which country should the prisoner be sent.

After examining the archival records that were made public, I am of the opinion that the files of Jews who were detained for political reasons, and who were kept in special camps of the MVD or in the GULAG camps as prisoners accused of espionage or anti-Sovietism, or as border-crossing refugees, are most likely not yet made public. The discovery of their fate awaits future research.

⁴²⁷ No. 125 case file, MHSZ/ 2006/435.p.

⁴²⁸ No. 139 case file, MHSZ/ 2006/466-467.p.

Holocaust survivors, Inmates of labour camps as volunteers in the Red Army

Young Jews who managed to get home from Nazi concentration camps or had been inmates of labour camps realised after returning home that they had lost all their relatives. Moreover, they found their homes either completely despoiled or occupied by new squatters, and they were not welcome back.

During these months, Soviet army recruiting officers toured the settlements and recruited thousands of Rusyn/Ukrainian young people. Thus, many of the Jewish young people and many who were inmates of labour camps joined the Red Army between November 1944 and January 1945. There are no precise data on the number of Jewish volunteers. Only the names of those who were killed in action or disappeared somewhere in Poland, Slovakia or the Czech Republic between 1944 and 1945, and recorded in the Transcarpathian Memory Book, are known⁴²⁹.

Here are the names of some Jewish soldiers I have collected and who gave their lives on the Eastern Front:

Cenkner Joszip, father Vaszil, (Perecseny, 1926- killed in action in Polandt, buried in the town of Budzów, 24. Jan.1945.)

Cenkner Rudolf, father Mihalovics, (Perecseny, 1928- killed in action in Poland, buried in the settlement of Gulinowka, 8. Febr. 1945.)

Eckmann János, father József (Munkács, 1924- PL, Gaty, 30. Apr.1945.)

Felma Maier, father Haim, (Danilovo, Huszt d., 1922-killed in action in Poland, buried in the village of Lesnica, Opole, 4 Apr.1945.)

Friman Dávid, Memorial Cemetery **father Meresz**, (Izki, Mizshirjai J. 1900- PL, killed in action in Krosnoi, buried in Rymanówi, 7. Dec.1944.)

Fridman Mosko, father Mosko, (Verhnij Sztudenij, Mizshirjai J. 1925-SL, killed in the action at Jasov, Kassa, Memorial Cemetery, 12. Jan.1945.)

⁴²⁹ Ukrajna emlékkönyve. Kárpátontúli terület. 1997.pp. 87- 637.

Fridmann Lajos, father Lajos, (Huszt, 1922- killed in action on the Eastern front, 19 January, 1945.)

Háberman Salamon, father Jakab (Ruszkij Mocsar, Nagyberecz. j., 1901-SL, Kassa, Memorial Cemetery, 13. Jan.)

Herskovics Ábrám, father Dávid, (Ardanovo, Ilosvai J., 1925-SL, Janik alatt, Kassa, Memorial Cemetery, 14. Jan. 1945.)

Hlodman Márk, father Jakab (Munkács, 1922- vanished on the Eastern front, December, 1944.)

Halpert Tibor, father Edmund (Munkács, 1927- Keleti front, vanished, May, 1945.)

Joffe Mózes, father Noszon (Munkács, 1915- Eastern front, vanished, January, 1945.)

Klein Ármin, father Marjan, (Mala Kopanya, 1914- SL, Sabinov, Memorial Cemetery, common grave, 1945.)

Lázár Májér, father Mendel, (Huszt, 1912- killed in action in Czechoslovakia, buried in the settlement of Sternbeki, Olomouc, 4. May, 1945.)

Mendelovics Izrail, (Izki, Mizshirjai J. 1914- SL, killed in action in Trebisov district, buried on the Dragov Pass, 8. Jan. 1945.)

Smulevics Áprahám, father József, (Szerednye, 1917- wounded in Poland and died, Buried in Katowice, in the village of Pszczyna, 23 February, 1945.)

Weiser Sztéfan Joszipovics (Ungvár, 1926-PL, Gibie, 11. March, 1945.)

Wolksberg Ernő, father András, (Hanykovica, Szolyvai j. 1925- vanished in thin air at the front, April, 1945.)

A high degree of distrust surrounded the survivors of the Nazi and Stalinist camps

Many Jews who survived Nazi concentration camps did not want to stay in Western countries. At a conservative estimate of survivors some 25,000 thought they would try to return to their homeland, which was already under the control of the Soviets. The NKVD,

acting on Stalin's orders, arrested suspicious elements infected with the "*Western virus*" and placed them in the so-called prophylactic/screening camps, then they were handed over to interrogators. Those found to be "infected" were sent to Siberia, despite having been in Nazi concentration camps before. Out of the frying pan into the fire⁴³⁰.

After 1953, only one in two to three prisoners returned home safely, and thousands perished in the eternal winter⁴³¹. More stories were published about this group of "infected" deportees⁴³². Their fate was shared by Rabbi Greenwald of Hungarian origin from Toronto, who, before being sent to Siberia, was assigned to the Romanian army allied with the Germans. He recalled in his Jewish History.org⁴³³: *"After being captured by the Soviets, the commander of the Siberian camp – also a Jew – told the rabbi to write a letter to Stalin's brother-in-law, Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich, to prove his innocence and to say that he had been forced into the battalion. The writers of such letters were usually shot in the head, and the rabbi risked it. Four months later, however, a car carrying a high-ranking Soviet officer arrived at the camp and was told that the rabbi had been mistakenly detained and should be released. Greenwald was pushed out from a moving train at the Romanian border, from where he did not stop until Canada."*⁴³⁴ The results of the elaborated archival materials on Hungarian persons of leading position could be the subject of a separate monograph: those, that is, of Jewish origin, who were dragged away into the Soviet Union, who lived as

⁴³⁰ It is also known from the publications to date that Nazi Germany adopted the methods and principles of running concentration and extermination camps from the Soviet Union. It was there that Stalin's 'successes' in institutionalised genocide began to be studied, as early as the early 1930s. This horrific fact, and the collusion of totalitarian ideas (Nazi and socialist), is the subject of the documentary short film, "The Soviet Story," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?....>

⁴³¹ The conditions experienced first-hand in the Siberian camps of the Gulag are faithfully and realistically reflected in Solzhenitsyn's *One Day of Ivan Denisovich*.

⁴³² See: DJUKOV, ALEKSZANDR: *Holokauszt, kollaboráció, megtorlás a Szovjetunió ukrán és balti területein*. Russica Pannonicana, Budapest, 2011.

⁴³³ Jewish History.org portál: <http://www.jewishhistory.org>

⁴³⁴ See: *Zsidók a Gulagban a második világháború után*. In: Múlt-kor történelmi portál, 1912. augusztus 23. http://mult-kor.hu/20120823_zsidok_a_gulagban_a_masodik_vilaghaboru_utan

migrants in Soviet Russia, and were interrogated in different camps, whose fate is unknown⁴³⁵.

We know from survivors that Hungarian Jews who were repatriated from Nazi death camps and Stalin's forced labour camps, and also inmates of Hungarian labour camps, were also viewed with a high level of mistrust, and many of them were put on the NKVD's and later the KGB's watch lists.

According to the narrowed logic of Soviet counter-intelligence, only those who were agents and informers in the service of the Nazis could survive the Nazi death camps. After the NKVD and SZMERS screenings and committee hearings, some of the poor Jews, if Communists or villagers, were released from the concentration camp in Solyva, while those from towns, were wealthy and had a well-furnished family house with garden, were detained.

The owners of some of the Jewish houses targeted by the NKVD, people who had returned from the death camp, were taken to a camp once again. Mainly in Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Huszt and other settlements, Soviet officers, party functionaries, officials and their families were moved into vacant and confiscated Jewish apartments and garden houses, or various administrative offices were opened in them, and their cult buildings, movable and immovable property were nationalised. *"It often happened that those who wanted to get back their family house or apartment were warned and told by the 'new squatters' (the Soviet nomenklatura) to leave unless they wanted to be put again in a camp, this time in a 'warmer' place"*⁴³⁶.

Although they were again registered as a separate nationality, many of them replaced the decimated Hungarian intelligentsia: they published Hungarian-language newspapers, translated books into Hungarian, started publishing in Hungarian, launched a cultural life,

⁴³⁵ See: *Folytatandó kezdeményezés* (An initiative to be continued) in GYÖRGY NANOVF-SZKGY's book *"Nano, egy soknyelvű diplomata kalandjai – öt kontinensen"* (Nano, the adventures of a multilingual diplomat - on five continents). Alternatív Kiadó, Budapest, 2014. The co-author of the book is ISTVÁN NEMERE. Nanovfszky, inter alia, was trying and succeeded in finding the remains of István Bethlen in the Soviet prisons and cemeteries.

⁴³⁶ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. Kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár) 1992, jún., p. 10.

etc., all based on the strictly controlled principles of the communist ideologists. Anyone who made a mistake faced Stalin's prison.

László Sándor in his memoir *I was a citizen of three countries* openly describes how in 1947 in Ungvár he was “summoned” by Captain Sotnikov, the chief staff member of the NKVD (Narodniy Komitet Vnutrennikh Del – the People's Committee for Internal Affairs), who tried to persuade him to help expose the enemies of the Soviet Union in Transcarpathia by monitoring those around him, including Miklos Rotman, journalists Alexander Ginevski and others. As he writes: “*I was shocked. They were all people whose reliability was beyond doubt. The people he enumerated were, by the way, all Jews... So, I refused.*”⁴³⁷

The period between 1945 and 1953 was marked by Stalinist anti-Semitism. Among its “conductors” were party functionaries of Jewish origin, in addition to the Russian, Ukrainian/Rusyn, Hungarian and Georgian ones, but they did not identify themselves as Jews. Therefore, in the interest of protecting the Hungarian Jewry in Transcarpathia, I will not deal with the communist ideologues who once belonged to this ethnic group, although after the change of system many of them converted and became “good Jews.” There are plenty of examples of this among Hungarians, Ruthenians/Ukrainians, etc. On this issue, I profoundly agree with the opinion of Dr. Béla Dénes, a Jewish doctor and published writer, who wrote the following in his book first published in Tel Aviv in 1957 (since then published several times in Hungary): “*To this day, I still maintain that communist Jews have nothing to do with Judaism, even if there happen to be communists in Israel. There were and always will be traitors among all peoples. Quisling is not a Norwegian, but a Nazi henchman. And Kádár is not a Hungarian, but a communist. Imre Nagy's crisis – if what is said about him is true – was caused precisely by the fact that at the decisive moment he put his being a Hungarian before his being a Communist, which is the greatest sin in the eyes of Communists. So, we need not worry about what the Arrow Cross activists around the world will say if I write the truth!*”

⁴³⁷ SÁNDOR LÁSZLÓ: Három ország polgára voltam. Egy évszázadnyi élet emlékei, 1909-1993. Madách-Posonium, 2009, p.106.

The whole world's understanding public knows that Kaganovich and Rákosi are long since non-Jews, not only because Jews always suffered more from this kind than Christian Communists, but mainly because they, in order to compensate for their feelings of inferiority, go beyond everything when it comes to serving the system. The same applies to the members of the ÁVH of Jewish origin.'⁴³⁸

(ÁVH or AVÓ: The State Protection Authority (Hungarian: *Államvédelmi Hatóság*, ÁVH) was the secret police of the People's Republic of Hungary from 1945 to 1956. The ÁVH was conceived as an external appendage of the Soviet Union's KGB in Hungary responsible for supporting the ruling Hungarian Working People's Party and persecuting political criminals. The ÁVH gained a reputation for brutality during a series of purges but was gradually reined in under the government of Imre Nagy, a moderate reformer, after he was appointed Prime Minister of Hungary in 1953. The ÁVH was dissolved by Nagy's revolutionary government during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and succeeded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs III).

Dr. Béla Dénes was able to condemn communism and Nazism in equal measure, which is why his book is highly recommended reading. In the case of Transcarpathia, for example, I would mention László Kroó, who published his writings in our region under the name László Szenes. He did not take a side with the local Jews, although he too was once an inmate of a German concentration camp, in 1944. In his autobiographical novel *Bölcsőm, koporsóm Buchenwald* (My Cradle, My Coffin Buchenwald) he wrote about the world of the concentration camp, viewing it from the "outside," from the perspective of communist resistance. While Imre Kertész's *Sorstalanság* (Fatelessness) focuses on the suffering Jews, Kroó looks at the events through the lens of a left-wing ideologist. This is also emphasised in his memoir *Kárpátok alatt* (Under the Carpathians) in which he describes how he joined the workers' movement as a high

⁴³⁸ DR. DÉNES BÉLA: *Ávós világ Magyarországon: egy cionista orvos emlékiratai*. Kossuth Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1995.

school student in Ungvár, how he became a Communist Party member fighting for the liberation of the working class, and how, turning his back on his Jewish origins even after 1945, felt at home in the big family of the Soviets as a committed supporter of the system, an internationalist and active party member. He continued his life believing in this from 1975 onwards in Budapest, among his comrades.

In contrast to Kroó, the Beregszász journalist and poet **Sándor Ják (Jakubovics)** openly confessed his Jewishness. This can be very well seen in the poem *Vasiliy and Shloyme*, which ends with the line “*Vasiliy will rest in a cemetery, / Shloyme in another, / but their souls no doubt / will meet in heaven.*”⁴³⁹ **Sándor Ják, too, went through the hell of a German concentration camp in 1944. He recorded the days and the gruesome events he experienced in the death camp in his autobiographical novel *Emberek a máglyán* (People on the Pyre) (1959), which shows the calvary of a Hungarian journalist from May 1944 to May 1945, when “*the pyre of men was built by Hitlerism, and madness set fire to it, and dragged millions of innocent European nations yearning for freedom on to it. Jews: non-Jews, all those people whom fascism considered its enemies.*”**

In the early 1940s, Jews who had emigrated to the West to escape the fascist Holocaust, but then returned to the Soviet Union, and eventually to Transcarpathia, from England and other countries after the end of WW II, were surrounded by “general xenophobia.” They were branded as “bourgeois agents,” and many of them were arrested for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” and sentenced in show trials to 10-20 years in prison. From a survivor of Munkács, **Jenő Schwimmer** (Munkács, 1921), we know that “*in 1952, when Stalin was still alive, they started rounding up Jews here. They started with those who knew a lot about the Jewish religion or who were rich. They took Sajovits, the son of the brickmaker, Kalusch, the cyclist, then Meisel a doctor, and Paskusz, who was a Zionist leader. They rounded up four or five people and took them to the prison in Ungvár for interrogation. Everybody thought they would be taken to Siberia. The Russians wanted to make a camp there which would be similar*

⁴³⁹ JÁK SÁNDOR: *Neked írom...* Kiadja „Haladás” nyomda Berehovo, 1937, p.17. (The translation is mine and literal. O.P.).

*to Hitler's. Then Stalin died, so they didn't have time to round up the poorer Jews, the working people. Then there was an order to let everybody out. But they didn't dare tell us anything, they were so afraid of being locked up again.'*⁴⁴⁰

Ernő Mermelstein, father Lajos (Gut, 1923), from Beregszász, on 31 August 1950 was sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Transcarpathian Regional Court for telling a joke⁴⁴¹. The Jutkovics family was also subjected to “*collective punishment*” because their son who served in the army in East Germany defected. The family successfully escaped the fascist death camps, but they could not avoid those of Stalin.

More than a hundred arrested Transcarpathian Jews were victims of similar show trials, among them the official from Ungvár **Bán Mihály**⁴⁴², **father Móric** (Szegevár, 1984), sentenced on 17 June 1948 to 10 years, the wood-reeve **Weiss Jenő**⁴⁴³, **father Sándor** (Zsdenyijevo, 1914), sentenced on 20 May 1949 to 10 years; an official from Ungvár **Bergida Ignác**⁴⁴⁴, **father Morovics** (1899, Nagyberezna), sentenced on 22 December 1952 to 25 years; the soldier **Weiss Bernát**,⁴⁴⁵ **father Sámuel** (Kalnik, 1927), sentenced on 31 January 1951 to 25 years. Some of them were imprisoned in Gulag camps more than once. More researchers have been busy with the elaboration of their life-history.

From the 1950s the leaders of the Kremlin systematically fomented anti-Semitic hysteria in the Soviet Union and as a result arrested and dragged many decent physicians through the mire. The distrust towards the Transcarpathian Jewish intelligentsia also increased. Several indictments of the Soviet secret service included a clause that said that “*more prominent leaders and representatives of the Soviet state were deliberately mis-treated, actually murdered... If Stalin had not died in the meantime, the number of prisoners in*

⁴⁴⁰ Schwimmer Jenő visszaemlékezése: <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/schwimmer-jeno>

⁴⁴¹ Ernő Mermelstein was rehabilitated in 1989. See: RIZO I./491.

⁴⁴² Bán Mihály was rehabilitated in 1991. See: RIZO I./170. p

⁴⁴³ Weiss Jenő was rehabilitated in 1992. See: RIZO I./222. p

⁴⁴⁴ Bergida Ignác was rehabilitated in 1989. See: RIZO I./183. p

⁴⁴⁵ Weiss Bernát was rehabilitated in 1955. See: RIZO I./222

*the Gulag archipelago would have increased by at least two million people, mainly Soviet Jews.”*⁴⁴⁶

Miklós/Mojse Schwarz of Ungvár, a member of the local Jewish community, confirmed our assumption in his reminiscences: *“I remember the fifth of March of 1953, the day of Stalin’s death. It was a great relief for me. I heard from one of my friends that they were planning to relocate the Jews from Transcarpathia to Birobidzhan, Siberia. I was sure that only Stalin’s death could save us from expulsion.”*⁴⁴⁷

Miklós Schwarz/Mojs, who had already been in a Soviet POW camp once between 1943 and 1946, in 1953 was arrested again: *“My task was to sign the consignment notes when the finished products were delivered from the warehouse. The factory was just being inspected by the OBHSZSZ”*⁴⁴⁸. *There was a shortage of products in the warehouse. Then they discovered the bills of lading, which I signed. According to these bills, the goods had not been delivered to the intended recipient at all. Despite the fact that the signature on the bills barely resembled mine, and that I was on duty at the time the bills were issued, I was arrested. Either the investigator wanted to close the case as soon as possible or the real culprits were framed, I don’t know. They wouldn’t even listen to what I had to say in my defence. There was no forensic examination; no one cared that on the day the bills were issued I was outside the borders of Ungvár, in Kharkov [Eastern Ukraine, 1100 kilometres from Ungvár]. The case was handed over to the court and I was sentenced to seven years of corrective labour. I was taken to Drohobich labour camp in Lvov region [120 kilometres from Ungvár]. I was desperate, my life seemed to be over. From the labour camp, I started writing letters of complaint to the Supreme Court, describing what the investigation was like. I didn’t get a reply for a year. Then a lawyer from the Supreme Court came to see me and questioned me in detail about the case. After questioning me, he said he would demand a new investigation*

⁴⁴⁶ DUPKA GYÖRGY – ALEKSZEJ KORSZUN: *A „malenykij robot” dokumentumokban*. p. 220.

⁴⁴⁷ Schwarz Miklós/Mojse. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/schwarz-miklos> (2015-01-16.)

⁴⁴⁸ Abbreviation for a subdivision of the Ministry of the Interior: the Subdivision for Combating Wrongoers to Socialist Property.

*into the case. When I was questioned for the second time, the judge discovered a series of errors and falsifications in the course of the investigation. They caught the real culprits, the chief cashier and the storekeeper. In 1955 I was released for lack of evidence against me. I later learned that the detective who investigated my case had been demoted. I was reinstated to my previous job. But that could not give me back the two years that had been erased from my life. I wanted by all means to leave the Soviet Union, wanted it very much, but that was impossible at that time.*⁴⁴⁹

Another Holocaust survivor, **Jakab Hollander** (Beregkövesd, 1927), a resident of Beregszász, was sentenced to 15 years in prison by a court in Ungvár: *“The investigator in my case constantly humiliated me, abused me, called me a ‘stinking Jew’, that was how he always addressed me. He was furious at my saying nothing, but I decided not to turn anyone in. I should have framed my friend Jakubovics, who had helped me a lot, and several other people who had unwittingly taken part in an alleged fraud. They would have been jailed, but that would not set me free.*⁴⁵⁰

Below, as illustrative evidence, are the names of Jewish personalities who, during the Soviet persecution of the Jews, as a result of the anti-Semitic hysteria, were convicted for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” between 1945 and 1956 and suffered in the GULAG camps, some of them twice in Stalin’s forced labour camps. All of them were rehabilitated between 1956 and 1995 and were included in two volumes of *The Rehabilitated by History*, from which their names are taken⁴⁵¹:

Ban, Mihajlo Moricovics (Szegvár, HU, 1884), resident of Ungvár, non-party, sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Transcarpathian County Court on 17 July 1948, rehabilitated in 1991.

Bergida, Gnat Morovics (Nagyberezna, 1899), resident of Ungvár, public official, non-party member, sentenced to 25 years by

⁴⁴⁹ Schwarz Miklós/Mojse. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/schwarz-miklos> 82015 (2015-01-16.)

⁴⁵⁰ Reminiscences of Jakab Hollander . <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/hollander-jakab>

⁴⁵¹ Реабілітовані історією у двадцяти семи томах. Закарпатська область. Том 1. БАТ Видавництво «Закарпаття». Ужгород, 2003. Реабілітовані історією у двадцяти семи томах. Закарпатська область. Том 2. БАТ Видавництво «Закарпаття». Ужгород, 2004.

the Transcarpathian Regional Court on 22 December 1952, sentence commuted to 10 years by the Supreme Court of the USSR on 27 January 1954, rehabilitated in 1991.

Golcberger, (Golzberger) Adalbert Joszipovics (Lopuhiv, Técső, b. 1919) local resident, woodcutter, non-partisan, sentenced to 10 years by the Special Council of the NKVD on June 16, 1943, re-sentenced to 3 years by the Military Court of the Carpathian Military District on September 9, 1956. He was rehabilitated in 1992.

Gros Jozsif, Szamijlovics (Macsole, Beregszász, b. 1913) resident of Beregszász, translator of the local division of the District Militia, non-partisan, was sentenced to 8 years on July 6, 1946 by the Military Court of the Transcarpathian MVSZ border guard troops, rehabilitated in 1995.

Gutman, Pavlo Ludvigovics (Budapest, 1927), resident of Ungvár, stockman of the «Koopérateur» factory unit, non-party member, sentenced to 20 years by the Special Council of the State Security Ministry of the USSR on 30 December 1950, rehabilitated in 1956.

Judkovich, Maria Rubinyivna (Kostrino, born 1891 in Nagyberezna), resident of Ungvár, housewife, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Council of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR on 19 November 1952, rehabilitated in 1989.

Judkovich, Mor Davidovich (Mircsa, Nagybereznai j. 1887), resident of Ungvár, worker in the District Consumption Cooperative, non-party member, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment by the Special Council of the State Security Ministry of the USSR on 19 November 1952, rehabilitated in 1989.

Lengradi, Euard Hermanovics (Munkács, 1904), resident of Unvár, electrical engineer, non-party, sentenced to 5 years in prison by the Transcarpathian Regional Court on 11-12 November 1946, rehabilitated in 1992.

Mermelstein, Ernest Ludvikovics (Gut, Beregszász d., Ua, 1923), local resident, official, non-party, sentenced to 10 years by the Subcarpathian Regional Court on August 31, 1950, rehabilitated in 1989.

Naida, Leon Boriszovics (Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ua, 1920), resident of Ungvár, neurologist, doctor, non-party, sentenced

to 25 years by the Special Council of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR on September 23, 1950, rehabilitated in 1956.

Sajovics, Albert Jozzifovics (Munkács, 1902), local resident, official, non-party, sentenced to 10 years by the Subcarpathian Regional Court on June 30, 1953, rehabilitated in 1954.

Smajlovics, Jakob Matvijovics (Bilki, Ilosvai j. 1911), local resident, farmer, non-party, sentenced to 5 years by the Special Court of Transcarpathian-Ukraine on May 17, 1945, rehabilitated in 1991.

Spira, Herman Samuilovics (Husz, 1915), resident of Nagyszőlős, Kolhoz member, non-party, sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Military Court of the Border Guard Troops of the Transcarpathian District on 3 August 1950. He was rehabilitated in 1992.

Stainberger, Henrih Ludvigovics (Munkács, 1927), resident of Budapest, conscript of the Soviet Army, non-party member, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by the Military Court of the Military Unit No. 19295 on 12 June 1950, rehabilitated in 1990.

Tisler, Feliks Grigorovics (Herszon, Ua, 1928), conscript, non-party, was sentenced to 25 years on September 29, 1951 by the Military Court of the Subcarpathian MDB Border Guards, rehabilitated in 1956.

Weisz, Bernát Samuelovics (Kálnik, Munk. j. 1927), local resident, non-party, soldier of the military unit No. 77020. On 31 January 1951, he was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment by the court martial of military unit 16155. He was rehabilitated in 1955.

Weisz, Jevgen Aleksandroovics (Zhdenyijevo, Voloveci j. 1914), resident of Solyva, non-party, civil servant at the forestry farm, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by the Transcarpathian Regional Court on 20 May 1949. He was rehabilitated in 1992.

Yudkovics, Oleksandr Morovics (Kostrino, Nagybereznai j. 1926), resident of Ungvár, dental technician, no party member, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment by the Special Council of the State Security Ministry of the USSR on 19 November 1952, rehabilitated in 1989.

Zala, Andrij Joszipovics (Miskolc, 1918), resident of Ungvár, employee of the Transcarpathian Regional Department of Justice, non-party member, sentenced to 10 years by the Transcarpathian Regional Court on 11 November 1948, rehabilitated in 1993.

Generating the desire of Jews to emigrate

Anti-Semitic propaganda and the acceleration of expulsions were characteristic of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras, too. In the ideological-political press publications of the time, one can also detect the sometimes overt, sometimes covert anti-Semitic propaganda, which accelerated the intention of the “*remaining*” Jews in Transcarpathia to resettle. In the opinion of others, the it was just “*the selling out of Soviet Jews to Israel*.”

I think it is difficult to determine how many were returned immediately after the end of World War II. It was mentioned above that various researchers estimate that between 6,500 and 25,000 persons were released from Nazi concentration camps. A few thousand did not return home, but even those who “*sped home*” to take a look at their homeland and did not find their relatives or homes, immediately changed direction and emigrated to Palestine, the USA, Canada and other Western countries.

Experiencing violent Sovietisation, fear-mongering reprisals, ignorance and anti-religiousness in Transcarpathia, thousands more left before the border was closed. Before the new statehood was finalised, a very large number of them went to the Sudetenland or emigrated to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or various Western countries. The People’s Council of Zakarpatska Ukraine, formed in November 1944, wanted to persuade the indigenous Jews to stay, so it allowed the operation of the Joint Committee to help their families. Some of them got back part of their expropriated property; many were given jobs.

In June 1945, a historic turning point occurred, and the borders were hermetically sealed⁴⁵². The chauvinists of the hard-line Soviet administration deprived the Jews of their former privileges and closed down the Joint Committee’s further activities. According to a preliminary survey of the Transcarpathian authorities in 1946, there were 6,998 Jews living in the area, and in August of the same year the deadline for former Czechoslovak citizens to opt out expired, so many Jewish families took advantage of the opportunity to resettle

⁴⁵² On 29 June 1945, the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty was signed, which sealed the fate of Transcarpathia, and the territory was officially annexed to the Soviet Union.

in the neighbouring country. In 1948, the Transcarpathian Religious Office counted 4,000 Jews.⁴⁵³ This means that between 1944 and 1948, about 3,000 Jews left the region permanently.

In 1959, the first official census was also organised in Transcarpathia, and the number of Jews increased to 12,169. The increase of more than 8 thousand is explained in several ways. Firstly, hundreds of Transcarpathian Jews returned home from the Soviet camps, and their fate was particularly tragic. Some of them had escaped to the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941 and were sentenced to 3 to 15 years of hard labour for illegal border crossing and espionage. Many were released only after Stalin's death.

Secondly, in the meantime, more and more Russian and Ukrainian Jews from the eastern provinces settled in. Local religious Jews, who were emotionally attached to Hungarian culture and European civic values, became a minority. There was also a religious divide between the Eastern Slavs and the indigenous Jews.

The intensifying anti-Semitic climate throughout the Soviet Union had the above expected effect: a psychologically harsh desire was generated to expatriate Jews with "*Transcarpathian roots*" and Jews from beyond the Pass. Thus, by 1970 1,313, by 1979, 7,008 and by 1989, 1,209 emigrated. During the 30 years of Soviet rule, many thousands of them gave up their existence here, asking no more of the advanced socialism that humiliated and cruelly eroded the human dignity of all people, among them the Jews.

This is also confirmed by **Ignác Neubauer** (Nagykapos, 1924), a Holocaust survivor from Ungvár: "*The more I lived under Soviet rule, the more I hated it. There was no freedom in the Soviet Union, and we in Transcarpathia, especially under Czechoslovak rule, had got used to freedom. Back then, we could say what we thought, we didn't have to hide, we didn't have to assume that every new acquaintance was a KGB informer. Moreover, we lived in a border zone and could only leave the city with police permission. The permit was granted when the only official seal authorising us to leave was there in our passport. Without this seal it was*

⁴⁵³ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. Kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár) 1992, p. 10.

*not possible to buy a train ticket, and at the station you were not allowed to board any train, regardless of the direction of travel. You also had to have your passport (ID) with you all the time if you left your house.*⁴⁵⁴

According to the regional passport department's data, at least a thousand Jews emigrated from Transcarpathia every year. The inhuman Communist propaganda drove 10,000 Transcarpathian Jews from their homeland, 5,920 of whom settled in Israel, nearly 3,000 in Germany, and the rest applied for and received resettlement permits in neighbouring countries and Western states. During the mass emigration, for example, a former labour camp inmate **István Neumann**, a survivor and a Jewish intellectual from Ungvár, in 1977, after 25 years in his job as a manager, was dismissed from his post. He said that *"my crime was that I had to write character references for people who wanted to leave the country. I couldn't write that they did not work well if they were good workers, and, anyway, the Foreign Office would have allowed them to leave. The authorities did not like the fact either that my brother Francis lived in Australia and that I was corresponding with relatives abroad. A person having a high position could not have relatives in a capitalist country, so I was dismissed. In Moscow they said that the reason of my dismissal was that even without knowing I might tell the imperialists some piece of secret information. Positions like mine could only be had by people of trust, a Russian rather than a Ukrainian or any other."*⁴⁵⁵

After the "regime without freedom" and the "overthrow of communism," there was one last wave of emigration until the change of systems. About two thousand people followed their compatriots, and since then the whole multi-ethnic region became poorer without them.

⁴⁵⁴ Recollections of **Ignác Neubauer**. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/neubauer-ignac>

⁴⁵⁵ BAGU LÁSZLÓ: *Hogy az emberek emberi módon tudjanak élni* (Beszélgetés Neumann István (1923) ungvári munkaszolgálatos túlélővel). in: *Kárpátalja*, 1994. március-április, 2. évf., 3. sz., 11.p.

Table 20
*The Jewish population between 1910 and 2001*⁴⁵⁶

Year	All population	Number of Jews	Rate in %
1910	597,062	63,656 ⁴⁷³	10,66
1921	597,731	80,059	13,39
1930	725,357	91,255	12,58
1941	852,546	78,272	9,18
1946	755,900	6,998	0,93
1959	920,173	12,169	1,32
1970	1,056,799	10,856	1,03
1979	1,155,759	3,848	0,33
1989	1,245,618	2,639	0,21
2001	1,254,614	565	0,05

Forms for safeguarding the interests of the renewed “remnant” Jewry

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, anti-Semitic propaganda “dressed in official uniform” and the national and political repression of the Jews ceased. Ukraine’s more than 100,000 remaining local Jewish residents could freely build, and have built up, their institutional system on their own and with external support to ensure the further development of their native culture. In the newly independent Ukraine, the law prohibits the fomenting of ethnic strife.

In the spirit of regained freedom, just over half a thousand people crossed the millennium’s symbolic threshold. Of the latter, 298 declared themselves Hungarian speakers.

⁴⁵⁶ In the 1910 census, the Jews were lumped together with the Germans.

Table 21
*Number and proportion of Jewish ethnicity in the administrative units of Transcarpathia, 2001.*⁴⁵⁷

Administrative units:	All the population:	Number of Jews:	Rate in %
Transcarpathia	1,254,614	565	0,05
Ungvár	115,568	232	0,2
Munkács	81,637	157	0,2

Over the last twelve years, their number fell to 61.1%. Currently, they are scattered (in renewed religious⁴⁵⁸ and civil communities⁴⁵⁹) throughout the territory, but most of them live in Munkács, Ungvár, Beregszász, Nagyszőlős and Huszt.

According to estimates by Jewish NGOs, there are about 3,000 Jews of Jewish origin, but of Ukrainian, Russian and Hungarian nationality, who participate in their community events, organise language teaching in Sunday schools (in Huszt, Munkács and Ungvár, etc.), etc.⁴⁶⁰ The majority of them moved here from inner Ukraine, with a dual (Russian-Jewish, Ukrainian-Jewish) or triple identity (Hungarian-Russian-Jewish, Hungarian-Ukrainian-Jewish).

Several of the Jewish cultural and educational NGOs officially registered and operating since 1993 have county, district, and city status.⁴⁶¹

The Subcarpathian Jewish Cultural-Enlightenment Association with an Ungvár basis unites mainly the Slavic-speaking Jews. It has 500 members.

⁴⁵⁷ My independently made table based on data of the 2001 census.

⁴⁵⁸ With the help of **Mennem Mendel Taichman**, Chief Rabbi of Ungvár and Transcarpathia, the Jewish community was also consolidated.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1993 the Transcarpathian Regional Jewish Cultural and Educational Association was founded in Ungvár, in 1999 the Hesed Spira Transcarpathian Charity Fund and the Artists for Children Transcarpathian Jewish Charity Fund were established in Ungvár, and in 2001 the Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Jews. In Munkács, the Menorah Municipal Jewish Cultural Association was founded in 1994, and in 2010 the Shalom! Municipal Jewish National-Cultural Association was established in March 2010.

⁴⁶⁰ See more in: DUPKA GYÖRGY-ZUBÁNIC LÁSZLÓ: *A zsidóság múltja és jelene Kárpátalján*. In: Együtt, Ungvár, 2013/3., pp. 48-52.

⁴⁶¹ Відділ у справах національностей Закарпатської ОДА, Центр культур національних меншин. Інформаційний бюлетень № 20., Ужгород, 2010. 58.

Their social and cultural activities are supported by the Jewish Foundation of Ukraine⁴⁶², the Lvov Solom Foundation, the Sinberg Foundation, and the Peace Charitable Foundation. From the moment of its establishment, the organization has maintained close contact with the Jewish population, providing moral support, and organizing cultural and charity programs; but due to lack of funds it does not deal with socio-economic problems. Its main areas of activity are culture, education, the memory of Jews who were innocently murdered during the war years, and charitable service to the less fortunate.

The **“Hesed Spira” Transcarpathian Foundation**, registered in Ungvár, is a key player, implementing a wide range of aid programmes not only for Jews in the town, but also for Jews in need in Transcarpathia. The Foundation has its own headquarters and several institutions and self-employed staff. It is also important for them to preserve and transmit the local value of Jewish traditions. Depending on support, they publish their magazine EXO in Russian⁴⁶³. They have started to collect and professionally process materials for a Museum of Jewish Traditions. A virtual museum of Transcarpathian Jewish history and culture is now also available⁴⁶⁴.

The **Transcarpathian Association of Hungarian Jews** (2001, president: Béla Huber) undertook to represent the interests of the Jews of Ungvár, Munkacs, Beregszász, Huszt and Akanszlatina, who are connected to Hungarian culture. The organization has 130 members. Its youth section has 20 members. Its operation is financed by membership fees and voluntary donations. It propagates Jewish culture, traditions and customs, and promotes their development among Hungarian-speaking Jews. At the same time, the **Shalom Foundation Civil Organization** was founded in Beregszász, whose activ-

⁴⁶² It was founded on 16 July 1997 in Kiev and is represented in 19 counties. First President: **Alexander Feldman**. The Foundation supports 15 Jewish day schools, 70 Sunday schools, 11 kindergartens, etc. In Kiev alone there are 3 high schools, a boarding school, the International Solomon University. Jewish cultural days are organised in several municipalities (Kyiv, Donetsk, Ternopol, Chernivtsi, Uzhhorod) every year. They maintain the information material of the Babi Yar Virtual Museum: <http://babiyyar.com.ua/> See more on the Foundation's portal: <http://www.jew-fund.kiev.ua/>

⁴⁶³ For a while, the Gut Shabes Russian-language newspaper founded by the Subcarpathian Chief Rabbi was also published.

⁴⁶⁴ See the Heszed Spira Virtual Museum: <http://www.jewish.uz.ua>

ists, under the leadership of József Weisz, started the programme to renovate the cemetery and the synagogue, and organize the museum of the Jews of Bereg.

Recently, the renewed Jewish community in the Upper Tisza region is also active. They also have two civil organizations with district status: the Huszt District Department of the Subcarpathian “Menora” Jewish Cultural Association, and the Huszt District Organization of the “Sholom” Jewish Cultural Association, which carries out multifaceted interest-safeguarding work among the Jews living in the diaspora.

The Transcarpathian Jewish NGOs and foundations protect and display the social and cultural interests of the greatly diminished ethnic group: in Ungvár: local representation of Szochnut-Ukraine, local representation of the Magen Avot Charitable Foundation; in Munkács: Menora City Jewish Cultural Association, Shalom! City Jewish National-Cultural Association, etc.

Kiev is still considered the cultural centre of the Ukrainian Jews. The Embassy of Israel in Kiev and its representatives actively support Ukrainian Jews, their religious and cultural activities, contribute to the acquisition of Israeli citizenship (Ukrainian-Israeli dual citizenship), Israeli passports, and it provides assistance to emigrate to Israel. The number of Ukrainian-Israeli dual citizens is also increasing. With Israeli and American support, the remaining Jewish cemeteries, graves, and memorials in the settlements are taken good care of. Several Sunday schools are maintained, where Jewish youth learn the language and culture of their ancestors.

Memory “cannot be killed...”

In 1945-1946, “*the Soviet regime tried to eliminate even the traces of the once vibrant Jewish culture*”⁴⁶⁵ in Subcarpathia. Before WW II 400 Jewish religious communities were registered; they had practically ceased to exist. Between 1945 and 1946 only

⁴⁶⁵ *Kárpátalja 1919-2009*. 193. p

20 renewed their activity thanks to the organizational work of Holocaust survivors. By 1953, 15 parishes had disappeared under the thumb of the Soviet atheist ideologists-in-chief. Unfortunately, among the fighters on the ideological front against all religions were communists of Jewish origin, too⁴⁶⁶, who, under the guise of internationalisation, wanted, *inter alia*, to speed up the assimilation of Jews and their integration into the Soviet people by force, and therefore wanted to eliminate radically the Jewish religion that stood in their way. As a result of their atheist crusade, religious communities in the settlements were banned, their churches and other cultic buildings were confiscated (and a similar situation was also experienced by other historical churches). Jews who opposed their anti-religious policy were, under any pretext, interrogated by the KGB. In Transcarpathia, too, the regional courts sentenced leaders who stood up for their religion and religious community to 10-25 years in a correctional-educational labour camp. In the larger cities (Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Huszt), the Jews, who strongly adhered to their religion and the traditions that had been built on it, offered determined and stiff resistance, and the synagogues and prayer houses could not be nationalised everywhere. Jewish children were educated and taught the Jewish traditions in secret in private houses, the practice of which was by no means without risk.

The Communists' crime was eerily very much like that of the Nazis, because the Soviet power was also interested in the total destruction and expropriation of the Jewish communities. A few examples: the beautiful Grand Synagogue in the centre of Beregszász was converted into a commercial warehouse, and after its reconstruction, completed in 1969, it became a house of culture. A similar fate befell the small synagogue in Zrínyi Street: it was given to a military unit and used to store ammunition. In Ungvár, the large synagogue, a true architectural masterpiece, was converted into a concert hall, and their other buildings (3 synagogues, 5 prayer

⁴⁶⁶ One of the greatest Transcarpathian atheists in Ungvár was Holocaust survivor Adolf Édelman, a professor at the University of Ungvár (after the regime change he settled in Debrecen, becoming a "good Jew"), author of several brochures on atheism, published in Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian by the Kárpáti Kiadó (Carpathian Publishing House) in the 1960s and 1970s.

houses) were also expropriated for various purposes. Before that, the members of the Ungvár community, headed by **Ignác Bergida**, the community secretary, fought a desperate battle with the local authorities for some time to preserve their original function. In 1948, Ignác Bergida, who sent complaints to the Kremlin rulers, was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment on a false charge (anti-Soviet activity) in order to avoid obstructing the nationalisation of the synagogue. After eight years in the camp, he was released on amnesty in 1951, returned home crippled, and died a few weeks later⁴⁶⁷. The contemporary of the convict, **László Ringel** (Ungvár, 1920) remembered Bergida very well: *"There lived in Ungvár a man named Bergida. Perhaps he was a distant relative on my mother's side, I'm not sure. He managed the economic affairs of the big synagogue in Ungvár. Some political charges were brought against him, and he got ten years in the GULAG, under a strict regime. Everyone knew that he was sentenced solely for his religion. After ten years he returned seriously ill and died soon after."*⁴⁶⁸

Ignác Bergida's partner in life was **Miklós Schwarz** (Nagyszőlös, 1918), a resident of Ungvár, who also went through the hell of Stalin's prison camps and was a department-store manager before. He bravely expressed his opinion about the communist dictatorship, too: *"Too much of what the Soviet government did seemed wild and senseless. They preached a tough and merciless fight against religion. The vast majority of the population of Transcarpathia, both Jews and non-Jews, were religious. People were used to religion; it was part and parcel of their daily life. But the Soviet government began to close the churches and arrest church people. All synagogues in Ungvár were closed, except for the central one. It stood on the banks of the Ung [Uzs] river. Later, this synagogue was also closed and made into a concert hall. People were confused. It was forbidden to go to a synagogue or an Orthodox church, or to observe religious holidays. For such "clericalism" one could be fired from his workplace. Only*

⁴⁶⁷ LUSZTIG KÁROLY: *A gyertyák csonkig égnek. Kárpátaljai zsidók tragédiája*. In: *Kárpát-alja* (Miskolc-Ungvár) 1992. júl. 12. sz. p.10.

⁴⁶⁸ **Ringel Miklós** visszaemlékezése: In: C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/ringel-laszlo-0>

*old people went to churches. They had nothing to fear anymore. Nothing like this was in Czechoslovakia or Hungary. The anti-Semitism, which came to Transcarpathia with the advent of Soviet power, was also depressing. There was anti-Semitism, of-course, in fascist Hungary, too, but no one would have thought that it existed in a country that fought against fascism and condemned it.*⁴⁶⁹

I could continue this list endlessly and tell that between 1947 and 1952, religious communities engaged in so-called “bourgeois-nationalist activities” were, for all kinds of ridiculous reasons, categorically banned from continuing their activity. This applied in Ungvár, Munkács, Radvác, Tiszaújlak, Visk, Kőrösmező and other settlements, under the direction of the Kiev religious affairs office (headed by Vilkhoviy) and its Subcarpathian religious affairs department (headed by Rasputko). The ban was with the effective cooperation of the Subcarpathian Committee of the KGB: the rabbis were prevented from doing their work, the synagogues and other institutions were confiscated in the name of the state, and the buildings were used for economic and cultural purposes. But not only were the synagogues desecrated (the religious symbols, the Star of David, disappeared from them), but the church in Tiszabogdány and the prayer houses almost everywhere were demolished, Jewish cemeteries bulldozed and tombstones removed from several cemeteries and taken as raw material to construction sites.

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 70s, the local authorities removed the family tombstones in the Munkács Jewish cemetery – despite all the protests of the Jewish citizens – because they wanted to build a munitions factory on the plot. This was not realized, but for a long time there was only an empty space on the site of the almost 300-year-old cemetery that was liquidated. Thanks to international protests, a new Jewish cemetery was designated in the city limits, where the reburials took place. After the regime change, the local religious community finally got the old Jewish cemetery back and made it a place of memory.

⁴⁶⁹ **Schwarz Miklós** visszaemlékezése. In: C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/schwarz-miklos>

After the regime change, the conditions for practising the Jewish religion continued to improve, and the religious communities here were renewed. Religious life also started in the renovated synagogues and prayer houses (in the Orthodox Jewish communities of Beregszász, Huszt, Munkács, Nagyszőlős, and Ungvár). In 1992, the Makor Reform Jewish Community in Munkács was reorganized, and in 1999 the Neolog Jewish Community in Ungvár also, but both groups ceased to exist because of a lack of believers.

All this was facilitated by the decree signed by President Kravchuk on March 4, 1992, which ordered local authorities to return cultic buildings that “are not used for their original purpose” to religious congregations.

The Jewish Community of Nagyszőlős

We know from the survey of Rita Kész⁴⁷⁰, a resident of Salánk that, thanks to the change of system, a religious community was founded in Nagyszőlős. This was at the initiative of Miklós Rózner, who took the chair, with the participation of 15 Jewish families who moved to the town after the war. The Jewish families who migrated from the East were mostly not religious, lived in mixed marriages, were not interested in Jewish traditions, and few spoke Yiddish. Miklós Rózner deemed his most important task was to strengthen Jewish consciousness. At his request, they came together every Saturday to pray, and in the absence of a rabbi, their prayer leader was the 85-year-old Mihály Mayer, who moved here with his family from Hidegpatak and whose daughter had got a teaching job in the town. The “*praying man*” (who also performed the services and funerals) had also been to Auschwitz and was lucky enough to get home, but his first wife, two children and 85 families of his village perished; only he and his brother-in-law came home to their ransacked house. In 1946, he started a family again, and his second wife was also a Nazi concentration camp survivor. At the request of the Jewish Community of Nagyszőlős, the town council restored

⁴⁷⁰ KÉSZ RITA: *Az I. zóna*. In: *Kárpátaljai Szemle* (Beregszász) 1996. május. IV. évf. 3. sz. 14-15.p.

the synagogue and helped to restore the neglected and looted Jewish cemetery where prominent Jewish figures were buried. We know it from Oberlander Baruch's writing that *"Reb Baruch, the founder of Chabad Hasidism and the ancestor of the Lubavitch dynasty, is buried in the cemetery of Nagyszőlős. Reb Baruch lived here at the end of his life, in a voluntary exile that the great men of Chassidism often took upon themselves to gain forgiveness for their generation. The cemetery fence took two years to build. The townspeople who emigrated here organized a subscription. Reb Baruch's gravestone is original: it has not been damaged by the iron teeth of time for two hundred years. A few years ago, the visiting Hasidim erected a building – an ohel – over the tomb. Here, with the father of the founding rabbi, I prayed for the health of the current rabbi, that he would succeed in his prayers for our salvation and that the tribulations would be over. Twenty years ago, the authorities here decided to demolish the Jewish cemetery, too, in the heart of the town. The graves were close to being disturbed, but the plan died a quiet death and sank to the great sinkhole of the communist empire. There is no doubt that we can thank Reb Báruch for the rescue of the cemetery in Nagyszőlős."*⁴⁷¹

The religious community supported the initiative of the residents of Nagypalád, who on March 31, 1996 inaugurated a memorial column for the 123 Jews who were taken from the village. Currently, Miklós Weiss from Tiszaújlak continues the constructive work of Miklós Rózner, Rozentál Hermann (Hersl) and others, with a *"handful of Jews."* During his previous presidency, the complete renovation of the Nagyszőlős synagogue and its restoration to its original condition was supported by public donations. He set up his office on the second floor of the building, which is also a prayer roo; and several Jewish memorials were established in the city, thanks to donations from Jewish descendants. Most recently – at the initiative of the writer of these lines – he also participated in the inauguration of the memorial column in Tiszabökény; the names of 72 Holocaust victims were engraved on the marble tablet. He also takes care of the built Jewish heritage, the Jewish cemeteries, and regrets that the once imposing synagogue in

⁴⁷¹ OBERLANDER BARUCH: *Kárpátalja elfeledett zsidói között*. Riport. Elektronikus változata: <http://regi.zsido.com/books/elfeledett/2resz.htm>, (2 May, 2015.)

Tiszaújlak was rebuilt beyond recognition in its birthplace, where there is now a service unit. Even he cannot answer the question what the future has in store in this region, whether there will be Jewish residents in Nagyszőlős and the settlements of the former Ugocsa.

An initial milestone was May 26, 1991. On this brilliant Sunday, the public unveiling of the first Holocaust memorial plaque in Nagyszőlős, which perpetuates the terrible tragedy of Transcarpathian Jewry, took place under the direction of the KMKSZ and its Working Committee for the Preservation of History and Tradition (chairman: **Dr. János Váradi-Sternberg**). János Váradi-Sternberg was one of the first to hail this gesture in one of his writings announcing the historic event. He concluded his investigations into the past of the Jewish community in Nagyszőlős with the thoughts of an Israeli journalist who recently visited Transcarpathia: *“Tens of thousands of Jews lived here in the past,”* writes the Hungarian-language journalist. *“All that remains is memory... But you can’t kill it.” To this we add that the memory of the dead obliges us to uncover this heritage, to nurture it, and to pass it on to the next generation.*⁴⁷²

The local papers (*Kárpáti Igaz Szó*, *Ugocsa-Vidéki Hírek*, *Kárpátalja*, etc.) published sizable reports on the series of commemorations held for the first time in 47 years. They wrote about the Jewish compatriots dragged to the death camps. Beforehand, a commemorative meeting took place in the ceremonial hall of the Perényi Castle. **János Váradi-Sternberg**, professor of history at the University of Ungvár, delivered a lecture on the past of the Jewish community in Nagyszőlős, Károly Lusztig journalist and publicist spoke about the antecedents, course and consequences of the Subcarpathian Holocaust; **Móric Klein**, an Israeli citizen, recalled his years as a child and young man in the countryside; dr. **György Weisz**, the president of the Association of Hungarian Jewish Religious Communities, evaluated the significance of the inauguration of the plaque from point of view of the Hungarian Jews; and historian **Tamás Majsai**, a reformed minister, explained the background of the deportations in 1941.

⁴⁷² VÁRADI-STERBERG JÁNOS: *Mementó. A nagyszőlősi zsidóközösség múltjából*. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1991.p.10.

After the memorial meeting, the guests visited the Jewish cemetery in Nagyszőlős. Then the participants inaugurated the memorial plaque, which marks one of the buildings of the former ghetto. The inscription on the board is in three languages: Ukrainian, Hebrew and Hungarian. The text of the latter reads as follows: *“The ghetto was located in this part of the town, from where our Jewish compatriots were dragged to the death camp in the spring of 1944. Erected by the city organization of the KMKSZ in Nagyszőlős.”*⁴⁷³

Inaugurating speeches were delivered by **Sándor Milován**, vice president of the KMKSZ Nagyszőlős district organization, journalist **Károly Lusztig**, **Andrij Palicsko**, president of the district council, representative of the Ukrainian parliament, **Géza Laborczi**, evangelical pastor, representative of the Hungarian Parliament, **Móric**, formerly a native of Nagyszőlős, **Dr. György Weisz**, the president of the Association of Hungariansh Religious Jews Communities, **Kálmán Benda**, the president of the World Association of Hungarian Historians and the History Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

After the ceremonial unveiling of the plaque, the *Muzsikás* band from Budapest played Jewish folk songs, then **József Kuti**, cantor of the Jewish community in Debrecen, Franciscan monk **László Zatykó**, evangelical chaplain **Géza Laborci** and reformed pastor **Pál Oroszi** evangelized.

Perhaps it is worth highlighting some thoughts from the speeches. 1944 was the year of the genocide of the Jews and Hungarians: *“Barely six months passed after the last Holocaust train had rolled out of Nagyszőlős station, before new deportations began. But now not Jews, but Hungarians were dragged away. And barely a year and a half passed, before people of the Jewish religion were persecuted again together with other religions (...) And whoever hates the Jews today, will consider the Ukrainians tomorrow, and the Hungarians the day after tomorrow his enemies. We would like this plaque and wooden headboard to serve as signposts for posterity and the peoples living here. They should point out the historical dead ends, where it is dangerous*

⁴⁷³ The trilingual text on the plaque can also be read on the front page of the *Kárpátalja* (Transcarpathia) weekly, 1991. May. No. 9

for people and peoples to enter. We do not want posterity to know either what the physical or what the spiritual ghetto is like.” (Sándor Milován)

“We had to wait more than four decades for this pious ceremony, but the ice of malice and silence was finally broken. There is no clear path, no future without remembering. Everyone must remember, each in his own language, according to his own faith, but absolutely together, because only together can we and do we win over evil.” (Károly Lusztig)

“A society in which one Man cannot accept another Man’s otherness becomes sick.” (Géza Laborczi)

“Survivors have at least two moral obligations to the dead. One is to preserve their memory, and the other is to prevent happen what happened here and in other European countries for nearly half a century.” (Móric Klein)

“We have to accept the past as it was. But from this we only have to continue and carry forward what is human and what is worthy of all of us.” (Dr. Kálmán Benda)

The event had a strongly negative tone when Andriy Polichko, a Ukrainian, recalled the common past through the lens of communist historiography. The audience received *“the gross generalizations and distortions that characterized certain details of his speech with displeasure. He focused on the period from 1939 to the fall of 1944, and presented it as the years of fascist occupation and total terror, when 170,000 Transcarpathian people were executed or dragged away, when there were mass executions and public hangings in virtually every village. He quoted exact numbers about the evil deeds of the occupiers: according to the data that were found and processed so far – so they are far from being complete: 183,395 people were thrown into prisons and concentration camps, of whom 114,982 were tortured to death bestially. Among those deported, imprisoned and executed, 104,177 were Jews. A special fund was created to help those who returned from concentration camps. This was genuine care for the people... Those who returned home, sick and weakened, actively got involved in building the national economy of our country.”*⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁴ MÓRICZ KÁLMÁN: „Csak együtt van hatalmunk a gonoszság felett.” Emléktábla-avatás Nagyszőlősen. In: *Kárpátalja* (Miskolc-Ungvár), 1991. június. 10. sz. 4. p.

Appendices to the chapter

Reminiscences of Elvira Hudák on the final days of the Nagyszőlős synagogue

Telling this true story was motivated by the fact that I studied in Nagyszőlős in the 8th grade, as the Hungarian school in Fancsika had only 7 grades.

At home, I spent my childhood in the world of arts, I often thumbed through books on ancient and medieval art; there were many books in my grandfather's library and I always heard only good and beautiful things from my family...

That's when I faced reality. In the 9th grade, we had a class in gym, and our teacher gave us a pickaxe, whilst the boys got a forklift. They took us to the synagogue to "practise" as part of the lesson. Because it was at this time that they decided to build gymnasiums for all the secondary schools in the city. We arrived at the synagogue building in Nagyszőlős, which is about five minutes' walk from our school. Our teacher opened the large, heavy door and we entered the building. We saw beautiful mosaic windows and a mosaic floor. The windows were even more beautiful in the light of the bright sun: I stood in the company of palm trees, lilies, and so many colourful flowers and saw what beautiful things people could once create. I, who grew up surrounded by art books, couldn't take my eyes off these works. Standing in the middle of the room in the company of palm trees and flowers, I felt very small. Then the command was given: "Take the pickaxes and break the floor!" I could not imagine what wrong these flowers, trees and plants did to us that we have to break them. How can people be so barbaric as to demolish such beauty! But we did it, because otherwise we would have got bad marks. When I hit the flowers on the floor with the pickaxe, I had the feeling that they cry: "What did I do to you? Why do you hurt me?" But I had no choice, I had to do what all the others did. When there were heaps of debris ready, the boys came with shovels and forklifts, loaded the litter on carts and took it to the yard for waste collection. The beautiful floor and the windows, which we spent a few weeks picking at, be-

came a pile of rubbish. How much time had been wasted, making the drawings, then painting the pictures, choosing the colours, putting together the mosaics... and finally the rubbish dump...The cemetery had a similar fate. We were sent there for shooting practice during gym classes, because then we had classes in “military training” (Военное дело) twice a week.

More of us travelled from our village to high school by train and bus. Everyone tried to go to school well-dressed. But during the hours mentioned above, with rifle in hand, you had to slide on your belly between tall grass and huge marble monuments. Then the command was given: “Rifles up, fire!” When we went for shooting practice, I noticed that there were many large white and black marble tombstones on the ground. They were knocked down, and the graves were ransacked. Perhaps some canny people were looking for treasures, as there were many legends about “Jewish treasures” in the air. There were indeed some sly, heartless people who even robbed the dead. When evening fell, they came to the cemetery with carts, loaded the marble tombstones, took them to a polishing workshop and sold them for good money to gullible Christians.

But a similar thing happened in the Roman Catholic church in Nagyszőlös, too: there the organ case was smashed and the organ pipes made of aluminium were sold as TV antennas. Even though you knew that the church organ was built according to size, and the size of the pipes was different, but what does that matter to money-hungry people! What barbarism! What vandalism! What insensitivity! To destroy the culture built up over centuries. To nullify what human minds and hands created over centuries. Sell everything you can. Don't make money if it wrongs other people.

It struck me that there were no human figures on the walls or the windows.

P.S. I went to Hungary many years later. Each time I visited a synagogue - the first was the one in Dohány utca (Budapest). Later there were the synagogues in Szeged, Kecskemét and Miskolc. I couldn't help but wonder why there are no human figures on the windows there either, and I couldn't resist asking the supervisor: “Why

are there no depictions of people in the windows of the synagogues?”
The answer was simple: “We also have our Gods, but since no one
has seen them, we have no right to make a false image of them.”

Elvira Hudák,
Nagyszőlős, 08.04.2015

The Jewish Religious Congregation of Beregszász

In Beregszász and its surroundings, which was considered the centre of Hungarian Jewry, “*Jewish life was still flickering,*” since the Jews who had returned from the concentration camps and stayed there had reorganized the religious community, and on the 14th of February, 1945, it was officially registered by the competent county authority under No. 102.⁴⁷⁵ According to another document, the community was re-registered in Ungvár on the 20th of July, 1947, under No. 102 with a list of 8 leadership-members⁴⁷⁶.

The first founders of the Jewish religious community (congregation) were:

Adler Bureh Sámuel (1903) soda-water seller, member of the checkout committee of the religious community,

Adler Heiskel Kahan (1911) rabbi, a member of the leadership of the congregation,

Braun Ludvik Adalbert (1912) merchant,

Fuchs Dezső Adolf (1901) stockman, member of the leadership of the congregation,

Friedmann József Dezső (1910) soda-water seller,

Helbman Adalbert J. (1925) sales manager,

Hollander Adalbert Herman (1911) stockman,

Hollender Lajos József (1910) sales manager,

Ickovics Ludvik Ignat (1912), communal feeding worker,

Jakobovics Alex Jakab (1922), carter,

⁴⁷⁵ See document No. 8, copy in the MZSKE archives, certifying the registration of the congregation.

⁴⁷⁶ See document No 8, copy in the MZSKE archives, certifying the registration of the congregation.

Junger Filep Lázár (1912) joiner,
Kerber Dávid Izsák (1912) small shop-keeper,
Lebovics Marton N. (1920) sales manager, member of the check-out committee of the religious community,
Markovics Jakab Izidor (1914) sales manager,
Moskovics Ignát M. (1909) shoemaker,
Salamon József Mór (1910), manager of a mill,
Senfeld Emil Herman (1902) shopkeeper, member of the leadership of the congregation,
Swarcz Aleks Jakab (1898) mechanic, member of the leadership of the congregation, **Steinberg Ábrahám L.** (1899) soda-water seller,
Szabó Lajos Herman (1909) inspector, member of the checkout committee of the religious community,
Telbman Mózes Dávid (1904) shopkeeper, member of the check-out committee of the religious community,
Todri Ludvik Herman (1912) worker,
 On behalf of the congregation the list was signed by secretary **Nándor Weiss.**⁴⁷⁷
Weiss, Nándor Jenő (1923), bar-keeper, part of the five-member leadership of the congregation.

The big synagogue was re-registered on the 20th of July, 1947⁴⁷⁸. The assets and furnishings of the cultic institution were listed; 6,458 copies of the forms required for the church ceremony were registered⁴⁷⁹. According to **Adler Heiskel's** information sent to the county executive committee, as of May 18, 1950, on holidays and New Year, 400-450 Jews pray in the 20m long, 15m-wide synagogue, which was built in 1883. The width of the women's gallery is 15m, its length is 10m. The rabbi of the religious community between 1945 and 1951 was **Adler Heiskel Kahan** (Técső District, Ternovo, 1911). In 1917-1929, he studied in seminaries at the Jewish schools in Taracköz, Bártfa, and Rahó, and in 1931-1938 he was tutored by

⁴⁷⁷ See: nos. 5, 6 of the founders of the religious community. list, copy in the MZSKE archives.

⁴⁷⁸ See: record sheet No 1 of the functioning synagogue, copy in the MZSKE archives.

⁴⁷⁹ See: Nos. 15, 17, about the equipment of the working synagogue and its household items. list, copy in the MZSKE archives.

different rabbis. In 1941-1945, he was an inmate of a labour camp, then settled in Beregszász and joined the religious community⁴⁸⁰. He notes that he is not actually a trained rabbi, but rather a shahter (cutter), in which capacity he performs ritual butchering of animals⁴⁸¹. On April 30, 1951, Ljain Agafonov, the head of the Subcarpathian Regional Religious Affairs Department, revoked Rabbi **Adler**'s permit, and he was no longer allowed to perform "cult services" in the synagogue of the religious community⁴⁸². On July 13, 1951, Swarcz, the president of the religious community, informed the regional religious affairs department that on July 1, 1951, a new rabbi was elected in the person of **Zsigmond Martin Markovics**⁴⁸³, born in Beregszász. Based on this, on July 15 of the current year, M. Rasputyko issued the operating licence to the new rabbi⁴⁸⁴.

In relation to the nationalization of the Great Synagogue in Beregszász, the MZSKE has acquired nearly 13 archival documents so far. Authentic copies reveal how fiercely the religious community fought to keep the great synagogue, however, the will of the apparatus of the Subcarpathian religious affairs office, namely of the head of department **M. Rasputyko**, prevailed. By the way, at this time, the historical churches were also caught in the "*atheist press*" of arbitrary party politics. The ideologues of the communist dictatorship announced in Transcarpathia, too, the insidious program of anti-religious education aimed at the formation of "*the new Soviet type of man*," in which communists of Jewish, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Ruthenian nationalities (**Miklós Rotman**, **László Balla**, **Aladár Szikszai**, etc.) were ready to take an active part⁴⁸⁵.

⁴⁸⁰ See Rabbi Adler's personal form, no. 13. copy of document in the archives of the MZSKE.

⁴⁸¹ See: Adler sahter's information sent to the county department of religious affairs, no. 19 copy of document in the archives of the MZSKE

⁴⁸² See: No. 86/12 confirming the revocation of the official license issued in the name of Rabbi Adler. Copy in the archive of the MZSKE.

⁴⁸³ See: President Swarcz's information letter, 104/21. s. copy of document in the archives of the MZSKE.

⁴⁸⁴ See: Certificate issued by **Rasputyko**, no. 102. copy of document in the archives of the MZSKE

⁴⁸⁵ See: ROTMAN MIKLÓS: Új ember születik. Kárpátontúli Területi Köny- és Lapkiadó, Uzshorod, 1961., BALLA LÁSZLÓ: *A tanulók vallásellenes nevelése a magyar irodalom óráin. Segédkönyv az Ukrán SZSZK magyar tan nyelvű iskoláinak pedagógusai számára.* Vidavnicтва „Ragyanszka Skola” Kijiv-1964-Uzsgorod., SZIKSZAI ALADÁR: *A reverenda mögött...* Kárpáti Könyvkiadó, Uzshorod, 1976.

Rasputyko pointed at the ideological importance of the expropriation of the Great Synagogue in Beregszász in several memos to his superiors (leaders of the Subcarpathian regional and Beregszász regional executive committees) as well as in his final report of February 24, 1958⁴⁸⁶. In his opinion, the local religious community did not need such a large building, because the number of Jewish believers in Beregszász had decreased from nearly half a thousand registered in 1945 to 130-150. According to the authorities' local observation, only 50-20 people went to pray in the synagogue that accommodates nearly 400-500 people, so the essence of his proposal was that the great synagogue should be taken from the Moses believers and a smaller church should be offered to the religious community. The large synagogue could be transformed into a cultural centre; it was planned to erect a statue of Lenin on the square in front of it, which could accommodate a thousand people, so that it would be expedient to transform it into place for official state celebrations.

Swarcz, the president of the religious community, categorically rejected the proposals of the representatives of the local authority as to any change concerning the building in his application to Skoljarenko, the chairman of the executive committee of the district of Beregszász, dated February 26, 1953. The religious community still claimed the large synagogue (at that time 11 Lenin Street); the "*broken down*" building on offer (at that time 11 Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street) was not considered suitable. As a result of the administrative struggle for the great synagogue, the leaders and members of the religious community were put under enormous pressure by the authorities, and in the end they "*gave in*" and resigned from the great synagogue, as the request sent to the Subcarpathian religious affairs department shows. Several decisions of the Beregszász district executive committee dealt with the affairs of the Beregszász synagogues⁴⁸⁷. Decision No. 315 of April 20,

⁴⁸⁶ See Rasputykó's final report of February 24, 1958, a copy of the document in the MZSKE archive.

⁴⁸⁷ See the copy of the decision N315. signed by EC president **Holubka** and EC secretary **Milan** in the MZSKE archive.

1953, then the next, No. 27 of January 30, 1958, suggested that the city council take over the building of the great synagogue from the religious community and that they be given the place at 11 October Revolution Street instead, which was also a synagogue, just much smaller, for cultic purposes. With the decision⁴⁸⁸ No. 71 of May 12, 1953, then No. 7 of January 17, 1958, the city council expropriated the houses of worship, including this wonderful, 300-square-metre facility, for good, ordered it to be rebuilt in a socialist style and made to function as a “centre of culture.”

After the change of system, the “*silence of oblivion*” in Beregszász and Bereg region was broken by **Árpád Dalmay**, the president of the district organization of the KMKSZ, who sought “*to muster the Jewish past*” there and to inaugurate a memorial plaque with inscriptions in Hebrew, Hungarian, and Ukrainian. It says: “*In memory of the Jewish victims from Beregszász and Bereg County / dragged away in 1944 and martyred in the gas chambers of the fascists ./*” The memorial event, which was also widely covered by the correspondents of local newspapers (*Kárpáti Igaz Szó, Kárpátaljai Szemle* etc.), took place on May 12, 1994, when the residents of Beregszász, the still-populous group of Holocaust survivors, gathered to recall the past in front of the district cultural centre (in Széchenyi utca), the former large and beautiful synagogue, expropriated and disfigured by the communists. The people remembered their lost comrades and relatives, *those who were sentenced “to die on a pyre.” It was a dignified inclination of the head to the memory of those who were “esteemed citizens of the city, Hungarian in their culture.”*⁴⁸⁹ As eyewitnesses: **Gyula Richter, Ignác Mittelman** and **Rozália Balázsiné Lengyel** spoke about the 8-10 thousand innocent people who were deported from the city and district in the spring of 1944, escorted by German commandos and Hungarian gendarmes, only a few of whom returned home. The event was attended by **Izabella Lucker**, the representative of the

⁴⁸⁸ See: No. 71 signed by Kopin, the President of the City Council, and Secretary Hvorostjanij. a copy of the decision, in the archives of the Ministry of Education and Culture

⁴⁸⁹ See: K.g.: *A múlt számbavétele. Emléktábla-avatás Beregszászban.* In: *Kárpátalja*, 1994. június. 2. évf. 5. sz. 4.p.

Cultural-Enlightenment Association of Subcarpathian Jews, and **István Pataki**, the mayor of Beregszász.

The Shalom Foundation⁴⁹⁰, founded and legally registered in Beregszász on July 1, 2000 (Chairman: **József Weisz/Joseph Vays**, USA, general manager: **Erika Togyireska**, Beregszász, also a dedicated researcher of the past of Beregszász Jewry) included into its Beregszász project the maintenance of the cemetery⁴⁹¹, the restoration of the (small) Orthodox synagogue⁴⁹², the creation of a museum of the Subcarpathian Jewry, including the Jews of Beregszász. *“Today, only a small Jewish community lives in Beregszász, but there is a revival by the younger Jews traveling to Subcarpathia and Beregszász and possibly moving to it. The small synagogue is still functioning today, and is maintained by donations. Even if the synagogue does not have a rabbi, weekly Sabbath services and the kiddish that follow are held. The president of the Beregszász Jewish Community is Ernő Goldberger”*⁴⁹³; these words can be read on the website of the Shalom Foundation. The Holocaust memorial is to be found in the courtyard of the synagogue.

It is considered a significant event, and progress, that the Shalom Foundation Civil Organization, on April 28, 2015, with the cooperation of the Lehoczky Tivadar Institute of the Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Ferenc Rákóczi II, organized a scientific conference to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the liberation from Auschwitz. Then the Museum and the Visitors’ Centre in the Zrínyi utca synagogue in Beregszász was opened by the chairman of the foundation, József Weis. In his opening speech,

⁴⁹⁰ Partners of the Shalom Foundation (Alapítvány): JewishGen Kehilalinks: <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/Berehove/>, Jewish Gen Sub-Carpathia SIG: <http://www.jewishgen.org/subcarpathia/>, (2015. május 2.)

⁴⁹¹ In 2012, **Marshall Katz** (USA) photographed the gravestones in Beregszász one by one (about 5,000 gravestones). In 2015, photos of all the tombstones of the Jewish cemetery in Beregszász were completed, and their inscriptions were also processed, and all of this can be viewed on the Berehove KehilaLink web page. If you visit that website, click on the “Tombstones” tab at the top of the page. Click [HERE](#). - Available on the website of the Shalom Foundation, <http://www.shalom.org.ua/H-index.html> (May 2, 2015)

⁴⁹² The final completion of the synagogue’s restoration work is spring 2015. See: <http://www.shalom.org.ua/H-synagogue.html>

⁴⁹³ The website of the Shalom Foundation: <http://www.shalom.org.ua/H-today.html>, (2015. május 2.)

Consul General József Bacskai of Ungvár emphasized that the *“reconstructed synagogue and the visitors’ centre symbolize the future of the Jewish community in Transcarpathia.”*⁴⁹⁴

Olga Altman of Beregszász origin, a well-known and popular female figure of the top ten thousand in Paris, who was a great patron of artistic life and a major entrepreneur in the ‘40s and ‘50s, can justly be said to be one of the most renowned personalities of the world with roots in Beregszász who came from a Jewish circle there. I have collected the names of much more famous personalities whom Transcarpathia had given to the world. We find among them, for instance, **Grün**, the Neologist chief rabbi in London, whose ancestors came from Beregszász. **Dr. Ernő Hartman** was an excellent podiatrist. He was the one who in the 1950s vaccinated children with Sabin drops obtained from his American acquaintances and thus prevented the epidemic of polio in the city. In 2000, the city council recognized his work with the Pro Urbe award. **Milton Friedman** (1912-2006), Nobel Prize-winning economist (his father was Jenő Saul Friedman and his mother was Eszter Sára Landau) who emigrated from Beregszász to the New World at the end of the 19th century. A plaque in honour of the Nobel laureate was inaugurated on the college wall at a Holocaust conference organized in 2004 in Beregszász. *“Sándor Weisz, who emigrated from Beregszász to America in 1988, said that Milton Friedman, despite the fact that he had never been in Beregszász, both his father and mother were from this town, and he frequently called himself a man from Beregszász.”*⁴⁹⁵

* **Rabbi Hugo GRYN** (1930 - 1996), became known as a broadcaster in the UK.

* **Julius REBEK** (1944 -), American chemist who was an expert on molecular self-assembly.

* **Aranka SIEGEL** (1930 -), a Holocaust survivor and writer, her published works were awarded the Newbery Honor (1982) and the Boston Globe-Horn Book Award-prize (1982).

⁴⁹⁴ PALLAY KATALIN: *Kárpátaljai holokauszt. Az auschwitzi táborból való szabadulás emlékére.* In: Kárpátalja.ma: <http://www.karpatalja.ma/karpatalja/kultura/karpataljai-holokauszt-az-auschwitzi-taborbol-valo-szabadulas-emlekere/>

⁴⁹⁵ See in: DÓZSA: „1944 az elhurcolások éve” *Kárpátaljai holokauszt.* In: Kárpátalja, 2014. június 5.

* **Dr. Bertalan KUBAT**, MD (formerly Berl KLEIN, 1917-2003) Holocaust survivor, Czechoslovak surgeon.

Miroslav KUBAT, JD (formerly Manhart Klein, 1910-2001) was a well-known lawyer in the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938) and a military officer in the Czechoslovak army from 1942-1945. After the war he emigrated to the United States.

***Piroska REICHART** (1884 - 1943) poet. She wrote poems, novels, and essays, most of them published in the Nyugat. Committed suicide in 1943.

***Sándor JÁK** (Jakubovits) writer (TV dramaturge), wrote a novel about the Holocaust that he survived.

***Judy CASAAB** (formerly Judit Kaszab, born in Vienna, 1920 -) is a well-known painter, who began her career in Beregszász and moved to Australia after the war. She is the only woman to have won the Archibald Prize twice, and twice the Stan Rapotec- (1960) and Margo Lewers-prize, too (1967). She had over fifty solo art exhibitions in Australia, and also in Paris and London.

***Géza KALOCSAY** (1913 - 2008) renowned footballer, was the member of the Hungarian national and the Czechoslovakian eleven, played for the Standard Liege and Górnik Zabrze and other world-renowned teams.

***Sir ALEX Sándor Alexander** (formerly Korda KESZTENBAUM, 1916-1994) in the United Kingdom, industrialist, financier, and patron of the arts.

***Nándor “Cunci” WEISS** was born here, and after the Holocaust returned to Beregszász and was president of the Jewish Community.

***Michael IOSIPOVICS** was a member of the national handball team in Ukraine and later of the national handball team in Israel.

Dr. Amalia BRAUN was the first woman doctor in Beregszász. She also attended the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland.

Gábor FUCHS, a renowned pianist and educator in the United States and Europe.

Sándor ZICHERMAN (1935-2021) painter, sculptor, graphic artist, medal-caster. Born in Ungvár, lives and works in Beregszász and Budapest.

The Jewish Religious Community in Munkács

In Munkács, too, hundreds of Jews who returned rebuilt the community between 1944 and 1952. After the great synagogue was renovated, the local authorities took a fancy to it, initiated its closure, fabricated imaginary accusations, and laid anti-Soviet activity to the charge of the leaders of the congregation.

Tibor Hochman Holocaust survivor (Munkács, 1928) confirms that *“the Soviet government launched a campaign against religion in Transcarpathia. They started closing the churches and had no regard for religion or denomination. Believers were viewed almost as criminals.”*⁴⁹⁶

The thoroughly prepared campaign of slander against the Munkács religious community is linked first of all to the name of Rasputyko, the head of the county office of religious affairs, who in his report of January 25, 1950 informed his all-union and national superiors (Polyansky, the head of the national office of religious affairs, Vikhovy, the head of the republican office of religious affairs, the Subcarpathian Committee of the KGB) about the following: *“... In Munkács it is said that there is a deviation in the direction of bourgeois-nationalist activity... Criminal proceedings were initiated against Kóhan, the president of the religious community. The religious community refused to elect a new religious leader and so the rabbi’s duties are still performed by the bourgeois nationalists...”*

The Jews hid Rabbi Kohán for a long time and did not give him up. I found more information about this in the memoirs of the survivor **Jenő Schimmer** (Munkács, 1921): *“After the war, there was a rabbi in Munkács, Rabbi Kahán, he was the rabbi of the whole of Transcarpathia. They couldn’t catch Rabbi Kahán; he was hiding here and there, they searched in vain, but they couldn’t find him. Then he went to a collective farm where rags were collected [Kolhoz – kollektivnoje hozjajszto, ‘common farm’ – was an agricultural production cooperative operating on state-owned land in the Soviet Union, between 1929 and 1990/91. – ed.]. He went to houses, work-*

⁴⁹⁶ See: **Hochman Tibor** visszaemlékezése. C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/hochman-tibor>, (2015. május 2.)

*shops and factories for rags. That's how he got a job and was left alone. But he did not live on this, but on what the Jews gave him. The packages started to arrive slowly, and they gave them to him."*⁴⁹⁷

One year later, on December 25, 1952, the executive committee of the regional council decided to cancel the registration of the religious community and close the synagogue. But Stalin died and the political pressure decreased; the religious community was not closed, but the synagogue was commandeered and converted into a concert hall, and later a department store was opened there. The Jews were given two smaller rooms instead of the synagogue in a residential building where they could perform their daily prayers. They got the biggest slap in the face when the Jewish cemetery was also expropriated for state purposes. Due to religious practice and restrictions on freedom of speech, more and more people left Munkács for ever. **Sarolta Velkei** (Munkács, 1920) remembers these years in this way: *"Five or six years ago, I still went to church on holidays. But there is no Jewish church in Munkács, only small churches, where they pray. The old Jewish temple is gone; today there is a department store in its place. I don't go there, it's so strange to me. They turned a church into a department store, I was there, but I don't like being there."*⁴⁹⁸

At the turn of the millennium, the activists of the religious community counted about 600 Jews. The town had about a hundred Hungarian Jews with deep roots, but the rest were Russian and Ukrainian-speaking Jews who had immigrated from the east and grew up in a state of irreligiousness during the years of Soviet power. However, the rebuilding of the community started successfully, more and more people learnt Yiddish and studied the local Jewish religious traditions with interest. The Subcarpathian-Israel Friendship Society, founded in Munkács, worked hard to deepen relations with Israel. Its president became **dr. Jenő Weinréb (Jakov Hirs)**, who worked as a respected dentist before his retirement. The religious community's ritual Jewish bath

⁴⁹⁷ **Schwimmer Jenő** visszaemlékezése: <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/schwimmer-jeno>

⁴⁹⁸ **Velkei Sarolta** visszaemlékezése: Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/velkei-sarolta>

in **Áharon Sifrisz**'s yard is in good condition. Their working synagogue is located on Chaikovsky Street, where they often gather to pray on Saturdays. In the meantime, other cult buildings were also returned, which are in the process of being renovated. On behalf of the 40th anniversary of the deportation, the placing of a Holocaust memorial plaque in Ukrainian and Hebrew on the wall of the former central synagogue was also officially approved and supported. Since then, several new memorials have been opened.

The religious Jewish community in Huszt

The number of Hungarian Jews in Huszt is negligible. The Orthodox Jewish community reclaimed the synagogue and turned it into the centre of their religious life. In 1947, the founders of the community, the list of the members of the “Council of Twenty” required by the Religious Affairs Office is the following:

Abramovics Herman (Uglja, 1915) resident of Huszt, worker
Áronovics Mózes Májer (Horincsovo, 1914), resident of Huszt, carter,

Berkovics Aizik Benjamin (Szinevir, 1909) resident of Huszt, worker,

Berkovics Icik Jankel (Rokoszovo, 1899) resident of Huszt, member of a Kolkhoz,

Berkovics Haim Izrael (Nankovo, 1904) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Davidovics Mihail Salamon (Rakaszovo, 1920) resident of Huszt, tailor,

Engel Ábrahám Aizik (Romin, Ro.1877) resident of Huszt, hatter

Fridman Mózes Ábrahám (Ternya, 1894) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Herskovics Samel Lejb (Koselovo, 1906) resident of Huszt, tradesman,

Hoffman Marton Josif (Horincsovo, 1907) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Hoffman Wolf Mendel (Alekszandrivka, 1905) resident of Huszt, shoemaker,

Lebovics Áron Herskovics (Nyizsnyi Szeliscse, 1905) resident of Huszt, shoemaker,

Lebovics Perko Haim (Nyizsnij Bisztra, 1921) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Lévi Leopold Dijud. (Huszt, 1908) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Moskovics Haim Lejb (Szokirnica, 1908) worker

Rutner Ire Aizik (Dulovo, 1912) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper⁴⁹⁹

Salamon Ábrahám Dávid (Szokirnica, 1911) resident of Huszt, stockman,

Salamon Mosko Rafael (Drahovo, 1898) resident of Huszt, shopkeeper,

Smilovics Aizik Farkas (Horoncsovo, 1925) resident of Huszt, member of a Kolkhoz,

Smilovics Izrail Zaid (Ternovo, 1913), resident of Huszt, worker

From **Mózes Katz's** memoirs we know that *“the synagogue in Huszt was the only one in Transcarpathia that was functioning even in these years and was not closed or destroyed because the Jews of Huszt campaigned for it. The synagogue was next to a shoe factory. The local magnates decided to hand it over to the factory, bring down the fence around the synagogue, and make the shoe factory's clubhouse there. But the women, old women, defended the synagogue for a whole day with hoes and axes to defend it, and they prevented the synagogue being taken from them. If it had been protected by men, not old women, they would all have been arrested and sent to prison or to Siberia, but you can't lay hands on old women. Thus, this synagogue was miraculously saved, and was still in operation under Soviet rule and is still in operation today.”*⁵⁰⁰

At the entrance to the synagogue, a memorial to the 4,000 Holocaust victims from Huszt and the surrounding area was erected,

⁴⁹⁹ Source: the bundle of documents N 44. was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵⁰⁰ **Katz Mózes** és családja. In: C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/photo/katz-mozes-es-csaladja-0>, (2015-05-02.)

consisting of four separate marble plaques in Hebrew. On the 4th of April, 2012, in the Wallenberg Year, the Hungarian Consulate in Beregszász (organised a commemorative conference and an exhibition of documents in honour of the Swedish diplomat who saved the lives of so many Jews⁵⁰¹). The opening speech was delivered by Consul General István Tóth.

The Jewish Community of Ungvár

The Orthodox Jewish congregation in Ungvár was officially registered on the 17th of January, 1945, on the initiative of **Ignác Bergida**, **Ferenc Gottlib** and others. The former was elected secretary, the latter president.

Members:

Ailer Sándor Josif (Holmci, 1906),

Akkerman Ignát Salamon (Almizs, 1907) Sovkhoz worker,

Blaustein József Herman (Tiszaújlak, 1897) invalid,

Akkerman Dávid Filip (Makarjovo, 1909) worker,

Davidovics Mór Filip (Radvác), printer,

Erlík Pinkasz Ignát (Kibljari, 1915) worker,

Fiksler Heidaila József (Holjatin, 1905) commercial worker,

Grünfeld Sándor Áron (Holmci, 1906),

Hart Ábrahám Herman (Podgorjana, 1894) worker,

Izrael Vilmos Herman (Ungvár, 1892) industrial buyer,

Judkovics Mór Dávid (Mircse, 1889) worker,

Krazler Cudik Dávid (Ljuta, 1894) invalid,

Katz József Ábrahám (Nova Sztuzsica, 1896) worker,

Klein Emánuel Májer (Szürte, 1906) member of a Kolkhoz,

Klein Eugen Sándor (Munkács 1911) worker,

Lebovics Bernát Ábrahám (V. Gajdics, 1911) worker,

Liberman Bernát Izrael (Dubove, 1908) invalid,

Markovics Zelman Benő (Dravci, 1916) staff member of the deaf and mute institute,

⁵⁰¹ KOVÁCS ELEMÉR. *Emlékkonferencia a huszti zsinagógában*. In: *KárpátInfo*, 2012. április 5. <http://www.karpatinfo.net/hetilap/emlekkonferencia-huszti-zsinagogaban>

Lebovics József Ferenc (Nagydobrony, 1906) worker,
Lefnovics Emil József (Mihajlovci) Sovkhoz worker,
Smulovics Henrik Májer (Baranyinci, 1918) worker,
Swarcz Márkus Mendel (Kisgejőc, 1898) worker,
Wasserbah Leinzid Mark (Sykole, 1892) Pensioner,
Weiss Mihály Izrael (Gajdos, 1900) worker,
(The list compiler: **Swarcz**, president of the religious community ⁵⁰².)

In another document, on 28 May 1947, Secretary Bergida informs the county's religious affairs office that the only "*Autonomous Congregation (Community)*" in Ungvár was already recognized by the Hungarian authorities in 1870. Prior to this, in 1869, a debate had taken place in the religious communities in order to reform the religious statutes, and the final arbiter of the split group was Emperor Franz Josef, who proclaimed that henceforth two types of community should be recognised: 1) the Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Community, 2) the Neologist Jewish Community. The following describes how the two communities differ from each other.

On May 11, 1948, President Gotlib and Secretary Bergida addressed a petition to **Ivan Ivanovich Turyanitsa**, President of the Regional Executive Committee, in order to keep the large synagogue (building at 10, Khrushchev Square, now Színház tér), telling him that they, by their own efforts, carried out all the major repairs to the church, which was completely laid bare before 1945.⁵⁰³ A similar letter was sent to **Rasputyko**, the head of the regional religious affairs department.⁵⁰⁴

On May 14, 1948, President Gottlib and Secretary Bergida addressed another Petition to the various authorities (Subcarpathian Regional Executive Committee, Ungvár City Council, etc.) about keeping the great synagogue, which had been declared a monument. The desperate-sounding petition, which refers to

⁵⁰² Source: the bundle of documents 10-11 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵⁰³ Source: the bundle of documents N 2047 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

⁵⁰⁴ Source: the bundle of documents without number was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

the Stalinist constitution and other binding provisions and press releases⁵⁰⁵, was signed by 350 religious community members⁵⁰⁶. According to the minutes taken on July 14, 1948 (attested by president **Gottlib**, board member Ábrahám Landau, and secretary **Bergida**), the 500 members of the congregation (300 of them men, 200 women) the nominee **Sándor Elias Mermelstein** (Kalnik, 1893) was unanimously elected rabbi at their meeting on that day⁵⁰⁷. According to the questionnaire filled out by his own hand on July 15, 1948, the rabbi, having a “good-voice,” continued his studies in religious knowledge after the primary school (1899-1905) in the Jewish seminary in Bratislava between 1906 and 1915. He took part in WW I, fought on the Italian front, returned home, got married, and joined in church life. In 1942 the Hungarian authorities closed his tailor-shop; he survived the Holocaust in 1944, returned home disabled, continued to work as a tailor in Ungvár. He lived at 11 Korjatovics tér in Ungvár but was not yet was active as a rabbi⁵⁰⁸. Copies of several submissions testify that Rasputyko, the head of the regional religious affairs department, with all kinds of excuses – ignoring the written requests of President **Gottlib** and Secretary **Bergida** – continued to postpone the mandatory re-registration of the community⁵⁰⁹. There is also a letter, with exchange of proposals, addressed to the regional religious authority on September 2, 1948 (signed by President **Gottlib** and Vice-President **Klein**) concerning the state expropriation of the community’s property and buildings, the reimbursement of the amount invested in the renovation of the great synagogue that was taken away, and the building necessary for the continuation of religious life⁵¹⁰. The certificate issued on

⁵⁰⁵ The petitioners referred to the Pravda, Moscow, May 1, 1948, 122, where a Soviet delegate in New York said that the structure of buildings declared cultural and cult monuments should be preserved in their original function.

⁵⁰⁶ Source: the bundle of documents N 2062. was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

⁵⁰⁷ Source: the bundle of documents N 16. was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

⁵⁰⁸ Source: the bundle of documents without number was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

⁵⁰⁹ Source: the bundle of documents N 66/18 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE

⁵¹⁰ Source: the bundle of documents without number was made available to me by Béla Huber,

October 29, 1948 with the number 158, issued in the name of Sándor Emil Merlmelstein, a resident of Ungvár, authorizing the activity of a rabbi, was revoked and canceled by the regional religious authority⁵¹¹.

According to the minutes drawn up on October 21, 1948, the 12 members of the community elected a new president in the person of **Klein Sámuel Herman** on the proposal of secretary Bergida⁵¹². On November 29, 1948, with number 158, Rasputyko, the head of the regional religious affairs department, re-registered the religious community in Ungvár⁵¹³. President Klein and Secretary Bergida petitioned the territorial authority (February 22, 1949) that the money spent on the renovated and expropriated large synagogue be reimbursed by the state, because they wanted to restore the house of worship in the house at 49/a Munkácsi utca as shown below⁵¹⁴.

According to the minutes of August 27, 1949 (authentic signatories: president **Klein**, and board member **Judkovics**), 140 members unanimously elected the candidate **Ervin Ignat Kroó** as rabbi⁵¹⁵. The questionnaire was filled out by Rabbi **Ignát Ervin Kroó**, personally, on August 28, 1949. He was born in Beregszász in 1906, studied there, and completed the rabbinical seminary in Beregszász and Munkács in 1919-1931. He lived in Ungvár from 1932; between 1939 and 1943 he was an inmate in a labour camp; then volunteered in the Soviet army. He returned home to Ungvár, worked as a cook, and participated in the religious life of the synagogue⁵¹⁶.

Based on the documents studied, the life of the community can be traced in the '60s and '70s as well. For example, President **Grünfeld**

President of the KMZSE

⁵¹¹ Source: the bundle of documents N 158/22 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹² Source: the bundle of documents N 24 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹³ Source: the bundle of documents N 158/25 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹⁴ Source: the bundle of documents N 24/27 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹⁵ Source: the bundle of documents N 9 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹⁶ Source: the bundle of documents N 29 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

fought for the recovery of previously expropriated church property (Ungvár, house at Kazamenaja (?) ú. N 39)⁵¹⁷. According to the certificate issued by the county communal authority on August 23, 1972, the land pertaining to the Jewish cemetery was 3,016 hectares⁵¹⁸.

In accordance with the state of affairs on January the first, 1986, the members of the “*council of twenties*” were:

Braun Zoltán Sámuel (1894) barber
Berman Sámuel Mics (1926) pensioner
Fried József Mendel (1908) pensioner
Friedmann Áron Jakab (1915) pensioner
Friedmann József Sámuel (1916) pensioner
Friedmann Sámuel Jakov (1914) pensioner
Izsakovics Adolf Ignát (1915) pensioner
Izsakovics Vilmos Ignát (1920) pensioner
Jakubovics Gyula Adolf (1922) pensioner
Klein Miksa Salamon (1916) pensioner
Klein Móríc Herman (1909) pensioner
Lebovics Jenő Filep (1926) shoemaker
Markovics Jakab Sámuel (1910) pensioner
Moskovics Herman Henrik (1914) pensioner
Moskovics Májer Haim (1909) shoemaker
Naupauer Ignát Adolf (1924) pensioner⁵¹⁹
Solomonovics Dávid Géza (1909) pensioner
Snajder Lipót Dávid (1914) pensioner
Stobah Mózes Berkovics (1913) pensioner
Zinger Herman Geri (1914) pensioner

I remember the first commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Holocaust in April 1994, organized by the Jewish Cultural Association, in the former Great Synagogue (now the Philharmonic Hall). As a representative of the county and city councils, I myself took an active part in it; we lit a candle under the plaque on the

⁵¹⁷ Source: the bundle of documents N 78 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹⁸ Source: the bundle of documents N 86 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

⁵¹⁹ Source: the bundle of documents N 92/93 was made available to me by Béla Huber, President of the KMZSE.

county philharmonic building, on which the number of 85,000 victims was marked. On behalf of the Christian churches and the Hungarian population, **Dr. Elemér Ortutay**, a Greek Catholic priest, addressed those present and prayed for the many victims of the *“Jewish brethren.”*⁵²⁰

Iván Moskovics (Ungvár, 1928), the president of the Ungvár religious community, spoke about the religious life in Ungvár in an interview with him in 2003 in this way: *“After Ukraine became independent [in 1991], Jewish life began to flourish. It turned out that I was the only Jew who could say the prayers according to their order and manner. So, I was always asked to say the prayers. I refused because my sick, helpless wife was at home and she needed help. But finally, they elected me president of the Jewish community in Ungvár. Now I teach people, tell them what and how to behave, how to pray, teach them all the Jewish customs and traditions. In the religious community, people have very good relations with each other. We have already had guests, rabbis from America and Israel. They really liked the way the service was going on in our synagogue.”*⁵²¹

In 2003, Holocaust survivor **László Roth** (1922, Ungvár) considered the renewal of the Ungvár Jewry also very important: *“Not so long ago, only ten or fifteen people gathered in the synagogue, no more. Now many more people come, and young people are becoming interested in Jewish traditions. No doubt this is thanks to Hesed.”*⁵²²

According to **Singer Herman** (Nagyberezna, 1914), a former inmate of a labour camp, now in Ungvár, in 2003, *“many of those who previously did not confess they were Jews go to the synagogue with their children, thus, they returned to Judaism. I go to the synagogue every Saturday. It is particularly gratifying that the number of Jewish young people is increasing; they really feel Jewish.*

⁵²⁰ Szabó- (SZABÓ BÉLA): *A holocaust áldozataira emlékezőnk*. In: Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 1994. április 21.

⁵²¹ **Moskovics Iván** visszaemlékezése. In: C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/moskovics-ivan>, (2015-05-02.)

⁵²² **Roth László** visszaemlékezése. In: C centropa, Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára. <http://www.centropa.org/hu/search/site/Roth-Laszlo>

*Many young people regularly come to the synagogue. There is also a Jewish school in Ungvár.”*⁵²³

According to a former inmate of a labour camp, **István Neumann** (Ungvár, 1923), looking ahead, *“the most important thing would be for people to be able to live in a human way. We have really polluted Subcarpathia. A lot of decent people leave and all kinds of good-for-nothings come. This makes the situation much worse. I could leave too, but I won’t, because then who will stay here?”*⁵²⁴

The religious communities introduced above, together with the rabbis arriving here from abroad, contribute considerably to the strengthening of the Jewish denominations in Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Nagyszőlős and Huszt, in the organization of religious and cultural life, in maintaining traditions, in sharing spiritual treasures, and in preserving the legacies of outstanding personalities, for example: **Gábor Glück** (1912– 1983), painter **Mihail Roszkin** from Ungvar, historian **János Váradi-Sternberg** (1924-1992), and **Iván Olbracht** (1882-1956), a Czech writer of Jewish origin connected to Transcarpathia and Ungvár, and others.

On his website Hesed Spira made public in Russian a small encyclopedia of world-famous Jews with Transcarpathian roots, whose activities are exemplary and worthy of being followed. Chess champion **Judit Polgár**’s mother, the teacher Klára Polgár (1946) was born in Tiszaújlak. The grandmother of the famous US strongman and magician **Harry Houdini** is from Órdarma near Ungvár. Colonel **Horál Jan**, the legendary pilot of the western unit of the Czechoslovak Army participating in WW II, became a big entrepreneur in England. **Sámuel Lipsuc**, the famous chess champion of the end of the 19th century, was born in Ungvár. The English press magnate **Robert Maxwell** (Aknaszlatina, June 10, 1923)

⁵²³ **Singer Herman** visszemlékezése: <http://www.centropa.org/hu/biography/singer-hermann>

⁵²⁴ BAGU LÁSZLÓ: *Hogy az emberek emberi módon tudjanak élni* (Beszélgetés Neumann István (1923) ungvári munkaszolgálatos túlélővel). in: *Kárpátalja*, 1994. március-április, 2. évf., 3. sz., 11.p.

came from the Upper Tisza region. The legendary **Sándor Rott**, a philanthropist and billionaire from Munkács, lives in the USA and supports the Munkács community. **Sándor Rot** (Turjaremete, Nov. 1, 1921-Klagenfurt, Sept. 5, 1996), Professor at ELTE in Budapest after 1974, linguist, literary historian and translator, who spoke and knew more than twenty languages. Until his emigration he taught at the university of Ungvár, publishing his works in many languages.

The Jewish cemetery in Ungvár, where rabbi **Slomo Gancfrid** is buried, whom everyone remembers as a wonder, has become a place of pilgrimage; a monument to the 14,000 Jews who were deported from Ungvár to the Auschwitz death camp was also erected here.

Throughout Transcarpathia, memorial plaques are placed in memory of the Jewish past and culture, and patronage is given to deserted synagogues, prayer houses and monuments. Not far from the ruined Jewish cemetery in Radvác, there is a memorial to the 1914-1918 World War, which includes Jewish soldiers and officers among the names of the dead. The memorial, which was previously vandalised, is now under the protection of the local population.

It is reassuring that, in addition to the renovation of Jewish cemeteries and cultural and cultic buildings, the number of memorials and commemorative markers⁵²⁵ is increasing, drawing the attention of successive generations to the barbaric extermination of a thriving community of thousands of living people.

After the turn of the millennium, among the civil organizations the MÉKK and the KMZSE, with the participation of the survivors, organized several commemorations, conferences, meetings, and visits to memorial sites in Ungvár, Beregszász, Munkács, Huszt, Kolocsa, Kisváda, etc. The speakers invited included **Oleksándr Malec** adviser, Consul General **Ottó Szabó** in Hungary, **László Horkay**, **Béla Huber**, **Erzsébet Gortvay**, **István Neuman**, and **Lajos**

⁵²⁵ On 12 May 1994, a memorial plaque to the victims of the Holocaust was placed on the wall of the former large synagogue in Beregszász with Hebrew, Ukrainian and Hungarian texts. In September 2009, a Holocaust memorial was unveiled in the old Jewish cemetery in Ungvár on the site where the victims of the ghetto were buried. On 26 January 2010, a Holocaust memorial was unveiled in the Jewish cemetery in Munkács. And on 23 November 2014, a Wallenberg memorial plaque was erected in the Solva Memorial Park for the victims of Stalinism, etc.

Fölöp. They took the most decisive action against all manifestations of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and discrimination, and declared that the Ukrainian state must also protect minority rights in all respects. For the writer of these lines the commemoration held in Ungvár on the 60th anniversary of the Holocaust in April 2004 was unforgettable, where, among other things, Reformed bishop László Horkay said the following: “God always keeps those who are left and does not allow them to be lost.” On behalf of the survivors **Ernő Halpert** addressed the gathering in the following moving words: *“It is for the first time in the past 60 years that I am taking part in an event where we remember in Hungarian the atrocities and our brothers who perished. Thank you for this on behalf of all the survivors.”*⁵²⁶

On 27 August 2009, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Shoah, the Hungarian Evangelical Brotherhood, the Wesley János Ministers’ Training College, and the Mayor’s Office of Jasinya held a conference in the main hall of the local hotel, where the deportation and death march of 1941 was commemorated. In the framework of the conference, a relief commemorating the martyrs was placed on the wall of the station building: *“In memory of our Jewish brothers and sisters who were Hungarians or sought refuge in Hungary in 1941, and were expelled and persecuted to death by the state and the inhuman Nazi hatred. May their memory be blessed.”*⁵²⁷

Jews from the countryside, living in different parts of the world, also increasingly support local actions, come home and – thanks to the Internet – are in daily touch with their Jewish relatives and Christian friends in our countryside. In mid-July 2014, the people of Nagyszőlős were able to witness an exemplary event when; in a park at the heart of the town, a memorial was unveiled by four former Nagyszőlős families: the Weisz, Aykler, Hokky and Perényi families. Symbolizing the peaceful coexistence of nations living in Nagyszőlős, the monument was the work of Mihail Kolotko and József Vajda from Ungvár. It bears the words of Attila József: “... *“the past must be confessed if we want to have a future.”* The

⁵²⁶ HORVÁTH SÁNDOR: *A holokauszt áldozataira emlékeztek Ungváron.* „Isten a maradékot mindig megtartja.” In: *Kárpáti Igaz Szó*, 2004. április 24.

⁵²⁷ An invitation. Commemoration in Körösmező on the 65th anniversary of the Holocaust.

memorial was unveiled and wreathed by **Zsuzsa Ayklerné Papp**, a Canadian writer from Nagyszőlős, the survivor **Sándor Weisz**, an Israeli citizen with local roots, and a native of the town, **Zsigmond Perényi**, Deputy State Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office, on behalf of the Perényi residents who also came from the town and participated in the saving of lives⁵²⁸.

Their most traditional outdoor gathering is the Israel Picnic⁵²⁹. In 2015 it was their 27th gathering, when more than a thousand Jews from Transcarpathia came together on a Saturday in April in the Ben-Shemeni Forest in the middle of the country, where families and friends annually celebrate their togetherness and shared past. One of their managers is **Klein Jichák**, president of the Transcarpathian People's Organization. A frequent visitor at the event is the Kossuth Prize-winner Budapest klezmer musician **Ferenc Jávor**i (Fegya), who moved to Hungary in the 1970s from Munkács, then part of the Soviet Union. The mastermind of the event originally was **Mihály Dzsúrinszki**, who emigrated from Szürte.

⁵²⁸ E.R.: *Fájdalmas múlt, reménytelen jövő. Emlékművet avattak Nagyszőlősen*. In: *Kárpátalja*, 2014. július 17.

⁵²⁹ See the report on the Israeli Picnic in: http://www.ma.hu/kulfold/246785/Tobb_mint_ezren_vettek_reszt_az_idei_karpataljai_pikniken

SUMMARY

The four “acts” of the Jewish genocide in Transcarpathia, described in the four chapters above, proved that Nazi National Socialist and Communist societies were not, to say the least, the most philanthropical societies: both dictatorial regimes were sticky with the blood of millions.

If one compares the deportations carried out by Nazi henchmen and the ruthless internment and arrests of Jews in the Stalinist period, one can see that the chances of survival were “*the Endlösung*” (*the final solution*) in the Hitlerian, and minimal in the Stalinist scenario; that is, the Stalinist practice was not very different from the methods of fascists. The analogy of genocide can also be seen in the case where the communist functionaries deported a number of national minorities from their homelands (Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, German ethnic groups along the Volga, etc.), putting them at a risk of extermination. Only Stalin’s sudden death prevented the NKVD’s planned transfer of Soviet Jews to Siberia in connection with the so-called Jewish doctors’ case, and the planned Jewish pogroms, from being carried out⁵³⁰. Or think of the Holodomor, also known as the “Ukrainian Holocaust,” which was also a planned killing spree. This was the greatest catastrophe in the history of the Ukrainian people⁵³¹. Researchers put the number of victims at between six and ten million, of which around three million were children⁵³². With this atrocity, Stalin overtook and even ‘surpassed’ Hitler’s genocide statistics.

⁵³⁰ ЗОЛІТОНОСОВ, МИХАЙЛІ: Пятая основа большевизма. Ін: Октябрь, 1990. 12. с. 205. See also: Русское знамя, 1991. январь 16.

⁵³¹ See: The Parliament’s decision on this issue: <http://www.parlament.hu/irom37/6288/6288.htm>

⁵³² See the Holodomor Ukrainian memorial website (In Ukraine and English): <http://www.holodomor.org/>

In the case of Transcarpathia, we can see, in chronological order, the deportation of Jews, the internment of Hungarians and Transcarpathian Swabians, the displacement of families, the deportation of the bourgeois intelligentsia of society (Rusyn/Ukrainian, Hungarian, Jewish, Swabian-German, Slovak, Romanian, etc.). If we analyse the procedures and the implementation of the plans of the Nazi and Communist dictatorships, we can find many similarities in these processes. The only crime of these ethnic groups was their origin. The Nazi and Bolshevik plans were also concerned with their exclusion from their respective societies. Here, as there, the content and promulgation of the corresponding decree was based on racial discrimination and extermination. Both dictatorial regimes employed misleading techniques: resettlement, labour camps, three-day *'malenkiy robot'*, etc.

Similar were the setting up and running of concentration camps and death camps, the rounding up of the targets by armed men, the use of wagons to transport them, their transportation by bestial means to concentration camps and forced labour camps, where these prisoners were subjected to a long life of inhuman suffering and artificially induced death. Those who violated the murderous decrees, those in hiding, those who dropped out of the march, exhausted, deserters, the sick, were executed on the spot. The Nazi and Soviet prison guards, and the interrogators were ruthless. We know from thousands of survivors' testimonies and archival documents that there was no great difference in the treatment of prisoners. I think here of the food that led to emaciation, the lack of medical care, the epidemic diseases, the 12-15 hours of slave labour a day, and other inhuman conditions that ended the lives of thousands of deportees deprived of their freedom. Hitler used gas chambers, crematoria and other contrived means to speed up the mass execution of people, and to give those fit for work a slower death, thinning their ranks with what survivors called 'work' and 'work till death.' The Stalinists decimated the inhabitants of the GUPVI and GULAG camps by 'using' the harsh, cruel, and unbearable Siberian climate. To kill people, the NKVD also used specially modified, hermetically sealed trucks with exhaust fumes to suffocate prisoners. In many places

they also burned the corpses (in NKVD furnaces) or buried them in swamps, in mines, in winter holes cut in the ice where they vanished for good without leaving any trace.

As Tamás Stark says “as a matter of fact, imprisonment in the Soviet Union can only be compared to the German concentration camps. Menachem Begin, later Prime Minister of Israel, was himself a Lithuanian Zionist leader who had been to the Gulag. In a memoir published in 1951, he quotes a fellow prisoner, a Jewish doctor, a survivor of Dachau, who compares the German and Russian ‘systems’ as follows:

*“The difference between the German death camps and the Soviet concentration camps can be summed up in one word. This word, more important to the prisoner than anything else, is HOPE. There was a chance of survival in Soviet labour camps, but not in German death camps. Of course, in most cases, the chance was minimal, but it did fuel the hope of survival.”*⁵³³

And finally, I conclude my essay with the thoughts of Rabbi Baruch Oberlander that are relevant even today: “The whole countryside presents to the Jewish eye a picture of a large, neglected cemetery. Jewish life flickers here and there, the divine flame is not completely extinguished. It is a typical Jewish thing to call the cemetery “the house of life.” The two seem to be related: we have life even in the cemetery. It is not accidental that an integral part of the Jewish faith is the resurrection of the dead after the coming of the Messiah. In Transcarpathia, it seems to have already begun...”

⁵³⁴ In the light of the above data, this is true! A new era has dawned for the long-suffering survivors of Transcarpathian Jewry. Will there be a resurrection? The near future will provide an answer to this rhetorical question, too.

May 3, 2015.

⁵³³ STARK TAMÁS: *Magyar zsidók szovjet fogságban*. In: *História*, 1994/2. Elektronikus változat: <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/historia/94-02/ch05.html>

⁵³⁴ OBERLANDER BARUCH: *Kárpátalja elfeledett zsidói között*. Riport. Elektronikus változata: <http://regi.zsido.com/books/elfeledett/2resz.htm> , (2015. május 2.)

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Kárpátaljai Szemle	Zakarpatszka Pravda
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⁵³⁵ Weekly newspaper published in Miskolc

⁵³⁶ Weekly newspaper of the Transcarpathian Cultural Association

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APPENDIX

JEWISH MEMORIALS AND MEMORIAL SITES IN TRANSCARPATHIA

PICTURES FROM THE JEWISH PAST



Jewish children learning to play the violin. Mukachevo, 1939.



A trader at the market in Huszt, 1938.



*Haim Szimha Mejhlovic - Jewish farmer from Felsőöpsa, 1938.
Roman Visnyak's photo*



*The Jews of Munkács leave for home before Shabbat, 1938.
Photo by Roman Visnyak*



*Jewish traders heading home before Shabbat, 1938.
Roman Visnyak's photo*



*Jewish vendors
on Masaryk Square in Ungvár
(now Petőfi Square)
in the early 1920s*



*The Jewish dairy cooperative's
central building in Kőrösmező,
1938.*

Photo by Roman Visnyák



*János Váradi-Sternberg and Károly Lusztig,
the Transcarpathian
chroniclers of Hungarian Jewry*



*Sigmond Fried survivor and his second wife (Ungvár).
His first wife and two children lost their lives in the concentration camp*

*Daughters born after the Holocaust to the Swarcz family of Tiszabökény.
The family emigrated to Israel in the 1970s*



*Regina Swarcz Hungarian
teacher of Hungarian language and
literature. 18. 10 1973.*



*Veronika Swarcz
pianist*



*Herman Weiss' family from Tiszaújlaki.
The head of the family in the middle (Herman Weiss) was hidden from
deportation by people from Tiszaújlak, including Lajos Gál*



*Weiss Lajos
Holocaust survivor from Tiszaújlak*



*Weiss Lajosné
Holocaust survivor from Tiszaújlak*



Weiss Klára
Holocaust survivor from Tiszaújlak



Weiss Mancsi
Holocaust survivor from Tiszaújlak



*On the right in the picture Miklós Weiss (Tiszaújlak), the president of the
Ugocsa Jewish religious community visiting his relatives in the USA*



The Beregszász Holocaust Memorial Conference, 16.04.2014.

*First row from left to right: Holocaust survivor Tilda Halbert (Ungvár),
Vince Pocsai sen. (Beregvégárdó) malenkiy robot survivor,
Holocaust survivor Ignác Neupaver (Ungvár) and György Dupka.
Second row from left to right: jr. Reformed pastor Vince of Pocsai,
Beregvégárdó, Béla Huber, president of the KMZSE*

Source:

- Hana Opleštilová – Lukáš Babka. Zmizelý svět Podkarpatské Rusi ve fotografiích Rudolfa Hůlky (1887-1961). The lost world of Subcarpathian Rus' in the photographs of Rudolf Hůlka (1887-1961). Národní knihovna České republiky – Slovanská knihovna. National Library of the Czech Republic – Slavonic Library. Praha 2014. Prague 2014.
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- *Kárpátaljai zsidó családok archív fotói*
- *A MÉKK és a KMZSE archívuma: www.kmmi.org.ua*
- **Roman Visnyak** (1897-1990) is an American photographer of Russian origin who took pre-Holocaust photographs of Jewish everyday life in Europe, including Transcarpathia, and nearly 9,000 of his photographs are kept in the International Photography Center in New York.

ARCHIVE PICTURES AND DOCUMENTS

ON THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT

As it is now known: the outbreak of the war was the result of the cooperation between the two totalitarian states, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.



*The **first** picture was taken in Moscow, on the 23rd of Aug., 1939, at the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (from left to right in the picture you can see Ribbentrop, Stalin, Molotov and others).*

On the one hand, the pact was a non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, it contained a secret clause about the spheres of interest of the two countries, including the division of Poland. When this happened, thousands of Poles and Jews were forced to leave their homeland, many thousands fled to the territory of Hungary from the Nazi and Soviet military invasion. It was then that the story of the suffering of the Jews began...



*The **second** and **third** pictures were taken during military exercises and parades in which Soviet and Nazi soldiers participated together as comrades in arms (Source: Bundesarchiv, August 1–September 22, 1939).*

Bundzjak Sz. M. et al.: Maharita, Subert's interrogation report of illegal border crossers, on 4 pages (17.12.1939)
Source: ZVSZ/634-637

[illegible][illegible]



NKVD prison photo of Arnold Herskovics.

Source: ZVSZ/696



NKVD prison photo of Matild Herskovics.

Source: ZVSZ/696



NKVD prison photo of Robert Bem.

Source: ZVSZ/699



NKVD prison photo of István Kajzer.

Source: ZVSZ/700



NKVD prison photo of Pál Faragó..

Source: ZVSZ/698



NKVD prison photo of Pálné Faragó.

Source: ZVSZ/697



*A contemporary shot of the Buzuluk railway station,
where Gulag prisoners granted amnesty were received,
and after screening were conscripted into the Czech Legion.
Source: ZVSZ/701*

Archive photos of the 1941 deportations

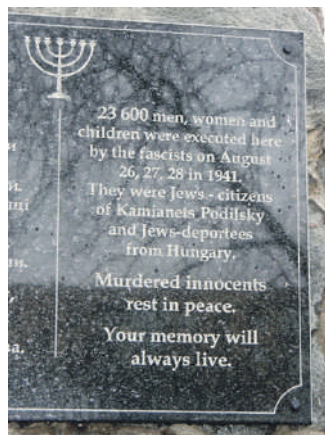


*The collection and deportation of “stateless” Jews
on the territory of Hungary, summer 1941.*

Memorial sites of the 1941 deportations



Relief placed on the building of the railway station in Jaszinya/Kőrösmeze in memory of the 1941 deportation



Monument inscription in the Kamenetz-Podolsk memorial park. August 26-28, 1941. 23,600 Jews were deported by the Nazi executioners, many, mainly Hungarian, were slaughtered

Archive pictures of inmates of labour camps

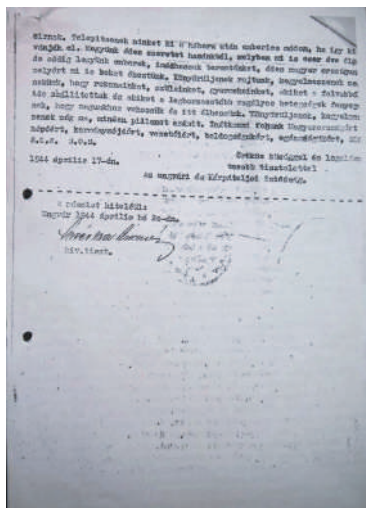
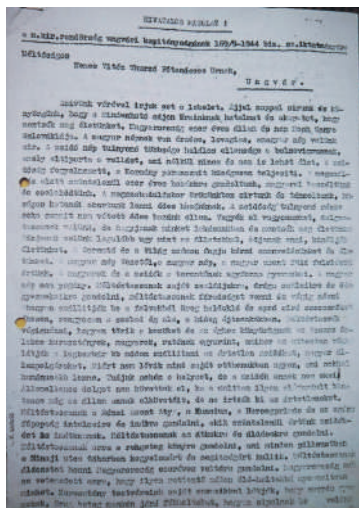


Jewish inmates of labour camps on the Eastern Front (lunchtime)



Zsidó munkaszolgálatosok a keleti fronton

Archive materials, pictures from the 1944 deportation time



Letter from the Jews of Ungvár and Ungvárszat on April 27, 1944, in which they petitioned the representatives of the Hungarian authorities in Ungvár to save their lives. A copy of this was also sent to Governor Horthy, and the courier was captured by the Germans.

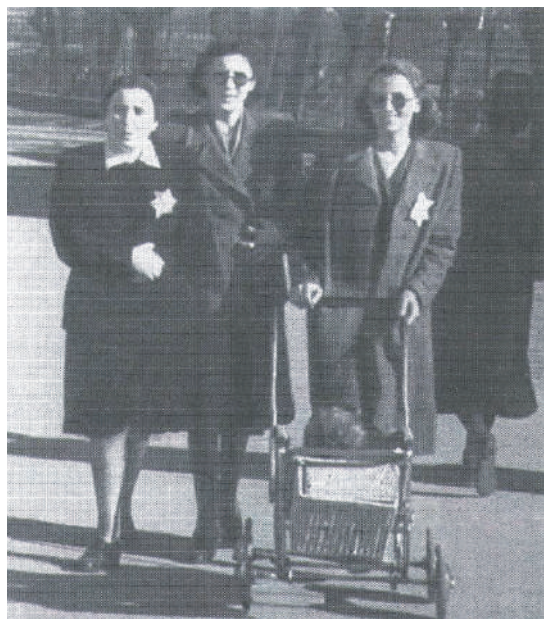
Source: Subcarpathian State Archives



*Announcements
of the Munkács Jewish Council
April 18, 1944.*



Entrance to the Munkács ghetto



Live picture from the Munkács ghetto

**Details from the Auschwitz album that became known
under the name of Lili Jákob from Bilke**

(http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/album_auschwitz/page1.asp)



*Arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau
and Lili Jákob's siblings, Jiszraél (Szril) and Zélig*



Jewish female and male prisoners selected for work



On their final journey to the gas chambers



*The plaque on the wall of
the Subcarpathian County
Philharmonic Hall
(former synagogue)
in memory of 85,000
Transcarpathian
Holocaust victims*



Source:

- A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája. Randolph L. Braham (főszerkesztő): Park Kiadó, 2006
Tárolt változat: <http://haver.hu/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/A-H-O-L-O-K-A-U-S-Z-T-M-A-G-YA-R-O-R-S-Z-%C3%81-G-O-N-T-%C3%96-RT-%C3%89-N-E-L-M-I-%C3%81-T-T-E-K-I-N-T-%C3%89-S.pdf>
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- <http://www.shukach.com/node/35498>
- Pictures by Andrea Fuchs

MORE IMPORTANT JEWISH MEMORIALS AND MEMORIAL SITES IN TRANSCARPATHIA

During the Soviet rule, a significant number of the monuments built by Jews, once very numerous and living in Subcarpathia, who claimed Hungarian to be their mother tongue, were demolished, partially or completely rebuilt or destroyed.

Most of the synagogues that had once functioned were destroyed after WWII and fell victims to the era of Soviet transformation. Many that remained are currently used for completely different purposes. The overall picture has changed since the change of system: currently the renovated and rebuilt synagogues in Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Nagyszőlős, Huszt and Bustyaháza are used for their original purpose.

The Soviet regime did not spare the Jewish cemeteries either, most of them were vandalized. According to the records of the KMZSE, thanks to the activity of the non-profit organization HF-PJC/Avoyseinu, which renovates cemeteries, more than a hundred of the approximately 400 registered cemeteries between the two world wars were reorganized; in several places they were completely reconstructed (in Beregkisfalud, Gány, Huszt, Ilosva, Nagyberezna, Szürte, Szeny, etc.); the majority of the graves were fenced, and caretakers from the local population were employed to clean and maintain them. KMZSE activists protect, care for, and regularly visit the well-known rabbis' graves, and with their mediation, religious tourism, which organizes and conducts cemetery visits, is also on the rise. The cemetery registers are constantly digitized so that they are available on the world wide web for relatives and family-tree researchers. The so-called also "*bone tourism*," became a phenomenon,

when relatives living in the West exhume the bones of their relatives and take them home in a metal coffin, and re-bury them in the cemetery close to their new place of residence.

BEREGSZÁSZ DISTRICT

BEREGSZÁSZ: Between the two world wars, the most important Jewish religious institutions of the city: 1 large synagogue, 2 Jewish elementary schools (heder), 2 ritual baths (mikveh), 1 rabbinate, 2 small synagogues (only one of them is used according to its purpose), 1 cemetery.

Great Synagogue: the former Great Synagogue of Beregszász was in a prominent place at the end of Kossuth tér. It was built around 1880 by the large Jewish community living here, and its main facade is a variant of the Jerusalem church-type synagogues. After 1945, it was used as a warehouse in Soviet times. In 1967-1969, the architect József Homoki and the graphic artist Miklós Medveczky made significant changes on basis of the designing principles of socialist architecture and created a cultural centre with more than 500 seats. The original, ornate facade was removed by a modern flat wall. Only one internal detail refers to the synagogue's past. After the regime change, local citizens initiated the removal of the wall section. The restoration of the original facade has not yet taken place, although plans have been drawn up in the city office.



On May 12, 1994, a plaque was inaugurated on the wall of the Great Synagogue in memory of the martyrs dragged away to concentration camps in 1944. In Hebrew, Ukrainian and Hungarian,

the following was engraved on the black marble slab: “*In memory of the thousands of Jewish victims who were dragged away from Beregszász and Bereg county in 1944 and died the death of martyrs in the gas chambers of the fascists.*”



*Participants at the inauguration of the plaque
(from left to right in the row above): Mayor István Pataki,
Árpád Dalmay, president of the Beregszász district section of the KMKSZ*



Jewish ritual bath: located next to the rebuilt synagogue (Széchenyi u. 2). The two-storey ritual bath building (mikveh) was built in 1912 in Art Nouveau style. During the Soviet rule, it operated as a city public bath. After the change of system, the monument building was closed, privatized, used as a storehouse, and is in need of complete renovation.



Small Synagogue. Acting synagogue in Zrínyi Ilona utca, which looks simple, was built in the early 1920s. Today, the Beregszász Jewish community of nearly 20 people uses it every week and on holidays. The leader of the religious community: **Ernő Goldberger**. At the initiative of József Weis, the founder of the Beregszász Shalom Foundation, with the help of the Hungarian consulates and a civil fund, the old building of the small synagogue in Beregszász was completely renovated, which today presents a truly imposing sight.



In 1991, a **memorial plaque** was placed on the wall of the **small synagogue** in memory of the 7,000 deported Jews from the Bereg area in 1944.

Hirsch Salamon plaque (Zrínyi utca).

The **Jewish cemetery** can be conveniently reached from Tamás Mihály utca along the road leading to the Kígyós settlement. Behind its beautiful wrought-iron gate, on the right-hand side of the wall, you can see the white marble memorial plaque of Chief Rabbi **Sámuel Hirsch**, who fell victim to the Holocaust along with hundreds of his followers. The representatives of the **Meisels, Weiss, Rotenberger, Blum, Czukor, Weinberger, Einzig** and other families who did a lot for Beregszász and were respected citizens of the city rest in a prominent place.

Internationally recognized graves of rabbis in Beregszász:

- **Slomo Schreiber Szófer** (1853-1830) rabbi of Derecske and Beregszász, grandson of Hatam Sofer from Pozsony, son of Ktav Sofer, author of *Igrot sofrim*,
- **Jichak ben Zev Rochlitz** (1859) dajan (judge),
- **Elizer ben Salom Dov Zucker** (1920) dajan and son, **Slomo Zucker** (1943) rabbi of Nagyhalász.

A memorial mark was placed on the site of the ghetto on the Beregszász brick factory in the Soviet era, and it remained in a distorted form up till now.

MEZŐKASZONY: its synagogue appropriated by the state was rebuilt, its Jewish cemetery is kept in order.

Graves of more famous rabbis:

Rabbi **Yehoszef ben Zvi ha-levi Rottenberg** (1853-1911), **Me-sulam Feis Segal-Löwy** the son-in-law of the rabbi of Nyirtas, author of the *Bne Slisim*, rabbi of Nyirtas, Nyirmada, Debrecen, founder of the Kaszony dynasty, his sons, **Hajim Slomo ha-levi Rottenberg** (1920), and **Jisrael Cvi ha-levi Rottenberg** (1944).

MUNKÁCS DISTRICT

MUNKÁCS, between the two world wars, entered the public consciousness as a Hasidic centre or a “little Jerusalem.” Major Jewish religious institutions: **central synagogue, two synagogues** (one of the palace-like synagogues was built in 1895, the other one next door was built in 1903, also reflecting the romantic spirit of Hasidism), schoolhouse, rabbi’s house, Jewish higher education Talmud school (yeshiva), kitchen, orphanage, Hebrew high school, community building, ritual bath (mikveh), kosher kitchen, Grünstein printing house, and old cemetery. According to the records, there was a house of prayer in almost every street where Jews lived.

The former synagogue on the corner of Wallenberg (formerly Zsidó utca) and Béke tér behind the town hall. It was completely remodelled after 1945, and currently a bank and several shops operate there in the pink-painted building. Activists of one of the city’s Jewish organizations placed a memorial plaque on the wall of the former synagogue: *a Relief Holocaust memorial plaque (with inscriptions in Ukrainian and Hebrew).*

In one part of Béke tér, in the fenced courtyard, there is another synagogue that has been preserved in its original form. It was used by the military in Soviet times, but after the change of systems it was returned to the Jewish community and was very nicely renovated.



It has a **working synagogue** and a kosher canteen (located behind the former house of Rabbi Haim Luzer Spira).

In **Wallenberg** utca, there is a **relief plaque** in honour of the Swedish diplomat who saved the lives of so many Jews. The plaque is the work of sculptor Mihail Kolodko from Ungvár.

The old Jewish cemetery in Munkács was partially destroyed during the Soviet rule, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. The construction of a military plant and a factory was scheduled for this area. Thanks to international pressure, the liquidation of the cemetery was stopped. As compensation, a new cemetery was opened on the border of Munkács and Felsőkerepec, which is 6-7 km from the city center. The remains of Rabbi Sapira were secretly brought here, and a new ohel (tent) was erected over his grave. The more sophisticated Jews also transferred their dead (the Kleins, the Österreichers, the Weisses from Oroszvégy, the earthly remains of the former Talmud scholars, religious leaders, etc.) to the new cemetery. The maintenance costs of the cemetery are currently covered by the American working community of Munkács. An agreement was made with the city management declaring that the two cemeteries must not be violated.

Chajim Eliezer Sapira, the highly influential and admired rabbi of Munkács, rests in the old-new Jewish cemetery (he was re-buried from the old to the new). His grave, since the change of system, is often visited by Western Jewish tourists to research the roots of their ancestors.

The burial places of **David ben Mose Jehuda Schlüsszel** (1865-1940), head of the rabbinical court (bet din) of Munkács, **Aron Weisz** rabbinical judge (dajan), **Eizik Weisz**, the rabbi of Szolyva, **Aron Terkeltaub**, the rabbi of Beregboród and of others considered to be prominent.

On January 26, 2010, a Holocaust memorial was inaugurated in the Munkács Jewish cemetery. The pictures were taken at the Holocaust commemorations in April 2014 (from left to right): *Jolán Kó-tun*, Hungarian teacher at the Munkács Teachers' Training College,

György Dupka, president of the MÉKK, Dénes Balogh, consul in Hungary, László Csordás, president of the KVIK.



Jewish orphanage. *The first Jewish orphanage connected to the poorhouse and hospital was founded in 1786. It is currently located in Wallenberg utca*





The Jewish High School (1924). Now it is to be found in Bölcs Jaroszlav utca.

NAGYSZŐLŐS DISTRICT

NAGYSZŐLŐS. Between the two world wars, the most important Jewish religious institutions of the city were: the synagogue, rabbi's house, ritual bath (mikveh), ritual slaughterhouse (shakter), offices, prayer room, schoolhouse, Jewish elementary school (heder), Hebrew elementary school, and the Jewish cemetery.

Its reclaimed, functioning synagogue was built around 1905 and is classified as one of the Hungarian Art Nouveau Jewish synagogues. It is currently undergoing renovation. Among the Subcarpathian synagogues, it is an authentic monument of the Hungarian Secession. The architects partially paired the T-plan floor in palatial style, but it is an expression of Jewish neology and assimilation. During the Soviet period, the church was expropriated, disfigured, and used as a warehouse. After the religious community of nearly 20 members received it back, in 2012 they began to restore it to its original condition and use it for its original purpose.



Relief in memory of the Jewish underground members who were sentenced to death by the Hungarian military court and executed.



The memorial plaque for the Jews deported in 1944.

This is also where the Wallenberg memorial plaque was placed



Ecumenical memorial mark to the city's martyrs who perished in the war. The inscription is in four languages (Ukrainian, Hebrew, Rusyn and Hungarian).



It was claimed by the descendants of the Aykler, Hokky, Perényi, Weisz-Livnat families



Jewish cemetery, orderly, fenced, owned by the religious community. The graves of the more well-known rabbis:

Smuel Smelke ben Jozsef Klein (1805-1875) rabbi of Balkány, Huszt and Nagyszőlős, and also his son and descendant, **Pinhasz Hajim Klein** (1925) rabbi,

Hajim Mose ben Avraham Kahan (1857) dajan,

Jozsef ben Slomo Zalman Glanz (1886) dajan,

Barukh ben Sneur Zalman, the father of the author of the *Tanja*.

MAGYARKOMJÁT: the remains of a wooden synagogue, built in the 1910s. It is a private area, at the end of the garden, in a run-down condition, a Jewish cemetery.



The Holocaust Memorial of Tiszabökény in memory of the 72 deported Jewish residents. It was inaugurated on April 25, 2014.



The Tiszaújlak synagogue was converted into a commercial unit.

UNGVÁR DISTRICT

UNGVÁR. Between the two world wars, the most important Jewish religious institutions of the city: a large Orthodox synagogue, Neologist synagogue, Hasidic synagogue, rabbinate, mikveh, shakter, Jewish charity kitchen, Jewish high school, Jewish cultural centre, school, bakery, hospital, and Jewish cemetery. They lost their original function; various institutions operate currently in these buildings created by Jews.

Important Jewish buildings that survived in Ungvár:

Ungvár's first reinforced concrete building **of Ashkenazi rite** is on Színház tér N 10. It was built in neo-Moorish style based on the design of Gyula Papp and Ferenc Szabolcs (1904-1911); its outer walls were covered with red and yellow Klinger bricks. The richly designed and decorated Byzantine-influenced building was the most significant Neologist synagogue in Subcarpathia between the two world wars. It was owned by the Ashkenazi, or German Rite, an Orthodox Israelite church community. In the 1950s, the building was converted into a concert hall, the Transcarpathian Regional Philharmonic Hall. Mostly





its interior was rebuilt for the purpose of the new function, but the large Star of David on the main facade was also removed. After the change of system, the local Jewish organizations tried to sue for the return of the building, but the authorities said no to their repeated initiatives.

Rabbinat. The building is located at 19 Színház tér. Slomo ben Josip Hacfried Orthodox rabbi, the author of several well-known religious books lived and worked there. The building currently houses a bank.





Jewish school (at Volosin út 32). Later, the Jewish bakery (matzes bakehouse) was added to it. Currently, the biological and physical faculties of the university are to be found there.



Neologist Jewish prayer house (1870) on the Vármegye-ház tér.



Hasidic synagogue of the Sephardic rite, built in 1908. Most recently, it operated as a telecommunications centre for UkrTeleKom.



Next to it is the **ritual bath (mikve)** (1908), which currently houses the canteen of the Secondary School N 1 in Ungvár.



The charity kitchen of the Jewish community (1933) was located at Pravoslav part N 12. It currently operates as a record office.



Hebrew high school (Pravoszláv part N 24), 1934. Currently, it is the Hungarian-language Dayka Gábor High School.



There is a **functioning synagogue** in Munkácsi utca. According to the memorial plaque placed there, it was built in 1928 by Rabbi **Felberman** from Nagygejőc. The rabbi of the local Jewish community also lives there.



Ignác Fried's tenement (apartment building) was built in 1910 and is located on Petőfi Square. Today there are commercial units and private apartments. According to the former police report, during the ghettoization, the owner of the house, Fried, and his wife attempted suicide – they jumped from the top floor of the house. The Gestapo situated itself there, and in 1944 the Transcarpathian division of the KGB.



The mill in Munkácsi utca, its former owners were the Weiss brothers, Izidor and Mihály. Then it was nationalized by the Soviets in 1944, and after the change of system it stopped operating. In the first picture: the main entrance from Munkácsi utca. On the other one you can see the mill.



Ungvár Jewish Cemetery (Kotlyarevskoho str.), is kept in order. There are several valuable monuments on its territory.

The more famous rabbinical graves are:

Avraham Joszef ben Mose Grünwald (1872-1928), the rabbi of Makó, Huszt and Ungvár,

David ben Smuel Krausz Feigelesz (1820-1891),

Hajim Cvi Manheimer (1886) rabbi,
Ichutiel Juda ben Mose Grünwald (1934), the rabbi of Ördarma,
Jehuda Eisenstädter, rabbi of Ungvár and
Menahem Eisenstädter (1808-1869) rabbi of Szobránc,
Meir ben Jehuda Leib Eisenstädter /Asch/Es (1780-1852) rabbi
 of Ungvár, the disciple of Hatam Szofer of Pozsony, the author of the
Imre Es, and his sons,
Meir ben Niszn Blei (1940) dajan,
Mose Leib ben Slomo Sapira (1916), the rabbi of Strzyzów,
Slomo ben Jozsef Ganzfried (1804-1886) dajan.

During September 2009, a **Holocaust memorial** was inaugurated
 in the old Jewish cemetery, at the place of death of the victims of
 the Ungvár ghetto were buried. In April 2014, a candle lighting cer-
 emony was held on behalf of MÉKK and the Hungarian Consulate
 General in Ungvár.



Holocaust memorial stone on the site of the former Moskovics brick factory, where there was a ghetto.



Another ghetto was on the site of the Glück lumber yard in Odeszkaja utca.



The Heszed Spira Charitable Foundation is a cultural and social centre for local Jews and Jews who immigrated from the East. It started operating after the change of systems, and its Sunday school is also located here.

RADVÁNC (before 1944, it was annexed to Ungvár together with the Bolotina housing estate (now Gagarin Street). The centre of the Jewish religious life between the two world wars was the synagogue (located at 15 Ukrajinszka utca), in which, in 1947, a wood processing production unit started operating.



Radvánci Jewish cemetery (from the 19th century to 1944 was a burial place): in a neglected, looted state, only a few tombstones are to be found, some of them were knocked down and broken by vandals.



World War I memorial (above, right), on its inscribed marble tablet, among the martyrs there are the names of dead heroes of Jewish origin from Radvánc (Jakab Blum from the 66th Infantry, corporal **Jakab Kleisner**, lieutenant Gyula Schwartz).



UPPER TISZA COUNTRY

AKNASLATINA. There are two Jewish cemeteries and two synagogues there, which were nationalized and completely rebuilt, and perform different functions.

BUSTYAHÁZA: A new Hasidic synagogue and pilgrim's hostel were built next to the restored Jewish cemetery, and a monument was erected to the rabbi **Mordechai ben Yisakhar Leifer** (1824-1893) of Nadvorna, who rests in the cemetery, and to his sons, the rabbis **Yisrael Jakov Leifer** (1929) and **Shmuel Smelke Leifer** (1924) of Huszt. On the day of the rabbi's passing, Hasidic pilgrims from all over the world come here and held ceremonies.

HUSZT: Between the two world wars, the most important Jewish religious institutions of the town: synagogue, ritual bath (mikveh), 2 ritual slaughterhouses (shakter), Talmud-tora, Jewish higher education Talmud school (yeshiva), Jewish civil school, printing house, and cemetery.

It has a functioning synagogue serving its original purpose for the depleted Jewish community and its guests. According to literature, this is the only historically Hungarian synagogue that still expresses the world of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy of the past centuries. The nine-field, four-column synagogue, unique of its kind, was built around 1850. Originally, two synagogues could be built together; during the Soviet period the northern synagogue was demolished, and the southern interior was also significantly transformed. In its yard there are three memorials to honour the victims of the Holocaust, on which it is engraved that 11 thousand Jews were taken from Huszt and its surroundings.





The old Jewish cemetery is in order. More famous rabbi graves: *Mose ben Jozsef Schick* (1807-1879) rabbi, better known as **Ma-haram Schick**, a disciple of **Hatam Szofer** from Pozsony;

Joel Cvi ben Simon Roth (1891) rabbi of Berettyóújfalu and Huszt, author of the *Bet ha-jocer*;

Mose ben Amram Grünwald (1853-1910), rabbi of Homonna, Kisvárda and Huszt, author of the *Arugatha Voszem*.

Pinhasz Naftali ben Eizik Schwarz (1885) dajan,

Jakov ben Jichak Mordkhe Katina (1890) dajan,

Smuel David ben Zvi ha-kohen Friedman (1933) dajan.

KÖRÖSMEZŐ: On August 27, 1999, the relief memorial plaque of the martyrs of the first deportation of 1941 was placed on the railway station building.

RAHÓ: Under the Soviets, the local synagogue was demolished. The Jewish cemetery is in order. Its more well-known rabbi grave: Rabbi **Jisrael Hajim Friedman** (1852-1922), author of the *Likute Maharia*.

TÉCSŐ: Its former synagogue is now a sports club (owned by the city). The Jewish cemetery is in order. The graves of more well-known rabbis: *Eliyahu Becalel ben Jekutiel Jehuda Teitelbaum* (1922), a descendant of *Mose Teitelbaum* (Jiszmah Mose, 1758-

1841) from Sátoraljaújhely, the son of **Jekutiel Jehuda Teitelbaum** (Jitev Lev, 1808-1883) from Máramarosziget; **Eliyahu Becalel Teitelbaum** (1923), **Meir ben Yichak Avraham Weisz** (1933) and his younger brother **Cvi Weisz** (1936), dajan.

BORZSA VALLEY

BILKE: the synagogue was expropriated; the Jewish cemetery is in order.

Lili Jakob was born in Bilke, her Auschwitz diary, which records the terminal of the deportation of Jews from the Upper Tisza region and Bereg countryside, gives a glimpse into the everyday life of the Nazi camps. The pictures were made by Nazi officers who served there.

Dolha: it has a Jewish cemetery; its synagogue is used for state purposes.

Hmelnik: the Jewish cemetery, at the border of the settlement, was recently renovated as part of the cemetery program.



ILOSVA: Ruthenian activists placed a plaque in memory of the deported Jews on the wall of the local railway station. The rebuilt synagogue is owned by the town.

SZILCE/BEREGKISFALUD. Next to the Munkács-Huszt national road that crosses the settlement, the Jewish cemetery is preserved in remarkable state, the carved tombstones evoke an ancient atmosphere and are eye-catchingly beautiful.

LATORCA VALLEY

SZOLYVA: its former synagogue is in private ownership, rebuilt and functions now as a bakery. The Jewish cemetery is well-kept, the graves of more well-known rabbis: **Nahman ben Hajim Arje Kahan** (1908), the son-in-law of the Rabbi of Spinka, **Shalom ben Mose Yehuda Goldenberg** (1918).

The Memorial Park of Szolyva is a memorial to the victims of Stalinism. On its memorial wall, the names of Jewish inmates of labour camps who died at the front are also inscribed. The Hungarian Consulate General in Ungvár donated **a memorial plaque to Raoul Wallenberg**, the Swedish diplomat, who also fell victim to Stalinism (sculptor M. Kolodko from Unvár).



BEREGKISFALUD. The **Jewish cemetery** is located on the hillside next to the highway. Among the stone-carved gravestones are some notable depictions. The cemetery is currently in a state of neglect and decay.

HOLUBINA/GALAMBOS. On the hillside, the orderly Jewish cemetery is an eye-catcher, its centuries-old carved tombstones are beautifully restored. The last burial was in 1989.

UNG VALLEY

NAGYBEREZNA: the synagogue nationalized by the state is now a club. Its Jewish cemetery is kept in order; the grave of one of the well-known rabbis: rabbi **Salom ben Yisrael Efraim Fisl Szofer** (1856-1929), the son of the rabbi of Hajdunánás.

PERECSENY: After nationalization its synagogue started holding various functions in a rebuilt state. Its Jewish cemetery is kept in order.



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